

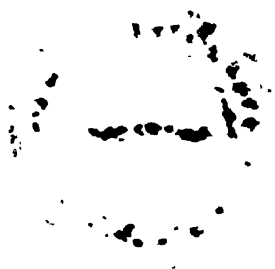
TOWARDS FREEDOM

DOCUMENTS OF THE
CAMPAIGN FOR
FREEDOM IN INDIA

1943-1944

Part 3

22/11/2019



Towards Freedom

Documents on the Movement for Independence in India
1943-1944

PART III

34-5542

REFERENCE

Edited by

Partha Sarathi Gupta

With a Preface by

Sarvepalli Gopal

RETROCONVERTED
B. C. S. C. L.

ICHR: TOWARDS FREEDOM

General Editor
Co-ordinating Editor

Sarvepalli Gopal
Basudev Chatterji

INDIAN PUBLIC LIBRARY
CALL NO. 100-100-100
IR. NO. 100-100-100
100-100-100

221
222
223



X Labour Movement

Industrial workers were economically in a relatively stronger position than before the war for certain obvious reasons. Wartime demands for labour were greater, because the government needed recruits for the army, for the construction works of the military authorities, and also for enrolling people in civil defence. At the same time, Indian businessmen found that there was a growing demand for increased industrial production in a whole range of industries, and that the Government would make no discrimination between industrial houses on account of their political sympathies. (Ch. XII, Docs 2, 11, 17, 22). It was therefore in the interest of the government to maintain industrial peace, not an easy task when what workers gained through increased employment opportunities was offset by the rise in the prices of consumption goods. As the monthly statistics of strikes for 1943 (Docs 3, 7, 10, 20, 21, 25, 29, 30, 32, 36-7) show, most of the disputes were over economic questions. India already had institutionalised procedures for solving industrial disputes, in which trade unions were recognized, and the mediatory role of the labour department of the central government was taken for granted. Indeed, to strengthen the regulation of industrial relations by giving trade unions a structured place in it, the government introduced the Indian Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill in November 1943, when B.R. Ambedkar was the member in charge of the Labour Department in the Viceroy's Council. The bill was introduced for eliciting public opinion and one of its main features appears to have been the proposal to make employers recognize trade unions if they were truly representative. Other legislative business crowded this measure out of the Parliamentary agenda,¹ but the C.L.A. debate on its introduction (Doc. no. 38-A) gives some idea of the initial responses of a British expatriate businessman (P.J. Griffiths,) an Indian economist with strong links with Indian capitalists (Sir Cowasjee Jehangir), and the leaders of the two all-India Associations of trade unions (N.M. Joshi of the A.I.T.U.C. and Jamnadas Mehta of the I.F.L.). The very fact that the government introduced the bill was a symptom of the importance industrial labour had acquired during the war.

Trade Unions in India were almost invariably under the organizing leadership of political leaders, of varying shades of radicalism. At an all-India level, the A.I.T.U.C., after the re-unification of the Communist and other left-wing trade union associations in September 1940 provided a forum for ventilating general demands. At the beginning of 1943 the political world of Indian trade unions was once again affected by divergent pulls. Since November 1941, following a conference in Lahore, trade union leaders who were members of the Radical Democratic Party, had formed a rival all-India organisation called the Indian Federation of Labour, which had succeeded in starting with 182 affiliated unions, and whose aim was to give total support to the anti-fascist war effort. It is significant that it succeeded in affiliating many trade unions in Punjab, Sind, and Bengal (Provinces not ruled earlier by Congress ministries) – unions which had hitherto not affiliated themselves to the A.I.T.U.C.²

On the question of support to the war effort, the A.I.T.U.C. had taken, initially, a neutral stand but the position changed after the Congress launched the 'Quit India' movement. After the exit of the Roy-ists, and the incarceration or going underground of Congress labour leaders

like V.V. Giri, H.N. Sastri, the Communist Party members had the upper hand in the A.I.T.U.C. They swung the trade unions which they controlled also towards a pro-war stance.

As long as the war lasted, these two legalized Parties – the C.P.I. and the R.D.P. – had freedom to organise labour and extend their political influence among industrial workers. Within the limits of war-time regulations, which prohibited strikes under Rule S1-A of the D.I.R. but made provisions for compulsory adjudication of industrial disputes, the C.P.I. and R.D.P. leaders involved in trade union work, could achieve success as advocates for the working class in conciliation and arbitration proceedings. The government was unused to treating these leaders, with their 'dubious' political past, as partners in the maintenance of industrial peace, and many documents illustrate the misgivings, at different levels of the bureaucracy, over the progress made by such leaders in establishing an ascendancy in the labour movement. The governor of Bengal Sir John Herbert was unhappy that a former accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, R.S. Nimbkar, had become the Labour adviser to the Central Government (Docs 6 and 9). Document 12 shows the apprehensions of the District Magistrate of Burdwan, Bengal about a trade union leader belonging to the Radical Democratic Party.

Because of the need to keep the wheels of transport moving during war, the railwaymen's unions were in a strong position (Doc.10). Document No.16 shows how the government reluctantly accepted the South Indian Railwaymen's union as a negotiating body, despite its C.P.I. dominated leadership. However, since the C.P.I. failed to capture the All-India Railwaymen's Federation (the only all-India body recognized by the Railway Board) by not getting N.M. Joshi (A.I.T.U.C.) elected as President instead of Jamnadas Mehta in Jamalpur in mid-August 1943, the authorities could feel relaxed (Doc. 33). The R.D.P. and the I.F.L. were regarded as loyal supporters of the war effort, they received a grant of Rs 13,000 from the government for this purpose (Docs 79, 83, and Ch. VI Doc. 28), and by mid-August 1944 the Home member was observing that the R.D.P. had been very helpful in the field of labour. (Doc. 80). The government's nomination of a R.D.P. labour leader M. Mahanti (of Orissa) to represent Indian labour abroad was criticised by the C.P.I. (Ch. VI, Doc 27). In Bihar, in the coal and steel belt, the I.F.L. was expanding its activities, and its main rival were unions with C.P.I. connections (Docs 45, 78).

The activities described above can be labelled as being more characteristic of 'economism', by the strict yardstick of Leninist theory, than as revolutionary tactics designed to overthrow the colonial state apparatus and their collaborators within the Indian business classes. An alternative tradition of using economic grievances as a mobilising slogan for nationalist political agitation existed in India. Many of the leftwing groups who supported the '42 movement (like the C.S.P., R.S.P., and the Forward Bloc) had been practitioners of this pattern of agitation. Such activities also continued - in some case their purpose was very obviously designed to decrease production and hamper the war effort, e.g. the C.S.P. appeal to the workers to abandon the coalmines and return to agriculture (Doc. 56). The textile strike in Nagpur from February to the end of April was supported by the Forward Bloc leader R.S. Ruikar who went on hunger-strike in gaol (Doc. 61), while the anti-strike propaganda of the C.P.I. was unsuccessful (Docs 46, 47). The R.S.P. leader Sreekantan Nair of Travancore worried the authorities by organizing strikes in a British-owned factory involved in war production (Ch. XIX, sub-section 10, Docs 6 and 7). However, the basic weakness of these tactics of the rebels of 1942 lay in the fact that the business classes were doing well out of the war, and the industrial workers wished to remain employed when industry was on the upswing and would

willingly accept collective bargaining if the employers reciprocated. Document no. 2. show the failure of such nationalist tactics in the industrial belt of Gujarat. By the end of 1944 an underground C.S.P. leader was trying to meet representatives of the Tata worker's union, which probably indicated a change in tactics. (Doc 90).

1. From the relevant volumes of the C.L.A. debates we find that on 14 Nov. 1944 there was an abortive proposal to refer the bill to a Joint Committee of both houses. Before this Assembly was dissolved, Ambedkar introduced it again on 21 Feb. 1946, with no further development. Finally, in the next assembly, when Jagjivan Ram was Labour member, the bill was reintroduced, referred to a Select Committee, which gave its report on 26 Feb. 1947. It was finally passed on 29 Nov. 1947 – Ed.
2. V.B. Karnik, *Indian Trade Unions: A Survey*. (Bombay, 2nd revised ed. 1966) pp. 130-1

Other Documents Relevant for this Chapter:

1. Docs 63 and 104 in Chapter V.
2. Docs 12 and 24 in Chapter VI.

1. Office of Controller of Printing & Stationery, Govt of India to the Secretary Dept. of Labour, Simla

Govt. of India – Labour Dept. File No. A386

[NAI]

Office of the Controller of Printing and Stationery, India
Government of India

No. 42/46/42-A& F

Dated Simla, the 29th Aug. 1942

To
The Secretary to the Government of India
Department of Labour
Simla

Sub: Recognition of the Government of India Press Workers' Union, Aligarh

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith in original an application¹ dated the 12th January 1942, on the above subject, from the Honorary Secretary, Government of India press Workers' Union. Aligarh.

2. The Union consists of a distinct class of Government employees and has been registered under the Indian Trade Union Act as required under rule 3 (iii) of the rules for the recognition of associations of industrial employees of the Government of India issued with the letter from the Department of Industries and Labour No. L. 1509, dated the 23rd February 1934.

3. The certificate of registration is sent herewith for perusal and return.

4. A copy of the Rules and Regulations² and list of office bearers of the Union as submitted by the secretary of the Union are also forwarded herewith.

5. The rules governing the recognition of association of Industrial employees of the Government of India appeared to have been complied with, and I do not see any objection to the grant of recognition to the Government of India Press Workers' Union, Aligarh.

Controller of Printing and Stationery,
India

**Certificate of the Registration of Trade Union
Act XVI of 1926**

No. 74 of 1941-1942

It is hereby certified that the Government of India Forms Press Workers' Union, Aligarh has been registered under the India Trade Unions Act, XVI of 1926, this *sixth* day of *November* One thousand nine hundred and *forty one*.

T.S Radley
C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Registrar of Trade Union for the
United Provinces, Cawnpore

1 Not printed.

2 Doc. 27

2: Supreme War Council's Circular (Gujarat, Bombay)

File No. 3/19/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Circular No. 7

dt 23-11-1942

1. Whereas the present Majur Mahajan leaders have not only disobeyed the final resolution of the Congress, but have issued an appeal which is incompatible with the accepted principles and policies of the organization and is wholly against the unequivocal instructions of the Congress and Mahatmaji, They have thus given not only death blow to the Congress struggle for freedom but have openly challenged the authority of the Congress and Mahatmaji.
2. Whereas, the Mill owners have played a secret and treacherous part in the struggle and have tried to strangle the Congress by breaking their promises given to the Sardar:
3. Whereas, they have carried a false propaganda in the name of the Congress leaders and as there is further likelihood of more dangerous activities on the part of members and businessmen of other organisations who have joined the Congress:
4. And whereas, it is reliably learnt by us that the so called Majur Mahajan leaders have accepted substantial bribes and have further arranged in co-operation with Government to recruit more sepoys and mechanics in the army

I, Mahendra Pal Varma, the Commander-in-Chief of Gujarat, appointed by the Supreme War Council, under the authority conferred on me hereby declare by this circular No. 7, that:

1. The organisation known as the 'Admedabad Majur Mahajan' has become illegal with effect from today, and all its activities being anti-national have also become unlawful. Therefore, all its subscribers and all those who obey its representatives, appeals, orders, will be considered as abettors of the unlawful Association and will be liable for a punishment of 10 stripes or a fine of Rs 50 under Section 144(2) of the Independent Criminal Code.
2. All the workers and representatives who will hereafter continue as such in the said Majur Mahajan will be considered as members of the unlawful association and will be liable to be punished with 20 stripes or a fine of Rs 500 or two months imprisonment under S.144(11) of the said code.
3. All responsible officers of the said Association as well as the millowners are guilty of treason under S. 124(1) and as such they are declared as outlaws. They and their association are liable to be punished with death and the confiscation of their property.

Our 'Sainiks' as well as members of the public will have the power to carry out the sentences inflicted on them.

Council Hall,
Bombay
23/11/42

Signed Mahendra Pal Varma
By Order
Signed Swami Ramprakash, president,
Supreme War Council

3. Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of April 1943

File No. 2/6/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Inprogress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
Jan. 1942	78	50	86,744	5,57,102	18	14	27	–	19
Dec. 1942	65	46	86,220	2,71,755	10	16	27	1	11
Jan. 1943	103	51	1,00,271*	4,41,813*	14	45	37	–	7

* Do not include figures in respect of seven strikes in Bengal and one strike each in Madras and UP. These details are still awaited.

As compared with the previous month there was a considerable increase in the number of strikes, and in the number of workers involved and days lost.

Out of 103 strikes, 51 were in February and 35 in Bengal as against 12 and 10 respectively in the previous month.

About 63 per cent of the strikes in Bengal and about 41 per cent of those in Bombay related to wages and increases in dearness allowance. The question of food supplies also agitated workers in the Bombay Province to a large extent.

The strikes in Punjab numbering 5, involved 2,801 workers and 33,036 days were lost whereas the strikes in C.P. numbering 7 and involving 12,006 workers resulted the loss of 27,406 days'

Important Disputes

Majority of important disputes were on the question of grain supplies.

The workers of the Model Mills, Nagpur struck twice during this month; at first on 12th and then between 21st and 26th Jan. The first dispute involved 3,820 workers of both the Day and Night shifts, and started as a protest against the management's refusal to pay the regularity bonus monthly instead of annually. The second dispute involved 3,725 workers of the 'shifts', and began under the mistaken belief that certain payments made to the spinners of the Empress Mills represented an increase in wages. Both the disputes were unsuccessful and 22,445 'days' were lost.

A strike in the *Lyallpur Cotton Mills, Lyallpur* which continue from the previous month and involved 2,100 workers ended in a compromise on 14th Jan. The workers demanded increase in dearness allowance, quarterly bonus, annual special bonus, lowering the standards of efficiency and improvement in the quality of the raw material. They secured dearness allowance varying with cost of living index Nos. and the revision of the standard of efficiency in the mill. 31,958 'days' were lost in all.

There was an unsuccessful strike in the *Union South Jute Mill, 24 Parganas* between 4th and 11th Jan. on demands for sick leave, casual leave with pay, sufficient food supply etc. 3,400 workers were involved directly and 3300 indirectly. About 22,000 'days' were lost.

Another unsuccessful strike occurred in the *Birla Jute Mills, Budge - Budge* wherein 1,8000 of the Weaving Deptt. were directly involved and the remaining 4,200 indirectly. The strike period was from 18th January to 22nd January. Demands related to holiday on 18th January (Muharram), increment in wages, bonus etc. 24,000 'days' were lost.

The strike in the *Jessop and Company, Dum Dum* which continued from the last month, ended in compromise on 25th Jan. The demands were 25 per cent dearness allowance, two months pay as bonus etc. the Company granted in advance of 4 weeks basic pay to be recovered in 40 equal instalments and made arrangements to sell rice, atta, etc. at Govt. controlled price. 1047 workers were directly involved and 961 indirectly. The loss of 'days' amounted to about 40,000.

The strike in the *'New Sherrock Mill, Nadiad* which continued from the previous month had begun on the issue of the dismissal of a worker. Work was unconditionally resumed on 8th Jan. All the 2,931 workers were affected. More than 17,000 'days' were lost during this month in addition to more than 20,000 'days' already lost in the previous month.

The strike in the *Tata Mill, Bombay* which continued from the previous month and involved all the 5,625 workers ended unsuccessfully on 2nd Jan. nearly 20,000 'days' in all were lost.

The strike in the *Victoria Mill, Bombay* involving all the 3,225 workers, which also continued

from the previous month ended in compromise on 8th Jan. The workers were informed that the Mill Owners' Association were arranging to supply them 8 payleys of grain during the month.

All the 5,000 workers of the *Ordnance Depot, Sewree** were on strike from 14th to 16th Jan. In protest against the proposed introduction of the monthly fixed wages system and demand for increase in dearness allowance from Rs 10/8/ to Rs 19/8 p.m. The authorities promised the workers to consider the demand reg. dearness allowance.

All the 3,500 workers of the *Digvijay Mill, Bombay** struck for a week commencing on 13th January on the question of grain supplies. The strike was successful as the workers were promised an increment in the supply of grain by 2 paylees, but 21,000 'days' were lost in the dispute.

A successful strike occurred in the *Burma Shell Oil Storage & Distributing Co., of India, Ltd. Bombay** between 16th and 19th January. All the 2,000 workers were involved. The management agreed to increase the quota of grain supplied to the workers.

All the 3,000 workers of the *B.B. & C.I. Rly workshops at Lower Parel and Mahalaxmi the Control yard at Bombay Central etc.** were on strike between 22nd 28th January on demand for increase in dearness allowance and an adequate supply of grain. The strike was unsuccessful and more than 10,000 days were lost.

All the 3,361 workers of the *Mayor Saloon Mill, Bombay** struck on 25th Jan. demanding adequate supplies of grain. The dispute ended successfully on 28th January as the management agreed to supply 9 paylees of grain.

In Bombay 64 mills worked night shift with 82,034 workers and in Ahmedabad 65 with 45,406 workers in the beginning of this month.

* Factories engaged on war work

4: M.N. Roy to the Secretary, Department of Labour

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. W/251/43
[Bengal State Archives]

Indian Federation Of Labour
(Head Office: Ratilal Mansions, Park Street, Bombay-4)

Dehradun, January 9, 1943
Roshanbagh Mohini Road

Secretary
Department of Labour
Government of Bengal
Calcutta

Sir,

You may know that Mr Manek Homi, President of the Labour Federation, Jamshedpur, is not allowed to enter the Asansol Subdivision¹. The ban was imposed several years ago, and

at that time it might have been necessary. But since then the situation has changed. Mr Homi being a Vice-President of the Indian Federation of Labour, and all Unions controlled by him being affiliated to the Federation, I am in a position to state that all his activities at present are strictly according to the policy of the Indian Federation of Labour, which has been recognized by the Government of India, and is working in close cooperation with it. To discharge certain responsibilities which the Indian Federation of Labour has undertaken, according to a resolution of the Government of India, it requires Mr Homi's services in the Asansol Subdivision as well as in other places. The services are required for propagandist and organisational purposes. Therefore, I trust that the ban on Mr Homi will be lifted. Some time ago, I approached the District Magistrate of Burdwan with the request. His reply was rather surprising. He wrote that, having consulted the employees, he had come to the conclusion that any propaganda among labour would create discontent. Evidently, he was ill-informed about the kind of propaganda carried on by the Indian Federation of Labour, or he was misled by the employers who evidently do not want the growth of trade-unionism among the workers employed by them. It may be mentioned that, to encourage and help the growth of trade unionism is the declared policy of the Indian Federation of Labour and the Government of India is of the opinion that the Indian Federation of Labour has undertaken the task of organising trade unions which will obviate a lot of discord and dispute in industries. Therefore, it is to be desired that there should be no obstruction to our activities in any province, and you will realise the necessity of having the ban on Mr Homi lifted.

Yours sincerely,

Signed M.N. Roy

1 See also F. 12 below

5. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Baroda and Gujarat States for the period ending 15th January 1943

Baroda & Gujarat State Agency File No. 6(10)P(S)/43

[NAI - Acc. No. 361]

Baroda

Labour Unrest

All the mills and factories in the State are reported to be working with full complements. The workers in the mills in Baroda have made a joint demand for the grant of a bonus on the lines of the bonus granted to workers in Ahmedabad. Negotiations are believed to be in progress between the mill owners and the workers union.



6: Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy (extracts)

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

25/1/43

Dear Linlithgow,

12. I have seen somewhat disquieting reports on the activities of the newly appointed Government of India Labour Adviser, whose main objective would appear to be the all-round increase of dearness allowances at a time when we are seeking to avoid them, and the consequent risk of inflation, by subsidising the supply of cheap food throughout the industrial area. The greatly increased dearness allowances given to railway employees, the announcement of further increase to other employees of the Government of India, and the high rates obtainable in 'militarised' services, are leading to increased demands from all classes of labour and are producing serious repercussions among our police, jail and essential services. One cannot but feel misgivings when the government of India employs officers, such as Nimbkar,* who are by extraction (and indeed ex hypothesi) of the genus 'agitator', and who encourage demands for higher allowances, when Raisman is trying to prevent inflation, when production and law and order have to be maintained and when the additional burden of increased allowances is already accentuating our considerable existing financial difficulties.

John Herbert

7: Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of February 1943

File No. 12/6/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Inprogress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
Feb. 1942	68	32	1,06,747	7,19,687	6	20	32	–	10
Feb. 1943	103	51	1,00,271	4,41,813	14	45	37	–	7
Feb. 1943	60	35	46,520*	1,91,410*	7	20	24	1	8

* Do not include figures in respect of seven strikes in Bengal and one strike each in Madras and UP. These details are still awaited.)

As compared with the previous month there was an appreciable fall in the number of strikes, and in the number of 'workers involved' and 'days lost'

Out of 60 strikes, 32 were in Bombay and 18 in Bengal as against 51 and 35 respectively in the previous month.

About 72 per cent of the strikes in Bombay and about 44.5 per cent of those in Bengal related to wages and increase in dearness allowances.

The strikes in C.P. & Berar numbering 4, involved 18,028 workers and 46,263 'days' were lost whereas the strikes in Bombay numbering 32 involved only 17,387 workers and resulted in the loss of 1,13,760 days. The strikes in Bengal involved only about 10,000 men and resulted in the loss of more than 30,000 days.

Important Disputes

All the 3,677 workers of the Standard Mill, Bombay struck on 1st Feb. demanding reinstatement of a discharged worker. The strike, which was illegal, ended unsuccessfully on 19th Feb. About 59,000 days were lost.

All the 5,000 workers of the G.I.P. Railway Workshop at Matunga* were on strike for two days from the 10th Feb. demanding immediate grant of increase in dearness allowance and an adequate supply of grant. Work was resumed when the strikers were informed that their demands had been forwarded to the Rly Board.

Other Important Items

In Bombay 63 mills worked night shift with 82,520 workers and in Ahmedabad 66 with 46,798 workers on the beginning of the month.

On account of Mr Gandhi's fast,

- (a) in Bengal, 4 Jute presses and 1 steel rolling mill in Ghushary. Howrah were closed down for one day on 23/2/43;
- (b) in Bombay, 4 mills were closed on 22nd, 6 on 23rd, 13 on 24th and 3 on 25th Feb;
- (c) in Ahmedabad, the mills and markets were closed on 11th and 12th Feb. On Feb. 20th 50 mills out of 68 had to stop night shift after the recess, on 21st Feb. only 3 mills worked normally.
- (d) most of the workers of the Gopal Mill, Broach and the New Shorrock Mill, Nadiad, absented themselves from work on 22/2/43.

The managing agents of the Bombay Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., and the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Bombay closed the workshop on 25th Feb. except for essential work in response to the general desire to offer prayers for Mr Gandhi's recovery. The dry docks were unaffected.

The cost of living index number for the month ending 15th Feb. having risen to 205, the Millowners' Association, Bombay further extended the sliding scale of dearness allowance, upto 213; the dearness allowance for 26 working days to be Rs 23/7/ at cost of living index number 204 and Rs 25/10 P.. at. 21.3

A resolution passed at a meeting of railway workers held on the 17th of this month, under the joint auspices of the G.I.P. Railway men's Union and the B.B. & C.I. Railway men's Union warned the Railway Board that persistence in the attitude as indicated in the Budget may lead to very serious situation widespread throughout the Railways in India.

* Factories engaged on war work.

8: Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat states for the period ending the 15th February 1943

Baroda & Gujarat State Agency File No. 6(10)P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

Labour Unrest

On the 1st February the Workers of the Sayaji mill works went on Strike owing to the refusal of the owners to deal with their claim for dearness allowance. On the 12th Sayaji and Jagdish mills were closed in connection with Mr Gandhi's fast. The mills of Kale also remained closed on the 12th for the same reason. Except for these incidents the mills have been working with full staff.

9: Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal

Linlithgow Collection
[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

*The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
March 2nd, 1943*

My dear Herbert,

[Omitted: Paras 1,2,3 – Fd.]

4. On the jute business a good deal has passed between us since your letter was written, and the position is clearer now. But I do not think, on the best advice available to me, that there is really justification for absorbing the demand for a curtailment of jute sowing in the coming season to a desire to break the jute manufacturing industry. This demand originated last October with the growers themselves when their position was at its lowest ebb and mofussil prices were not only low in themselves but exceptionally so in relation to the prices of food grains. Since then of course the raw jute position has improved surprisingly rapidly. But I do not think it would be an over-statement to suggest that the agriculturists and your Government have both received a shock which has left them apprehensive as to the future. On the advice given to me the 5 1/3 anna crop favoured by the Bengal Ministry was, on the information available at the time, likely to be adequate should war continue and the shipping situation remain difficult as it is almost certain to be. Should the war come to an early conclusion, say within the first half of 1944, the result of restrictions on sowings would to that extent undoubtedly be unfortunate for the jute industry. But your Ministry, as I see it, had to balance this possible future risk in the case of jute against the immediate necessities of the present in the matter of food. And I note from minutes of the conference held in Calcutta on the 2nd January to settle this question that Pinnel himself threw his influence definitely on the side of food production.

Incidentally I gather that this is the first year in which neither Raisman nor any representative of the Finance Department nor Gregory was asked to attend the discussions which took place on the question of jute acreage for the next season. Matters have of course now (compare paragraph 9 of your letter of 11th February¹) changed. The decision has been reviewed in the light of his Majesty's Government's revised estimate and of Raisman's undertaking that the Centre will give support in case of need on the same lines as last year, with the result that the limit has been raised to an 8-Anna crop.

I note what you say in paragraph 12 about Nimbkar, the Government of India, Labour Welfare Adviser². It was realised of course that this appointment involved a certain amount of risk, but it was considered that the risk was worth while in view of the paramount necessity of securing the goodwill and stability of labour in the present abnormal and trying conditions in the interests of the war effort. I feel I must point out that you are mistaken in your reference to a recent greatly increased dearness allowance given to railway employees. Though since the receipt of your letter, the matter has again been raised in view of an imminent threat of railway labour trouble and has, I understand, been recently under discussion between your government and the General Managers of Railways with Headquarters in Calcutta, there has in fact been no revision of railway dearness allowance since August 1942. The rates then adopted were admittedly more generous than those given to other employees of the Central Government and have not been without embarrassment to the provinces. They were however given after negotiations with the accredited representative of Railwaymen and represented the rock-bottom minimum on which agreement could be secured. This agreement was considered necessary by the Government of India and especially by the General Staff to avoid the tragedy of a breakdown in transportation arrangements of the country in war times. The increase which have recently been allowed to other employees of the Government of India were considered by Council when, in deciding the rates, the consideration of inflation and repercussions on the Provinces were particularly borne in mind. Council were of the opinion that the increase on the August rates now allowed was the minimum which could reasonably be given. These proposals were, I believe, prior to their being sanctioned, communicated by Staig to Walker, but I understand that your Government had already, without prior reference to the Government of India, raised its pay limits for the grant of dearness allowance to Rs 150 as against our proposed Rs 120 and your rates for Calcutta area to Rs 14 and Rs 8 inclusive against our proposed rates of Rs 10 and Rs 7 for comparable personnel. It may be that the hands of your Government were forced to some extent by your Labour Commissioner's award in connection with a dispute between the Calcutta Corporation and its employees, but the fact remains that in respect of dearness allowance your action tends to embarrass us rather than ours you! I realise that the concessions given to 'militarised' services and in the shape of bonus to certain P&T employees must be a cause of embarrassment to you, but here our decisions have been based on representations of very urgent military necessity.

[Omitted: Paras 6 to 10 — Ed.]

Yours sincerely,
Linlithgow

1 Not printed.

2 Doc. 6 above.

10: Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of March 1943

File No. 12/6/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Inprogress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
March 1942	67	29	77,591	6,84,583	11	14	30	–	12
Jan. 1943	103	51	1,00,271	4,41,813	14	45	37	–	7
Feb. 1943	60	35	46,520	1,91,410	7	20	24	1	8
March 1943	61	41	48,553	1,19,161	6	20	18	1	15

* Do not include figures in respect of seven strikes in Bengal and one strike each in Madras and UP. These details are still awaited.

As compared with the previous month there was an increase of one in the number of strikes but the number of 'workers involved' increased appreciably.

Out of 61 strikes, 31 were in Bombay, 22 in Bengal as against 32 and 18 in the previous month.

Approximately 83 per cent of strikes in Bombay and 54 per cent of those in Bengal related to increase in wages and dearness allowance and most of the other were due to demands for adequate supply of rice and cheap grain shops.

The strikes in Bombay numbering 31 involved 16,529 workers and resulted in the loss of 35,044 days.

Important Disputes

All the 9500 workers of the Hukumchand Jute Mill, 24 Parganas, struck on 8th March protesting against reduction in the quantity of rice supplied by the Company. The strike ended successfully on the 12th. 38,000 days were lost.

5000 workers of the Keshoram Cotton Mill, Matiabruz, struck on the morning of 8th March protesting against alleged inhuman punishment meted out to one worker of the Bobbin Dept.. The strike however ended the same day through the intervention of one of the representatives of the Mill Managing Agents.

In Bombay 64 Mills worked night shift with 84,564 workers in the beginning of March.



11: Extracts from the minutes of the Security Conference held on 8/9 March 1943

File No. 111/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Item 8: Are Security Authorities Satisfied with their Intelligence Resources on the field of Labour?

The conference was on the whole satisfied with present Intelligence resources in the field of Govt. of Bengal (Home) of labour other than among the labour under the control of the Military authorities. In the case of Ordinance factories and arsenals under military control dissatisfaction was general. It was again stressed that the present arrangements deprived the police of the facilities they require to obtain intelligence inside factories and arsenals and the deficiency was not made good by enquiries among the workers after they had dispersed to their homes as wide dispersal made the task almost impossible with the limited staff available. It was pointed out that no police intelligence was being obtained from any of the eleven military arsenals and factories in the Punjab and stressed that, while liaison was being maintained with the military authorities wherever possible, this was not in itself sufficient to overcome the difficulties.

The case was quoted of the recent fire at Ferozpur, in which eighteen million yards of cloth were burnt and the police were not informed of the occurrence until seventy-two hours later, to show that close collaboration was still lacking. Many cases were described as probably coming within the category of 'corruption sabotage'. The Conference considered that such cases came within the purview of the Special Staff employed by the Supply Department as much as other cases concerned with corruption by the passage of money. The Conference hoped that investigation centrally controlled might help to eliminate local obstruction centrally controlled might help to eliminate local obstruction which was sometimes real. At the same time, the view was expressed that benefit would result from decentralizing the actual work of investigation so far as is possible to local officers, who like Provincial C.I.Ds have an advantage of knowledge of local persons, conditions and affairs which is not shared by any Central body.

12: Case of Manek Homi

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. W/251/43

[Bengal State Archives]

Government of Bengal
Commissioner's Office, Burdwan Division
Memo No. 191 C

Dated Chinsurah, the 20th March, 1943

Copy (with enclosure) forwarded to the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal

Home (Defence) Department with reference to his Memo No. 1510.S. dated the 24th February 1943¹. the undersigned agrees with the District Magistrate.

Signed S.K. Haldar,
Commissioner

Enclosure

Confidential

Copy of letter No. 706-C, dated Burdwan, the 12th March, 1943, from Rai Bahadur J.P. Ray, M.A. District Magistrate, Burdwan Division, Camp – Burdwan.

With reference to the D.O. No. 151-D.S. dated the 24th February, 1943, from the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Home Department (copy enclosed), I have the honour to forward herewith copy of D.C.No. 581-C, dated the 8th March, 1943, from the Sub-divisional office, Asansol, and to say that the labour situation in the industrial areas of Asansol is quite satisfactory at the moment. Although the Indian Federation of Labour has declared itself pro-war and may undertake to work for a complete participation by labour in the war effort, past experience has shown that the members of this Federation are apt, when allowed to contact the labour, to stir up their feelings by emphasizing imaginary grievances and as a result situation is made definitely worse. There are at present no circumstances relating to the labour situation in Asansol which the presence of Mr Homi would specifically improve in the interests of war production. This is critical time no risk should be taken to disturb the present position, which is quite satisfactory, by allowing Mr Homi to contact the labour and make any propaganda among them. I, therefore, agree with the sub-divisional officer, Asansol, that the ban on Mr Homi should not be withdrawn at the moment.

Enclosure 2.

S.D.O's House, Asansol
Dated, Asansol, the 8th March, 1943

Dear Rai Bahadur,

With reference to your Memo No. 527-C dated the 26th February 1943, I note that in D.O. No. 151-D.S. dated the 24th February 1943, a copy of which had been forwarded to me with your Memo under reference, it is stated that 'if it were possible to specify with precision what improvement in detail was hoped for it would seem to be expedient to make the achievement of this a condition on which the presence of Mr Homi in Burnpur and Kultī areas would be allowed'. It is impossible to specify with precision such an improvement because it is inconceivable that the presence of Mr Homi would, in any way, improve the situation which is at the present moment satisfactory. In my view, Mr Homi should not be allowed to return unless the labour situation seriously deteriorated in which case it may be reconsidered whether the presence of Mr Homi would have an ameliorative effect.

The letter from Mr Porter says in that account 'the alternative condition would be a satisfactory assurance that the Indian Federation of Labour would support the Labour policy, and unreservedly comply with the direction, of this government, on receipt of which the ban on Mr Homi might be withdrawn'. This condition is not a satisfactory alternative as Mr Homi was not a faithful adherent of the Indian Federation of Labour but rather an unscrupulous individualist.

I therefore, conclude that the ban on Mr Homi should not be withdrawn at present.

Yours sincerely,

Signed G.P. Woodford.

Rai Bahadur J.P. Ray., M.A.,
District Magistrate
Burdwan

1 Not printed.

13: Official Notings on Sisir Roy's letter dated 18.3.1943 (24.3.1943-31.3.1943)

File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

There are three separate matters in this letter¹ from the Labour Party of India -

1. Achievements and treatment of the party
2. Paper
3. Soviet delegation

Before attempting a reply to any of them, We must have some information about the Party itself. I have never heard of it so far as I can remember. Its policy seems to be much the same as that of the CPI, tho, perhaps rather less anti-Govt. and more pro-Soviet. I have not however examined all its literature. If representatives are to see H.M. before the end of this month, an early reply will be necessary. Will U.S. please consult DIB and perhaps suggest and answer.

R. Tottenham
24-3-43

My recollection is that the Labour Party of India was connected with revolutionary groups in Bengal and Bihar, in which case Government would not wish to be associated with it in any way. Until we have further details from D.I.B. it would perhaps be best to send a mere acknowledgement and I put up a draft. After issue D.I.B. may see and advise.

Signed
S.J.L. Olver
25-3-43

Addl. Secretary - R. Tottenham

DIB

HD u/o No. 12/1/43 - Poll (I) dt 29-3-43

We sent yesterday a note on the Labour Party of India (alias the Bengal Labour Party or the Bolshevik Party of India),² together with brief history sheets of Nirmal Chandra Sen Gupta³

and Promode Ranjan Sen who are expected to constitute the deputation waiting on the Home Member.

The Labour party of India is hardly of any consequence outside Bengal and even within Bengal itself it consists only of a small group of middle-class youths of doubtful past history in most cases. They dabble in communism and social revolution and have recently drawn up for themselves a long winded constitution very similar to that of C.P.I.; about this constitution they are still squabbling but it is to their credit that they are inclined to drop sections relating to underground work. They have behaved well since they adopted a pro-war policy after Russia entered the war. The Bengal authorities have acknowledged that they have helped to steady labour in Calcutta, particularly after the Congress leaders were arrested; some of them have also been used by the Army Intelligence authorities on the Chittagong-Burma border.

We suggest that the Government of Bengal be invited to offer comments on their application, before an interview is granted. The order restricting the General Secretary Sisir Roy, to the province of Bengal (mentioned in para 10) can now safely be withdrawn.

G.C. Ryan
30-3-43

D.I.B. U.O. No. 14/Boll/43 dated 30th March, 1943

The papers mentioned in Mr Ryan's note (para 1) came a little while ago. Put up.

V.Sahay

Please see also the linked file

V.Sahay
30-3-43

I have amalgamated the two files.

H.M. should see —

- 1) The letter from Labour Party dated March 18th at the end of which the General Secretary said that two representatives were being sent to Delhi to see H.M. before the end of this month.
- 2) The note on the Labour Party of India sent by the Bengal Special Branch.⁴
- 3) The note above dated March 30th from D.I.B.

I do not know whether H.M. has heard any more about the interview. (We sent a formal acknowledgement to the letter on March 27th). If, however, anybody turns up to see H.M. I would suggest that there might be no harm in hearing what he has got to say. The matter will obviously have to be referred to Bengal, as suggested by D.I.B., before any final action can be taken. It seems to me that there might be advantages in a reconciliation between the Labour Party of India and the Communist Party of India and H.M., if he has an interview, might enquire about the prospects of this.

If nothing more is heard about the interview within the next few days, I think we should proceed to consult the Bengal Government.

Signed R.Tottenham
31-3-43

1 and 4. See Doc. 18

2. Doc.14 below

3. See Doc. 36 in Chapter II

14: Note on the Bolshevik party of India by the Bengal Special CID Branch (dt 24.3.1943)

File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Bolshevik Party of India is the successor to the Bengal Labour Party which was founded by N.D. Mazumdar with himself as Vice-President, in 1933 when shortly after his return from England he interested himself in organising labour in India. The Bengal Labour Party conducted propaganda among dock workers and jute-mill workers of Bengal and repeatedly made attempts to organise a general strike among them.

Till the end of 1937 the B.L.P. worked in close alliance with the Communist Party of India. In 1938 a proposal was made by the C.P.I. for its amalgamation with the Congress Socialist Party but the proposal did not materialise owing to the hostile attitude of N.D. Mazumdar. This, amongst various other causes, resulted in a split in the B.L.P., the C.P.I. members resigning from it and vice-versa.

In 1939 N.D. Mazumdar, the General Secretary, toured the Provinces of Delhi, U.P., Punjab, etc., to organise the B.L.P. on an All-India basis, with the proclaimed object of training the workers with a view to preparing them for an armed mass revolution.

In March 1940 the B.L.P. started functioning on a scale intended to cover the whole of India and under the new name of the BOLSHEVIK PARTY OF INDIA. Its chief aim was to disrupt the influence of the C.P.I. and had as its organ the 'Red Flag' which was declared an illegal publication.

Till the outbreak of the Russo-German war the policy of the B.L.P. was to impede the war effort and to fight for the national emancipation of India. They denounced the war waged by Britain as Imperialistic, and despite their anti-Fascist attitude decided to withhold any sort of cooperation with the British government. But on the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and Russia, the Party adopted a pro-war policy motivated by their desire to assist Russia relegating every other consideration to a secondary place. Members were urged to join the Army, the A.R.P., Civic Guards and fire fighting squads, to form guerilla bands to harass the Japanese if they invaded India, and to utilise the arms that might be left behind by retreating British forces. But Mazumdar did not approve of the policy as now enunciated by the Party in the light of the changed course of events. He held a two war theory -- the one waged by Britain on the Western Front was regarded by him as meant to further Britain's Imperialist designs without the least concern about rendering help to Russia: the other waged by Russia in the 'East' was considered by him as being a just war. He strongly criticised the Party for aiding British Imperialism under the pretence of assisting Russia, and maintained that assistance to Russia should be given direct without coming to any sort of co-operation with Britain. This diversity of views resulted in the expulsion of Mazumdar from the Party.

The B.P.I. continues to carry on a pro-war, anti-Japanese and anti-Fascist policy and stands for unreserved help to the British war effort and demands the release of all anti-Fascist prisoners. Like the C.P.I. it disapproves of the recent All India Congress Working Committee resolution to start a Civil Disobedience campaign as it meant an indirect invitation to a Fascist invasion of India, and also has no intention of antagonizing public opinion. The Party is co-operating

with the National War Front and is reported to be doing useful work in organizing propaganda squad in Chittagong and on the Burmese border in which connection its members have contacts with the Army, the R.A.F. personnel. The Party has issued instructions to its members to develop social and cultural relations between the troops and the people on the widest possible scale.

The B.P.I. originally started with a membership of 24 and in March 1942 it claimed to have increased to about 300 members with branches in Bengal, Bihar, Assam, U.P., Madras, N.W.F.P., and the C.P. with contacts in Bombay and Assam. At a later meeting held in July 1942, it was however, claimed that the strength of the Party in the various Provisions was distributed as follows: Bengal 190; U.P. 45; Assam 30; C. 15; Bihar 3. As far as our information goes the B.P.I. can only be said to have an active organization in Bengal. The U.P. organization started on the active footing but there has been no recent report to show that it is still functioning as a body.

The reins of the Party in Bengal are now held by Nirmal Sen Gupta, Promode Sen, Biswanath Dubey and Sisir Roy. With the expulsion of Mazumdar the Party has suffered a financial setback as he took away with him all the party funds.

During the latter half of 1942 prolonged but unsuccessful negotiations were carried on for unity with the C.P.I. Later it was proposed to liquidate the Party but this question was shelved for the time being.

During the last 2 1/2 months the activities of the B.P.I. have been confined to propaganda tours by its members in U.P (Cawnpore), Nagpur, Arakan and Assam to re-organise the Party, and to a discussion on the Draft Constitution of the Party which is under revision. There had been some dissension amongst the two groups (one led by Nirmal Sen Gupta, General Secretary, and Sri Narayan Jha and the other led by Promode Sen, Sisir Roy, Nandalal Bose, Manoranjan Roy and A.R. Khan) over the main question of the retention of an underground section of the Party but recently a compromise has been reached between them whereby the Party is hence forth to function as an open organization. It is proposed to send some of the Party's representatives to Delhi to seek an interview with H.M. to discuss the question of co-operation with Government on an all India basis and other matters pertaining to financial assistance, paper quota for the party's organs and publications, and withdrawal of restrictions on its members. The Party owes allegiance to the Communist International to whom it propose to keep in contact with the C.P.G.B. and the C.P., U.S.A., and to send a representative with the workers delegation (to be sent by the Labour Party of India) to Moscow. There was also a proposal to re-start the publication of its organs ('Peoples Front. 'English fortnightly, 'Awaz' Hindi weekly, and 'Pratirodh', Bengal weekly) from the 4th February 1943 but plan does not seem to have materialised in so far as relates to the first two organs.

The party claims to have formed worker unions in Dacca and enlisted 3 members and 20 supporters in N.W.F.P. towards the end of 1942 and to have achieved some progress in U.P. (Basti) Jamshedpur and Indore during the current year but it suffered some demoralisation in Assam as a result of Japanese bombing in December last. In Calcutta after the Japanese air raids the Party was one of the foremost Groups to stiffen public morale, condemn fifth column activity, panic, sabotage, evacuation and stopping of work by workers employed in various industries.



15: Excerpts from *Janayuddha* dated 31.3.1943

Govt. of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. SK/562/42
[Bengal State Archives]

The Cal-tramways company has reduced the supply of rice to the workers from 9 srs to 6 srs. The Labour Commissioners has been informed about this. The workers will have their demands fulfilled by their unity. They are arranging for a food conference with the Mazdurs of Calcutta.

16: Labour position on the South Indian Railway (extracts from Official Notings)

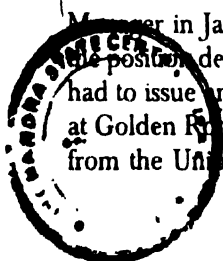
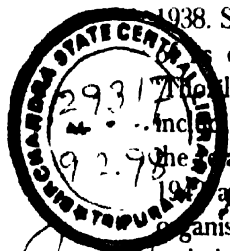
File No. 12/2/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

S54
6-976
P(1)

Railway Department (Railway Board).

The Railway Board are concerned regarding the labour position on the South Indian Railway. There are two recognized Unions on that Railway, namely, the SIR¹ Employees' Association and the SIR Labour Union. The former may be said to represent the better educated and more senior members of the staff, while the latter has up to the present represented the workshop staff at Golden Rock near Trichinopoly, though lately some of the interior Transportation staff have joined the organisation. The activities of the officials of this Union have for some years been open to criticism and the General Manager reports that these tendencies have become accentuated in recent months to such an extent that serious labour trouble is not impossible.

2. The SIR Labour Union was granted recognition by the General Manager in December 1938. Soon after its communistic leanings became more marked and the tone of the speeches of its officials and their correspondence more open to criticism, especially in its journal 'The Kilarasu'. This paper ceased publication in May 1940 on the arrest of six employees including one Kalyanasundaram under the Defence of India Rules, Section 39 (6). After this the relations with the Administration improved till these individuals were released in August 1940 as a result of the decision by the Government of India to lift the ban on communist organisations. The men were not taken back into railway service but continued their connection with the Union and the publication of the journal was eventually revived. The articles published continued to be objectionable including personal attacks on the General Manager. The General Manager in January 1943 stopped the quarterly meetings he was having with the Union and the position deteriorated to such an extent that on the 27th February 1943 the District Magistrate had to issue an order under Section 144, I.P.C. prohibiting mass meetings and demonstrations at Golden Rock. On the advice of the Magistrate, the General Manager then met a deputation from the Union on the 4th March 1943 without however effecting any improvement in their



relations and the Union continues to indulge in objectionable articles in its organ 'Thozilarasu', although Kalyanasundaram has again been arrested under Section 129 of the D. of I. Rules.

3. When the General Manager was in Delhi lately, he had a talk with Mr Nimbkar, Labour Welfare Adviser, (Labour Department), and the latter has now proceeded to Trichinopoly to see if he can effect any improvement in the position.

4. There seems little doubt that the Union is working under the guidance of communist elements in South India, in fact evidence is on record that the C.P.I. was taking an active interest in this body as far back as 1940. The Union is affiliated to the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and has, it is understood, caused embarrassment to that organisation by its extreme views.

5. A copy of this report is being sent to the Labour Department and the D.I.B.

M.D. Sheikh

1.4.43

Home Department

Railway Board U.O.I.No. D.E.4/ Confdl. Dated 1.4.43.

Copy to Labour Department and D.I.B. for information.

M.D. Sheikh

1.4.43

If Mr Nimbkar can't bring about an improvement, the only course would be to detain the organisers. We should I think get the views of D.I.B. and then the Madras Govt. We should however just make certain that the grievances are not genuine.

V. Sahay

2.4.43.

Addl. Secretary.

Please ask Labour Department and D.I.B. to let us see their Comments on the copies of the note sent to them. It is of course settled policy that there is to be no hesitation in arresting subversive agitators especially 'outsiders'.

R. Tottenham

2.4.43.

Report

Extract from the Madras Fortnightly Report for the 1st. half March 1943

Labour

On the whole there is little of interest to report under this head during the last fortnight.

War technicians in training at Cuddapah threatened to go on strike but nothing came of it. Similarly there was a threat among the tobacco workers in Dindigul which was settled amicably. At a meeting of the Cordite factory Labour Union in Aruvankadu the Union's legal adviser made some objectionable remarks about the local police. This is not the first time that this lawyer has come to notice but this particular incident does not seem to call for any drastic action. The South Indian Railway Labour Union, Trichinopoly, threatened to make a demonstration outside certain railway officers' bungalows on the 26th February. The demonstration

was prohibited by the District Magistrate under section 144 Cr. P.C., on which the labour union threatened to stage a strike the next morning; however the strike did not come off. Relations between the Union's executive and the Agent are strained because one of the agitators has recently abused the Agent and General Manager in an open meeting and in the Union's newspaper. The Union's executive has been advised to apologise to the Agent, but though the members have met the Agent, no satisfactory settlement has been reached

Extract from the Labour Department Endorsement No. 1878, Dated 9th April 1943

Trichinopoly

23. Three public meetings were held by the South Indian Railway Labour Union. The speakers criticised the action of the Agent and General Manager in having suspended quarterly meetings and emphasized the need for concerted action. They urged unconditional release of Mr Gandhi and the formation of a National Government. It was resolved to undertake a deputation of all 5000 workers to wait on the principal Railway Officers to represent their grievances in regard to grade, promotion, mark system, increase of wages, distribution of food stuffs etc. [A]

- A - was the subject of a reference to us from the Ry. Board & the papers have gone to Lab Deptt. Extract it for that file.

V. Sahay.
9.4.43.

Intelligence Bureau

The position, so far as we know from reports received from Madras, is as follows:

2. [Since 1938, the S.I. Railway Labour Union appears to have come under Communist influence]. In about August 1938, when it was reorganized by the 'leftists', its membership shot up from 900 to about 10,000. Mohan Kumaramangalam, the well-known Communist, addressed a few meetings of the Union on his return to this country from England in the beginning of 1940. He spoke in his usual anti-British and pro-Communist strain; his speeches were received enthusiastically by his audiences.

3. As a result of the arrest of the President of the Union (S.P. Pillai) under the Defence of India Rules in August 1941 and of the Vice-President and Secretary, the activities of the Union slackened for a time, but in the middle of June 1942, when the communists who had been imprisoned were released, the Union once again gradually came under their control.

[4 In February 1943, agitation for increased 'dearness' allowance and increased wages was carried on under the threat that strikes would be resorted to if the demands made were not met.]

5. In March 1943, a resolution was passed by the Union requesting Government to release Gandhi. At this time the workers were showing signs of restlessness and the District magistrate, Golden Rock found it necessary to promulgate orders under section 144 Cr.P.C. prohibiting meetings and demonstrations in that area. Towards the end of the month, however, on representations made to him by the Union, the District Magistrate expressed his willingness to relax his orders to the extent that he would permit meetings to be held but that there should be no demonstrations of any kind.

6. [It would be useful to invite the views of the Madras Government on Communist

penetration of the Union], and the measures necessary to curb the undesirable activities of the agitators.

Signed illegible

9.4.43.

Home Deptt.

D.I.B. u/o No. 28/Lab/38 dated 9 /April 1943.

We shall be glad to have the comments of the Lab Deptt on the Ry. Dept's note.

V. Sahay

9/4

Lab/Deptt.

H.D. u/o No. 12/2/43 – Poll (I) dt. 10.4.43.

I have added to the file Mr Nimbkar's report² I share his hope that his visit will improve relations.

It is interesting to note L.W.A's³ feeling that the Union is pro-war. I take it that his letter implies that he accepts their protestations to this effect.

I would leave things as they are at present.

L.A. should see before case go to Railway Dept. Home Dept. should see.

Signed H.C. Prior

16.4.43.

Railway Dept. (M.D. Sheikh).

Home Dept. (V. Sahay).

Dept. of Labour u/o.No. L.3005/276 Dt.16.4.43.

Railway Board/ U.C. R.No. 210 El/ dt. 19.4.43.

We have heard further from Mr Reynold's subsequent to Mr Nimbkar's visit. It is to be hoped that the Railway Department Model Rules for recognition of Unions will be made applicable and we are writing to the General Manager regarding matters of detail which he has raised in this connection. At the moment it would appear that Mr Nimbkar's visit has improved matters considerably for which we are grateful but it is too early yet to see if the improved relations will be maintained. While, therefore, we agree with Mr Prior that things should be left as they are at present, we still feel that precautionary action as indicated in para 6 of Intelligence Bureau's note 9.4.43 should be taken i.e. that the Madras Government should be invited to give their views on communist penetration of the Union and the measures necessary to curb the undesirable activities of agitators. The Labour Department should see before the file is returned to the Home Department.

Signed M.D. Sheikh

19.4.43.

Labour Department (Mr D.S. Joshi)

Ry. Dept. (Ry.Bd) U.O. 1. No. 210 EI dt. 20.4.43.

We have no objection to the course proposed provided we are satisfied that the fact that enquiries are being made will not come to the notice of the Union. There is however, a good

deal to be said for trust and avoiding a multiplicity of approaches and we hope that Ry. Bd confine their recommendations to the portion between square brackets. (of note dated 9-4-43)

H.C. Prior
20.4.43.

Railway Department agree to the suggestion made by the Labour Department and the file is returned to the Home Department for necessary action.

M.D. Sheikh
24.4.43.

Home Deptt.

Ry. Dept. (Ry.Bd) U.O. I.No. D.E. 12, dt. 24.4.43.

The position is that for the present subsequent to Mr Nimbkar's visit the relations between the Railway Administration and the S.I.R. Labour Union have improved. The Director of the Intelligence Bureau, in his note dated 9.4.43, suggested that the views of the Madras Government on the extent of communist penetration of the Union and the measures necessary to curb the undesirable activities of the agitators be obtained. Labour Deptt. are of the opinion that it would be desirable to leave things alone for the present and if an enquiry is to be made from the Madras Govt. it should be confined merely to elicit facts regarding the extent of communist penetration and care should be taken that the fact that enquiries are being made does not come to the notice of the Union. The Railway Department agree with this suggestion.

2. I put up a D.O. to Madras, but I really can't see what useful purposes it can serve. We know that there is a lot of communist influence in the Union, and what D.I.B. suggested was not, I think, so much the collection of information about communist infiltration as about the action to counter it which might be considered appropriate by Madras. If, as suggested by Mr Prior, we are not to ask for their views as to the action to be taken, there is little point in writing to Madras. I would leave this alone for the present.

V. Sahay.
29.4.43

-
- 1 South Indian Railway
 - 2 Not found in the file - Ed.
 - 3 Labour Welfare Officer

17: Labour situation in Ajmer-Merwara

File No. 12/4/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Copy of letter No. W.747/xxx (d) 20 (i) dated the 4th April 1943 from the Deputy Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Labour.

With reference to the correspondence ending with my letter No. W.644/xxx (d) 20 (i), dated the 27th March 1943, I have the honour to report that the workers of all the three Mills in

Beawar viz. Edward, Mahlaxmi and Krishna Mills have struck work. The circumstances leading to this strike are contained in the enclosed copy of a detailed report No. 2607, dated the 3rd April 1943 received from the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Beawar.

2. An order under section 144 Cr. P.C. has been promulgated in Beawar and copy of which is also enclosed. The situation is in hand so far.

3. Further developments will be reported from time to time.

Copy of Report No. 2607, dated the 3rd April 1943 from the Extra Assistant Commissioner, Merwara, Beawar.

I beg to report that on the 1st April, 1943 information was received from the President Textile Labour Union to the effect that Krishna Mill authorities had given notice to 6 men working in the Tarasal ki Pali terminating their services at 5.45 P.M. on the 31.3.43. He also stated that the notice was too short and that it was not explained to the remaining workers as to who would do the work of those to be removed. He therefore requested me to ask the Mill authorities not to remove men at short notice and also not to make sudden change in the work. Ten labourers of the Krishna Mill also appeared before me and stated that they had been thrown out of work. There upon I asked the Circle Inspector of Police Beawar to make enquiry and report. An intimation had also in the meantime been received from Krishna Mill authorities that the workers of the ten Ring Frame machines had stopped work.

2. The report of the Circle Inspector, Beawar, which was received at 6 pm is as below:

In obedience to your order I went to the Krishna Mills and interviewed the management and the labourers concerned. Up to this time yarn of coarse quality was being spun but since recently yarn of finer quality is in demand. While coarse yarn is being spun three men are required on one machine and only two are sufficient when fine yarn is being spun. During the past few months finer yarn was spun occasionally and as a matter of grace and in view of the fact that the demand of coarse yarn was expected shortly, the management did not remove the third man for the short period. Now it is not expected that coarse yarn will be in demands for a considerable time therefore the third man from each machine has been reverted to his original job. This reversion entails loss of about Rs 4 per head per month. The two permanent men now demand that the third man must not be removed even though fine yarn is being spun. I called each man and made enquiries. Most of them admit that the third man is not required for spinning finer yarn but in sympathy for the 3 men thus reverted they do not want to work. They also admit that the system as explained to above is prevalent in both the sister mills at Beawar. They refused to start the work.

The men of the night shift have also refused to work with two hands on each machine in sympathy with the 8 workers who were also to be reverted to the original posts.

3. I called also Mr Verma and showed him the report of the Circle Inspector and asked him to explain the labourers that they had not been removed from their job but they were reverted to their original job on a less pay of Rs 4. I also called Mr Rampal, Secretary and Mr Jaria the Supervisor of the Krishna Mills, who also alleged the same story as reported by the Circle Inspector. In the night shift the mill labourers again stopped work in the very Khata and it appeared that they would not work. The Circle Inspector Mr Mata Din and the C.I.D. Sub Inspector had intimated to me that there was danger that some more workers in the Krishna Mills would also go on strike next morning. These facts were brought to your notice on phone on the night of the 1st April 1943. It was ordered on phone at 1 a.m. on the 2nd April, 1943 by your good-self that 18 workers who had been on stay in strike in sympathy with the 6 workers alleged to have been removed, were to be arrested if they did not resume

the work after warning. Local Police force was collected from all the chowkies. Then I along with Circle Inspector Choudhri Mata Din and three Sub Inspectors went to the Krishna Mills. The 18 workers in question were found to be sleeping in their khata. They were made to get up and the machine on which the workers in question work was made to start by the man-in-charge of the machinery. I explained to them that I am Extra Assistant Commissioner (Chota Sahib) of the place and asked them to start work and also explained to them that their action was illegal and they were liable to be prosecuted. After watching for a few minutes, I found that they were not caring to resume work. I then asked the 18 workers individually to begin work but each refused to do so and at the same time said that he would like to go to jail rather than to work. Thereupon I passed order for their arrest at 3.30 a.m. on the 2nd April 1943. They were accordingly arrested and were sent to Ajmer in a lorry, which was previously arranged. On their arrest the labourers of the Krishna Mills left work and assembled in the open place near the office. They were asked to sit silently and they did so. As the night shift was to close at 4.30 a.m. and it was expected that all the labourers of the three mills would be coming out, extra police, which was received from Ajmer was posted to the mill area and Sardar Ishwar Singh and I returned to the Police Station. After the close of the nightshift the labourers of the three Mills passed in a procession from the mill area and moved on through Chang Gate and Bazar shouting slogans 'Inqilab Zandabad'. The mob reached the Police station and passed on shouting without doing any violence and on reaching Town Hall it dispersed. The position was phoned to your good-self in the morning.

In the morning of the 2nd April, 1943, information was received that the labourers of all the three mills had observed strike in sympathy with the arrested workers. I with S. Ishwar Singh and Choudhri Mata Din and also with Police force proceeded to mills to watch the attitude of the workers. Those workers who were sitting were asked to go and work, but they did not seem to pay any heed to this. Choudhri Mata Din and myself consulted the mill managers and found out the names of the ring leaders, who were required to be arrested. It was talked over between us that in the circumstances of the situation, it was not advisable to arrest them in the mills and that they should be arrested at their houses. Then I with S. Ishwar Singh and Circle Inspector returned to the Police station. The Superintendent of District Police on phone said to S. Ishwar Singh to talk with Mr Verma if he could get the matter set right. He was called in my retiring room and position was explained to him. He said that labourers themselves went on strike and wished that they would resume work if the persons arrested were released. We were just thinking to go to mills to make arrests of some more persons -- but by the time the interval period had come and the labourers were outside to take their meals. To arrest the alleged ring leaders at the juncture would have been difficult and would have been a further cause of excitement among the labourers. Immediately a telephone message was received from Ajmer that the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police were coming here with extra Police force and that no arrests be made. Mr Verma was called and he was advised to make efforts to get the strike off with a view to strengthen the case of the labour union with regard to its recognition -- but he replied that the labourers wanted the release of 18 labourers arrested last night -- admitting that the strike by the labourers of all the mills in sympathy with 18 arrested workers was illegal. However, his co-workers -- Secretary Babu Lal Assistant Secretary and Treasurer, who are the mill workers' were called and they were explained the advantage of having the strike off. They also showed their inability. They too were arrested at 5.30 p.m. Soon after this, the order under section 144 Cr.P.C. was promulgated. The day mill labourers formed a procession and came as far as Railway Police

out post. The Deputy Commissioner, Superintendent of Police and Deputy Commissioner of Police and myself with Police force were present there. The Deputy Commissioner delivered a lecture on microphone in which he explained to the labourers that their action was illegal. Action to redress their grievances would be taken if they resume their work and act in a lawful manner. I on microphone announced the promulgation of the order under section 144 Cr.P.C. There upon one Lal Singh among the labourers explained to them that since section 144 Cr.P.C. was applied they should disperse and they did so accordingly. On the night of the 2nd April 1943 arrest of 16 persons was made and they were sent in the lorry to Ajmer.

On the 3rd April, 1943, in the day shift, I, with Police officials and force went to the mills to watch situation and to make further arrests. Three persons were arrested at 3.30 p.m. On the whistle of the mills the workers entered their departments and they are sitting on their machine and are not doing any work.

So far none of the labourers has done any act of violence Their feelings are intense and it appears that they would continue the strike for a few days more at least.

Order Under Section 144 Cr. P.C.

Whereas I have reasons to believe that as a result of the strike of the labourers working in the Mahalaxmi the Edward and the Krishna Mills at Beawar, which is illegal under the law, there is every likelihood of a breach of the peace and an outbreak of lawlessness and violence in the town of Beawar unless prompt and adequate measures were taken to preserve the public peace;

I, Munshi Kedar Nath, Extra Assistant Commissioner and Sub Divisional Magistrate, Beawar do hereby order under section 144 Criminal Procedure Code;

- (1) that no meetings shall be held or processions taken out or any other form of demonstration organized.
- (2) that 5 or more persons shall not assemble in any public place within the limits of the Beawar Municipality and within 3 miles of the limits thereof except places of worship or amusement or places which are normally used for transacting lawful business.

This order shall not apply to meetings or processions of a purely religious or social character organized under licences duly issued by the Superintendent of District Police, Ajmer-Merwara, and subject to such conditions as he may think fit to impose.

Unless the period is extended this order shall remain in force for a period of 15 days from the date of making thereof. Given under my hand and the seal of this court this 2nd day of April 1943.

Signed Kedar Nath,
Extra Assistant-Commissioner, &
Sub Divisional Magistrate, Beawar.

Confidential.

Copy of letter No. W.778/xxx-d-20(i), dated the 9th April 1943 from the Deputy Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Labour.

Labour Situation at Beawar

In continuation of my letter No. W.757/xxx-(d) 20 (i), dated the 4th April 1943, I have the honour to report that the situation as regards labour strike at Beawar has not materially altered.

Since the submission of my previous reports vide enclosed copy of the secret memorandum No. M/318 dated the 7th April 1943 received from the Superintendent of District Police, Ajmer-Merwara.

2. As to paragraph 3 of the Superintendent of Police's letter referred to above steps have already been taken by me in consultation with the Agent, Imperial Bank of India and the Treasury Officer, Ajmer for supply of small change to the Employers of the Mills for disbursement of wages to the labourers on the 10th instant (pay day). Small change worth Rs 5000 is being released by the Sub-Treasury Officer, Beawar for this purpose and no trouble is anticipated on this account.

Copy of memorandum No. M/318, dated the 7th April, 1943, from the Superintendent of District Police, Ajmer-Merwara, to the Deputy Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara.

The Deputy Superintendent of Police, IV in his report No. L/B-3, dated April 6, 1943 reports no material change from Beawar.

2. He mentions that the labourers with the approval of K.L. Verma have decided that -/4/- per head should be subscribed for the Union on the pay day instead of -/2/- and that the extra sum realized should be donated to support the families of the strikers who have been arrested.

3. Pay day for mill workers falls on April 9th and 10th. To avoid possible trouble it is essential that arrangements should be made for adequate supplies of small coins. Presumably the labourers will not be paid for the days on which they have not worked? I suggest that this point needs to be clearly decided immediately.

4. Madho Rai, Assistant Manager of the Edward Mills reported to the Deputy Superintendent of Police as follows:

- (a) That the Mills have their own Railway siding in the Mill compound and some wagons full of coal and cotton bales arrived yesterday. When they were unloaded and the commodity was being stacked by the contractor's men some strikers objected to their doing the work and as a result the loaders went away.
- (b) That cloth valued at thousands of rupees was lying in the Folding Department and was being spoiled. He said that the management wished to close it down.
- (c) That the management could arrange to call in about 300 men to start work if the authorities and the police safeguarded against molestation by the strikers and their rationing was permitted.

The Deputy Superintendent of Police reports that he considers (a) and (b) exaggerations designed to prepare the ground for the declaration of a lock-out.

- (d) Is likely to lead to trouble.

5. Some female workers collected in front of the Maha Laxmi Mills possibly with the object to form a procession. When the Extra Assistant Commissioner and the Police arrived they immediately dispersed.

18: Govt. of India to the Secretary Govt. of Bengal enclosing copy of the letter of Sisir Roy

Govt. of Bengal (Home Def Branch) File No. W/267/43
[Bengal State Archives]

Confidential.

D.O.No. 12/1/43-Poll (I)

Government of India,
Home Department.
New Delhi, the 9th April, 1943.

My dear Porter,

I enclose a copy of a letter dated March 18th 1943 from the Labour Party of India and a letter dated March 25th 1943 from its General Secretary, Mr Sisir Roy. Mr Nirmal Sen Gupta saw the Hon'ble the Home Member on behalf of this Party and said that, although the Bengal Government had no prejudice against the Party and appreciated its work, local officers, and particularly the police, were taking vexatious action against its workers. The Home Member replied that, if the Bengal Government or its higher officers did not regard the Party with suspicion, they would surely protect its members against harassment and suggested that the Party should make contact with the officers of the Provincial Government and explain its difficulties.

In his letter of the 25th March, Mr Sisir Roy, requests that the order restricting him to residence within Bengal should be rescinded. We shall be glad to know whether, in your view, Party's performance has been such that it would be safe now to rescind the order.

Yours sincerely,

T. Tottenham

To
A.E. Porter, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Additional Secretary to the
Government of Bengal,
Home Department.
JCA
8/4/43.

Enclosure

Copy of a letter No nil, dated the 18th March 1943 from the Labour Party of India, Calcutta to the Home Member, Government of India.

I have been instructed by the Central Executive Committee of the Labour Party of India to send a deputation to place before you certain matters concerning our work as a Party.

2. The Labour Party of India declared itself pledged to support the war unconditionally

shortly after the outbreak of the Soviet-German War. This pledge we have fulfilled to the best of our abilities as we continue to do so now.

3. It was the Labour Party of India which first carried out the method of wide-spread propaganda through travelling squads. At later stage we carried on propaganda by squads in co operation with the National War Front.

4. Within a week of the first bombing raid on Chittagong (in May, 1942) our propaganda squads arrived and carried on Anti-Fascist propaganda right up to Cox Bazar and Ramu on the Burma border.

5. In August, 1942 at the invitation of the V Army we sent a squad of propagandists to build up a get-together movement in the No Man's Land in the Maungdaw district.

6. When the Congress sabotage movement broke out, we not only disassociated ourselves from it but carried on vigorous propaganda in opposition to it, particularly among the working class pointing to its harmful effects on the Anti-Fascist war effort. We also successfully prevented the outbreaks of strikes sympathetic to the sabotage movement.

7. During the bombing of Calcutta our party made its utmost effort to help the A.R.P., combat panic and keep the workers at work.

8. This is in brief a summary of the types of work we have done. The main centres of our work are in industrial Calcutta and the districts of Bengal, in Surma Valley in Assam, in Jamshedpur and some northern districts of Bihar, the eastern districts of U.P., in Nagpur and Indore.

9. We understand it to be the policy of the Government not to restrict or impede Parties or individuals engaged in supporting the war-effort. In practice however, we are considerably hampered in our activities.

10. The General Secretary of the Labour Party of India, Sisir Roy, was served with an order on the 9th August, 1940, issued by the Government of India requiring him not to leave the confines of the province of Bengal. The order remains in force today.

11. The President of the Labour Party of India, Abdur Rahman Khan, was served with an order by the Government of Bihar in April, 1940 whereby he was directed not to enter the province. The order is still in force.

12. Sreenarayan Jha, and Hafiz Jalaluddin, members of the Central Executive Committee of the Party were served with orders by the Bihar Government externing them from the Chotanagpur Division of the Province.

13. Suresh Dev, a member of the Central Executive committee of the Party was served with an order by the Assam Government whereby he was directed to stay at Charlemagne and the order still stands.

14. Satiswar Chatterjee, an important member of the Party is still being detained as a Security Prisoner in the Fategarh jail in U.P.

15. Rambali Panday, a permanent member of the U.P. Labour Party has been arrested by the Gorakhpur Police in U.P. for unknown reasons

16. Jagatram Sanyasi, a member of the central Executive committee of the Party from Shinkari in the Abbotabad district of the N.W. Frontier Province was arrested by the Police and he is being detained in Haripur Jail of the Province.

17. The absence of a policy towards anti-Fascist propaganda seems to be manifest. To mention only a few instances: We were prevented from holding a meeting to celebrate the American Independence Day in Titaghar, (Barrackpore, 24 Parganas), Soviet Day at Hajinagar (Barrackpore, 24 Parganas), Red Army Day at Nagpur, Sunamgunge (Assam) and at Dacca

(Bengal), where the street demonstration in observance of the Red Army Day was not allowed etc.

18. Local police officials seem to bear a special grudge against our Party in Barrackpore subdivision of 24-Parganas district in Bengal. Mr Sett, a prominent member of the Party, residing within the jurisdiction of Jagatdal Police Station in Barrackpore has been implicated in an obviously false case. That the case is false is known to some higher police authorities but they seem to be powerless to intervene. Shyamdhari, another member of the Party was falsely implicated in a charge to foment strikes. Shyamdhari is an old and loyal member of the Party and himself took initiative in preventing a number of strikes. These are not isolated cases.

19. A large number of our Party members are prevented from operating in their normal place of work such as Sukumar Bose of Dum Dum (24-Parganas, Keramat Ali of Kidderpore (Calcutta) etc.

20. We have not mentioned these instances in order to seek remedy in matters which are of local importance. These instances show a definite neglect on the part of provincial and local authorities to carry out the policy of not hindering anti-Fascist war effort. Our Party feels this absence of vigilance in seeing that a policy is carried out in practice all the more actually, because we have shown by our action a sincere desire to help the war-effort. We are of the opinion that these individual breaches of policy cannot be remedied by piecemeal methods but only by a central vigilance.

Paper

We are severely restricted in our propaganda work by the actual shortage of Paper. The Paper Mills have assured us that they can supply us with paper if permission to do so is afforded by the Government.

We turn out a daily paper in Bengali (at present converted to a weekly because of shortage of Paper), an English Weekly (now converted to a fortnightly), and Hindi weekly. The decision of our Party to bring out Urdu and Oriya periodicals for Muslim and Oriya workers has not been carried out for shortage of paper supply. Our demand is 40 reams of double-crown paper every month.

Soviet Delegation

In a general meeting, the Labour Party has resolved to send a delegation of workers and peasants to the Soviet Union to express their goodwill for a common victory.

We do not want to go by plane such as the Friends of the Soviet Union Delegation wanted. We shall be quite content to proceed overland if passport facilities are granted.

Two of our representatives will be seeing you at Delhi about the end of this month.

I shall be very grateful if you will grant them an interview to discuss these questions.

P.S. News has just reached us that Sadhu Mohandasji, a close sympathiser of our Party in the Saran District of Bihar has been arrested by the Police on a charge of holding unlicensed meetings when he was actively engaged in anti-Fascist propaganda in support of war efforts.

Enclosure. 2

Copy of a letter No. nil, dated the 25th March 1943, from Labour Party of India, Mr Sisir Roy, Genl Secy., Calcutta to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home department.

In August, 1940, when I was being detained as Security Prisoner in the Benares District Jail, I was served with an order issued by your Department directing me to reside within the province

of Bengal and not to enter any other Province. The order in question was issued by the Home Department sometimes in May, June or July, 1940. A true copy of the Order which was handed over to me at the time of the service of the order was lost in course of my long incarceration.

After the service of this order I was escorted by the U.P. Police to Bengal where again I was detained as a Security Prisoner until the month of June, 1942, when I along with few other comrades were unconditionally released from prison as we, from behind the prison-bars and our Party from outside declared our policy of unconditional support to the war-efforts of the Government in opposition to the Fascist Powers.

When the Congress Sabotage movement raised its head our Party unhesitatingly opposed and counteracted it by all possible means.

While I was in prison I was elected as the General Secretary of the Party in its last Conference. As the General Secretary of a Party which is pledged to render unconditional support to the war-efforts and to oppose tooth and nail the Congress sabotage movement, I am increasingly finding it necessary to tour the different provinces where our Party has its organisations in order to check the activities of our Committees and to enthuse the comrades to carry on their anti-fascist activities with unending zeal and devotion.

Under the circumstances I would most fervently request you to withdraw the aforesaid restriction order on me and thereby help me to carry on my anti-Fascist activities without any hindrance.

Hoping to be favoured with prompt steps in the matter.

19: Review of an article in *Janayuddha*

Govt. of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. 562/42
[Bengal State Archives]

Under the heading 'provincial volunteer Camp' it said that the Provincial Volunteer Training Camp was opened in Calcutta from 24th March to 1st April. The trainees from Calcutta, Dacca, Faridpur, Mymensingh, Pabna, Rajshahi and Barisal assembled here. They were trained in different subjects by Kamal Bose and Amar De. Before this the volunteer trainee of Provincial Committee gave training in Rangpur, Jalpaiguri, Dinajpore, and Srihatta. The branch training camps are opened in Khulna, Comilla, and Calcutta, in which the comrades of Barisal, Jessore, Khulna, Comilla, Noakhali, Burdwan and Calcutta were trained. Out of 90 officers 60 were declared fit. They were specially trained as how to keep discipline in meetings and processions, to stop looting, to make the villages self dependent, and how to circulate the party policies amongst the public in the midst of this work and how to protect the country by uniting them.

The death of Comrade Sudhir Poddar was announced. He died on 2nd March as a result of motor accident on Narayanganj-Dacca Road.

Under the heading 'Khadyer Dabite majurerā' it said that it was decided at a meeting of the Calcutta corporation to grant coupons to the workers to the value of Rs 6 instead of Rs 8 in the month & 15 sers of rice etc. So a joint petition would be filed demanding cheap grain shop in their bustees and increase of dearness allowance & pay.

1. A Bengali phrase meaning 'The labourers demand food'.

20: Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of April 1943

File No. 2/6/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Inprogress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
April 1942	56	25	71,914	4,41,813	6	15	26	–	9
Jan. 1943	103	51	1,00,271	4,41,813	14	45	37	–	7
Feb. 1943	60	35	46,520	1,19,410	7	20	24	1	8
March 1943	61	41	48,553	1,19,161	6	20	18	1	15
April 1943	93	74	17,180	80,781	8	41	28	5	16

* Do not include figures in respect of 6 strikes in Bengal and one strike in Madras and Bombay each.

As compared with the previous month there is a considerable increase in the number of strikes but the number of 'workers involved' is comparatively very low. Consequently the number of days lost 'is also very small as compared with the figures for the previous months.

Out of 98 strikes, 69 were in Bombay 23 in Bengal as against 31 and 22 respectively in the previous month.

Approximately 80 per cent of strikes in Bombay and 65 per cent of those in Bengal related to increase in wages and dearness allowances while the majority of the rest were due to demands for adequate supply of food stuffs.

The strikes in Bengal involved 8,655 workers and 16,723 days were lost, while the strikes in Bombay involved 7,861 workers and 59,891 days were lost.

Important Disputes

2169 workers out of 3890 workers of the Indian Manufacturing Co. Bombay struck work on the 27th March 1943 protesting against the discontinuance of the system of changeover of shifts. the strike ended unsuccessfully on the 8th April, 1943. 13,014 days were lost.

During the month there was a large number of strikes in textile mills at Surat, the demand generally being for grant of increased dearness allowance and bonus. Almost all the factories resumed work on 26-4-1943 on the appointment of a Conciliation Committee.

4,000 workers of the Clive Jute mill, Matiabruzz, struck work on the 27-4-1943 protesting against the large number of warning cards issued to workers for short production. The strike continued.

In the beginning of April, 63 factories with 81,084 workers were working night shift in Bombay and 67 factories with 47,744 workers in Ahmedabad.

The strike in the French Motor Car Co., Calcutta has again been referred for adjudication under the Defence of India Rules to the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation, Bengal.

The Bombay working class cost of living index number for April 1943 was 225. The index number exceed the limit of 213 upto which the Bombay Mill Owners' Association had extended the scale of dearness allowance in March 1943. To cover the further rise the Association has announced a continuance of the sliding scale of dearness allowance which now works at Rs 28-7-0 for 26 working days.

21. Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of May 1943

File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>In progress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
May 1942	51	30	47,778	1,86,329	12	10	18	-	11
January 1943	103	51	1,00,271	4,41,813	14	45	37	-	7
Feb. 1943	60	35	46,520	1,91,410	7	20	24	1	8
March 1943	61	41	48,553	1,19,161	6	20	18	1	15
April 1943	93	74	17,180	80,781	8	41	28	5	16
May 1943 ¹	84	65	20,575 ²	97,953 ³	3	7	18	6	50

¹ Including strikes in 40 textile factories in Surat which began on the 12th May 1943.

² Does not include figures in respect of 2 strikes each in Bengal and UP.

³ Does not include figures in respect of 44 (including 40 strikes in textile factories in Surat), and 24, strike in Bombay.

22. Indrajit Gupta's report (intercepted copy in police files)

Govt. of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. SR/506/43
[Bengal State Archives]

Bengal Jute Workers Mobilise to Demand Enquiry Committee. 35,000 SIGN up in two weeks and pledge increased production for Nation's Defence.

Over 3 lakhs of workers are employed in 85 Jute mills situated along both banks of the river Hooghly and stretching for some 60 miles through the Dist of Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and 24 Paraganas. They constitute the major and decisive labour in force in Bengal and are engaged in turning out huge quantities of military and civil necessities vital to the country's defence and people's needs. Sand bags by millions to protect trenches at the front and homes in the rear, gunny bags to hold the rice and wheat for which our people are starting crores of Rupees worth of business for the war industries of the United state's and even the U.S.S.R., thousand of yards of cloth for bandages and camouflagage meeting, tents for the army these represent a part of the contribution the Jute workers are making to the cause of victory and 'Fascism'. (sic)

But the Jute Millowners Association, bastion of Bengal's bureaucracy, is interested only in its profits even at the expense of production. According to figures published in the 'Capital' of April 1943, 29 mills belonging to four of the leading and best organized groups made, during the last year. net profits amounting to Rs 200, 915,384. Working hours pushed up and down — arbitrarily standing at 54 per week one month and 36 the next — the sole determining factor being the incidence of fat contracts placed by either the Indian or foreign Govts. Recently 10 per cent of all operatives' looms have been sealed, thus throwing about 25,000 workers out of employment. The workers themselves are kept in miserable conditions. In the fourth year of the war when the cost of living index stands at nearly 300 they are getting only Rs 5 P.M. as D.A. — figure which is without parallel in any other major Indian industry. They have received no increment or cash bonus. Cheap rations are supplied to them from the employers grain shops, but they get no more than 6 seers of both rice and ata combined per head per week, and in most cases only 5 or 5 ½ seers.

The policy of the Jute Millowners result in the deliberate restriction of output. It keeps the workers in a state of semi-starvation which produces fatigue, physical deterioration, and absenteeism. It reduces efficiency to a low par. It is a standing obstacle to the development and expansion of planned production, which is required to meet the needs of the country's defence and to relieve a part of people's suffering.

It is against this policy that the jute workers are now coming forward in a mighty mass mobilisation. Their slogan are 'More production for our people' increase production for the country's defence, adequate Dearness Allowance and cheap food for maximum efficiency appoint an Enquiry committee to investigate our condition. The central focal point of this campaign is the collection of 2 lakhs of signature on a Memorandum to be presented to the Bengal Govt., pledging the Jute workers determination to produce more and more in the national interest, exposing how the owners' profiteering policy is impairing and curtailing output and recommendation regarding a uniform scheme of adequate Dearness Allowance and cheap Rations.

The Jute workers of Bengal are conscious of the low level of their existing organisation. They have bitter memories, too, of the numerous so called 'Labour' leaders who, in the years gone by sabotaged their attempts to build up a strong and united movement. But their apathy and demoralisation are being swept away today by the realisation that without powerful mass organisation they are doomed to extinction and their beloved country to Fascist slavery. The memory of their own struggle, particularly that of 1937, inspire them. That is why they are determined, alongside their signature campaign, to build a great union of at least 50,000 members, which will be an irresistible lever for smashing all obstacles to increased production.

The campaign was launched on June 1st. It was begun in 22 centres by about 150 organisers and militants, who are rapidly gaining more and more militants to work with them through the campaign itself. Squads are working night and day, explaining the significance of the campaign to the workers, rousing their patriotism, collecting their signatures, enrolling union members selling copies of the memorandum, and of a specially written pamphlet entitled 'Jute workers path to victory'. Mass meetings are being held whenever permission is obtained. Bustees meetings are being held by hundred. Two new and welcome developments are the participation of women's squads in the campaign, especially among the women workers and the growing use being made of patriotic singing squads to enthuse and rouse the workers for defence and against Japs. For the first time, the magnificent art of Benoy Roy' is being placed at the service of the working class.

The workers are responding in a way not witnessed in the Jute belt for the last 6 years. Already in rather less than a fortnight, over 38,000 have signed up and only the physical difficulty of approaching more than a certain number per day has prevented this figure from being doubled, now confidence and enthusiasm have arisen. In some centres the rush to give signatures is so heavy that the organiser cannot cope with it and the signature forms get exhausted before all calculations. Here & there Labour Party — wallas tell the workers that the Communist signature campaign is only a stunt' to entice them into the Communist union, which workers normally have nothing to do with, but theirs is a voice crying in the wilderness. In one place the completely bankrupt Royists went about saying Bankim Mukherji was their's and would soon be coming down to address a mass meeting, but this tall story was soon blown sky high.

The workers refuse to be side-tracked from their path. In every big meeting held so far, practically the entire audience has signed up on the spot. Growing numbers of women workers are responding to the call. The infectious nature of the movement are to be seen from the example of Serampore, where half a dozen khaksars have of their own accord taken up the campaign, expressed their sincere admiration for its objectives, formed themselves into squad and are regularly going to the workers bustees for signatures. Already over 1000 new union members have been enrolled. There is a danger that membership may lag behind signature collection, thus weakening the organisational basis of the campaign. From now on, special attention and emphasis must be paid to the membership drive.

The reaction of the bosses has been mixed. In a Beliaghata mill, the owner is fooling the workers by getting sirdars themselves to make signatures on a false petition from inside the mill. In the India Mill, Serampore, the management has stuck up a notice to the effect, on the past, 'we have often granted to demands of the Communist Party. We are ready to grant some demands too. But a 4 lakh fund is needed to help the brave soldiers who are defending the country and the workers must contribute to this'. In Budge-Budge mill, on other hand, the foremen snatched the signature forms from the workers, took them away, then much to

their surprise returned them a little later, without comment. The campaign went on with doubled enthusiasm in other places, open threats of victimisation have been made and the workers are determined to let nothing daunt them from the successful conclusion of a movement upon whose outcome depends, they know, the defence of their Motherland and their own salvation as a class.

1. In the original transcript the price 'defeat of' seems to have been missed out. — Ed.

23. Secretary Govt. of India, Press Workers Union to the Secretary, Dept of Labour, Simla (Recognition of the Union)

Govt. of India Labour Dept. File No. A 386 (36) 43
[NAI]

To
The Secretary,
Department of Labour,
Simla (Through proper channel.)

Dt 16/6/43

Sir,

Most respectfully I beg to state that I am directed by the Managing Body to approach you for an early recognition of our Union which is duly registered.

The need for an early recognition is obviously very great in the present circumstances and it is hoped that your consent for the recognition of the Union will be accorded at a very early date for which act of your kindness

I shall be highly thankful.

Thanking you,

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Syed Hassan

Govt. of India Press Workers Union,
No. 3 Simla. Dated 6-6-43.

Secretary,
The Government of India Press Worker's Union,
4, Sparrin Cottage (L.F.)
Tutti Kandi, Simla.

Encls.

Two copies of the list of members.¹

Two copies of the Rules and Regulations².

1. Not printed.

2. Doc. 27 for government observation thereon.

24: Commissioner of Police, Calcutta to the Second Secretary, Govt. of Bengal

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. W/267/43
[Bengal State Archives]

Office of the Deputy Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch, 14, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta,

Dated the 29.6.43.

No. SP. 562.

From
C.E.S. Fairweather, Esq., C.I.E., I.P., J.P.,
Commissioner of Police,
Calcutta.

To
The 2nd Asst. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal,
Home Department.

Sir,

With reference to your memo. No. 6911 Def. dated 5-6-43,¹ I have the honour to inform you that Sisir Roy was informed on 17-6-43² at P/194/B, Raja Basanta Roy Road that the Government of India have withdrawn their order directing him to reside and remain in the Province of Bengal.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

J.B. Bhattacharji
For Commissioner of Police
Calcutta.

¹ and ². Not printed



25. Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of June

File No. 12/6/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Government of India Department of Labour

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Inprogress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
June 1942	41	25	21,727	1,53,587	7	9	16	–	9
Jan. 1943	103	51	1,00,271	4,41,813	14	45	37	–	7
Feb. 1943	60	35	46,520	1,91,410	7	20	24	1	8
Mar. 1943	61	41	48,553	1,19,161	6	20	18	1	15
April 1943	38	74	17,180	80,781	8	41	28	5	16
May 1943	84	65	20,575	97,953	3	7	18	6	50
June 1943	46	22	32,238*	1,12,531*	7	13	19	2	5

* Do not include figures in respect of 3 strikes in Bengal

As compared with the previous month there is a considerable decrease in the number of strikes but the number of workers involved and of working days lost has increased appreciably. Out of 46 strikes, 34 were in Bengal and 17 in Bombay, as against 15 and 58, respectively, the previous month. Approximately 50 per cent of strikes in Bengal and 41 per cent of these in Bombay related to increase in wages and dearness allowance, while the majority of the rest was due to demands for adequate supply of food-stuffs. The strikes in Bengal involved approximately 18,813 workers and approximately 67,512 working days were lost, while the strike in Bombay involved 6636 workers and 24,240 working days were lost. The only dispute of importance which occurred in the Khardah Jute Mill, Bengal, for 3 days from 18th to 22nd June, involved 7000 workers and a loss of 21,000 working days. In the beginning of June, 64 factories with 85,048 workers and 66 factories with 46,862 workers were working night shift in Bombay and Ahmedabad, respectively. During the month several Jute Mills in Bengal had to remain closed owing to coal shortage.

The strikes in Bengal involved approximately 18813 workers and approximately 67512 working days were lost, while the strikes in Bombay involved 6636 workers and 24,240 working days were lost.

The only dispute of importance which occurred in the Khardah Jute Mill, Bengal, for 3 days from 18th to 22nd June, involved 7000 workers and a loss of 21,000 working days.

In the beginning of June, 64 factories with 85,045 workers and 66 factories with 46,8562 workers were working night shift in Bombay and Ahmedabad, respectively.

During the month several Jute Mills in Bengal had to remain closed owing to coal shortage.

Dated Simla, the 28th July, 1948.

For Commissioner Of Police,
Calcutta.

26: Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat states for the fortnight ending 31 July 1943

Baroda and Gujarat States Agency – File No. 6(10)P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

Baroda City

Labour

The strike in the Petlad Match Factory still continues. The Sayaji Mills in Baroda were closed temporarily by the owners. The reason put forwards by mill authorities being that coal was unobtainable. The real reason is reported to be a dispute concerning the grant of dearness allowance. A dearness allowance at the rate of Rs 40 p.m. has now been granted to the workers and the mill has as a result been restarted. All other mills and factories in the State are reported to be working with full complements.

To
Sir Kenneth Fitze, K.C.T.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to H.E. the Crown Representative,
Political Department, New Delhi.

27: Rules for recognition of Association of Industrial Employees

Govt. of India Labour Dept. File No. A386 (36) 1943
[NAI]

26.7.1943

Please see rules for the recognition of associations of industrial employees (including Railway employees) of the Govt. of India. The conditions which should be complied with before recognition are set out in rule 3.

2. The Govt. of India Press workers' Union, Simla, consists of a distinct class of Government employees, viz. Industrial employees of the Press, all of whom under the rules of the Union

are, eligible to become its members. The Union has also been registered under the Trade Union Act. The conditions of Industrial employees have been fulfilled by the Union.

3. The rules of the Union generally follow the rules of the Aligarh Press Workers' Union (a recognised body) except rules 6A, 31-32. There does not appear to be anything objectionable in these rules. The rules also do not permit of the maintenance of political fund under rule 5 of the Recognition rules referred to above. In the circumstances, we may accord recognition to the Union. With reference to rules 4 & 6 of the Recognition Rules, it may be laid down that representations from the Union should be submitted through the Controller of Printing & Stationery who will also receive deputations. We may also lay down that all correspondence with the Controller should be transmitted through the Manager, Govt. of India Press, Simla. Copies of the annual accounts of the members should also be submitted to him by the Union. Also with reference to rule 2 we may restrict that no representation on a matter other than that of common interest to the Union will be received.

A draft is submitted for approval¹.

Official recognition to the Press Workers Union, Simla may be accorded subject to the Conditions mentioned above.

Ruplal
26.7.43

: Not printed

28: Government of Bengal to Govt. of India (Sisir Roy) — Followed by relevant Official Notes

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. W/267/43
[Bengal State Archives]

27/7/1943.

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

Please refer to your D.O. No. 12/1/43 — Poll (1) dated the 15.6.1943.¹ We have withdrawn all restrictive orders against Sisir Ranjan Roy and he was informed on. 17.6.43 of the cancellation of the order of the Central Govt.

Yours sincerely,
(Addl. Secy).

Government of Bengal — Official Notes on Sisir Roy

Dated: 9.4.1943.

Sisir Roy was externed from Calcutta and the Industrial area by Govt. order No. 1830 p dated the 21st March 1940. The order could not however be served on him.

He transferred his activities to the United Provinces, and on the representation of that Govt. he was externed to Bengal by the order of the Central Govt.

By the time the order of the Central Govt. was received he was in detention in Benares Jail under D.I.R. 129. He was subsequently transferred to Bengal under D.I.R. 129 (5).

He was made a security prisoner and the order of externment no 1830 dated the 21.3.1940 was accordingly cancelled.

-A- Sisir Roy was released from detention in pursuance of the policy of release of the members of the C.P.I.

We may perhaps inform the Govt. of India that the Govt. of Bengal have no objection to the cancellation of the order of the Central Govt. restricting him to Bengal.

Draft put up.² Before issue D.I.G., I.B. may perhaps see for any comments.

The jails Dept may be requested to confirm the statement at [-A-] prepage.

26/4/43.

The principle on which this Govt. agreed to S. Roy being externed to Bengal was enunciated in the note of D.I.G./I.B dated 31.8.1940. Prima facie Bengal can have no objection to the removal of the order of externment by Govt. of India, if Govt. of India consider such a course to be expedient: as Bengal will not be adversely affected. If 'A' prepage is correct, it can also be presumed that Bengal has not found anything wrong with him, Govt. of India has, however wanted to know if the party's performance has been such that it would be safe to rescind the order. On this, however we may consult - both D.I.G./IB and the Labour Commissioner.

Jails branch may first see 'A' page 2 and put up to Addl. Secy.

Signed
28/4/43

Please see the notes & order leading to the issue of Order No. 2199 N.F. of 9.9.40 detaining Sisir Ranjan Roy as a security prisoner. Subsequently on the basis of an interview note submitted by I.B. in February 1942 the question of release of this Communist & other security prisoners was considered. In this connection please see the notes & order leading to the issue of order No. 2482 H.I dated 6.6.42 sanctioning the release of this prisoner. As already suggested by the Home (Defence) Dept. the D.I.G., I.B. & Labour Commr. may kindly report on the party's performance at this juncture.

Signed
13/5/43.

We have no objection to the lifting of the restriction order on Sisir Roy, the party has not so far hindered the war effort.

Signed for DIG
18-5-43

As D.I.G., I.B. has no objection to the withdrawal of the order against Sisir Roy, perhaps Labour Commissioner need not be consulted, the draft already put up may be submitted for Addl. Secy's approval. Notes from page 1 may be seen.

Signed
19-5-43

Addl. Secy.

I have nothing to add what I had already stated in my notes on pages 2 & 3.

Addl. Secy.
19/5/43.

Home Department

-A- A draft to the Govt. of India is put up.¹ Before issue the file may be sent to C.P. Calcutta with the request that all restrictive orders against Sisir Ranjan Roy may be withdrawn. He may also be requested to confirm that Sisir Roy has been informed of the cancellation of all restrictive orders against him — both of local officers and of the Central Govt.

Addl. Secretary may see
21/6/43

-A- was not covered by the G.I. letter of 29th May⁴ or any of the previous Correspondence, but since it appears to be the intention of G.I. to give the gentleman full facilities for free movement so that the party's war effort may be accelerated, we may probably withdraw all restriction orders and C.P. may be asked as proposed above.

Addl. Secy
24-6-43

1, 2 and 3. Not printed.

4. Not printed.



29: Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of July 1943

File No. 12/6/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Inprogress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
July 1942	43	27	46,550	1,52,437	4	20	16	3	-
January 1943	103	51	1,00,271	4,41,813	14	45	37	-	7
February 1943	60	35	46,520	1,91,410	7	20	24	1	8
March 1943	61	41	48,553	1,19,161	6	20	18	1	15
April 1943	98	74	17,180	80,781	8	41	28	5	16
May 1943	84	65	20,575	97,953	3	7	18	6	50
June 1943	46	22	32,238	1,12,531	7	13	19	2	5
July 1943	40 ¹	26 ²	19,103 ³	73,068 ⁴	6	14	9	3	8

* Includes 4 strikes that began in June and were included in the statement for that month and continued into July

2 Do not include three disputes, 2 in UP and 1 in Bihar. The causes of these disputes have not been reported yet.

3 Do not include ten disputes - 5 in Bengal and 5 in UP.

4 Do not include twelve disputes - 6 in UP, 4 in Bengal and 2 in Bihar.

As compared with the previous month there was an appreciable decrease in the numbers of disputes though the same cannot be said about the numbers of work people involved and the days lost, as details regarding these are not yet to hand.

65 per cent of the strikes were due to demands for wages and dearness allowance.

Workers were successful or partially successful in about 63 per cent of the disputes that were decided during the month under review, and for which details of settlement are available.

The strikes in Bengal involved approximately 15,000 workpeople with a loss of about 55,000 working days, while the corresponding figures for Bombay were 2,000 and 17,000 roughly.

Particular mention may be made of the strike in 15 jute presses at Narayanganj, Bengal, involving 10,000 workers. This dispute alone accounted for a loss of 37,000 working days.

In the beginning of July 64 factories with 84,269 workers and 64 factories with 47,032 workers were working night shift in Bombay and Ahmedabad respectively.

Dated New Delhi, the 1st September, 1943.

30: Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of August 1943

File No. 12/6/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India Department of Labour

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Inprogress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
August 43	117	41	1,63,115	11,97,826	12	10	76	–	19
January 43	103	51	1,00,271	4,41,813	14	45	37	–	7
February 43	60	35	46,520	1,91,410	7	20	24	1	8
March 43	61	41	48,553	1,19,161	6	20	18	1	15
April 43	98	74	17,180	80,781	8	41	28	5	16
May 43	84	65	20,575	97,953	3	7	18	6	50
June 43	46	22	32,238	1,12,531	7	13	19	2	5
July 43	40	26	19,103	73,068	6	14	9	3	8
August 43	29 ¹	13 ²	11,886 ³	36,426 ⁴	5	4	5	12	3

1 Includes 3 disputes which began before August but were still in progress at the beginning of that month.

2 Does not include 2 disputes, 1 in Bengal and 1 in UP; causes of these were not reported.

3 Does not include 6 disputes which occurred in Bengal.

4 Does not include 9 disputes, 7 in Bengal and 2 in UP.

5 Includes also disputes which may have terminated actually but termination reports have not yet been received.

45 per cent of the disputes were due to demands for wages and dearness allowance, as compared with 65 per cent for the previous month.

Workers were successful or partially successful in about 35 per cent of the disputes that were decided during the month under review. The corresponding figure for the previous month was 63 per cent.

In the beginning of August 67 mill with 84,326 workers and 61 mills with 44,460 workers were working night shift in Bombay and Ahmedabad respectively.



31: Excerpts from 'Communist Survey'

File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Railway Labour

3. The 'fifth column' is not the least irritating thorn in the side of the Communist Party of India. The annual Convention of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation at Jamalpur on August 14-16th was the scene of the humiliating defeat for the party at the hands of the Royists, whom it professed to despise. In the presidential elections the Communists who had rallied the Congress unionists to their support, nominated N.M. Joshi' in opposition to Jamnadas Mehta,' who has been president of the Federation for the past 12 years and is M.N. Roy's mainstay in the field of labour. N.M Joshi had drawn very close to the Communist Party of India since the Communists began to dominate the All-India Trade Union Congress of which he is the General Secretary - he is, for instance, the treasurer of the Kayyur Dependents fund - but despite his reputation as an independent labour leader, the Royists mustered in such strength at Jamalpur that Joshi's Congress supporters decided to back out of the contest. The Communists then withdrew their nomination but Mehta insisted on a vote being taken and the Communists were crushingly defeated. Three of the four newly elected Vice-Presidents of the Federation and the General Secretary are also members of Roy's Indian Federation of Labour. The Royists and their allies followed up this triumph by dis-affiliating the communist-dominated G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union and the South Indian Labour Union, and also the unimportant Northwestern Railwaymen's Union, into which the Communists have been trying to infiltrate and which is opposed to the Royist union on the same railway. The grounds for this action were the alleged disruptive activities of these Unions, their 'disloyalty' to the Federation, their personal attacks on its President and their 'acting as the agents of political parties inside the Federation'. The Convention also declined to affiliate the B.B. & C.I. Railway-men's Union and the Bengal and Assam Railway workers Union, whose applications had been sponsored by the communists, on the specious ground that the Unions were not fully representative. These manoeuvres have given the Royists the whip hand in the Federation but at no little cost to its organised strength which was at a generous estimate, in the region of 70,000 or a tenth of the total number of railway workers in India. Consequently their windy threats of strike action, unless their demand for a flat dearness allowance of Rs 30 is conceded or submitted to arbitration, are now more empty than ever. The communists, however, have practically no voice in the only all-India body recognized by the Railway Board. They are determined to reverse the decision. The first move in this direction was a meeting of the representatives of nine Railwaymen's Union in Bombay on September 15th and 16th under the Chairmanship of V.R. Kalappa,' a Congressman. The meeting passed a resolution declaring the Jamalpur proceedings to be illegal and unconstitutional and demanding that the matter be reopened at a special meeting of the General Council of the Federation in October, followed by a special Convention. A requisition for a Convention was accordingly sent to Jamnadas Mehta but he declined to consider it as valid on the ground that out of the nine Unions on whose behalf it was sent only five (i.e. less than one third of the total in the Federation) were

entitled to submit such a requisition. There the matter rests for the present. If, as seems likely, the communists fail to get satisfaction, they may be able in time to build up an equally strong rival organisation based on the A.I.T.U.C. Such a proposal has already been mooted by the Parel branch of the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union.

32. Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of September 1943

File No. 12/6/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Inprogress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
Sep 1942	125	61	187433	1058840	10	23	78	2	12
Jan. 1943	103	51	100271	441813	14	45	37	—	7
Feb. 1943	60	35	46520	191410	7	20	24	1	8
March 1943	61	41	48553	119161	6	20	18	6	15
April 1943	98	74	17180	80781	8	41	28	5	16
May 1943	84	65	20575	97953	3	7	18	6	50
June 1943	46	22	32238	112531	7	13	19	2	5
July 1943	40	26	9103	73068	6	14	9	3	8
August 1943	29	13	11886	36426	5	4	5	12	3
Sep. 1943	25 ¹	12	6,754 ²	15,621 ³	5	8	6	3	3

1 Includes 1 dispute which began before Sept. but was in progress at the beginning of the month.

2 Does not include 4 disputes, 2 in Bengal, one in the United Provinces and one in Madras.

3 Does not include 6 disputes 2 in Bengal, 2 in Madras one in UP and one in Bihar.

4 Includes disputes which may have terminated but for which the termination reports have not yet been received.

Analysis of the disputes according to industries and the provinces to which they relates:

Textile industry 1 in Bombay, 1 in Bengal, 1 in Madras, and 2 in C.P. and Berar.

Engineering 2 in Bombay and 1 in Bengal.

Colliery 1 in Bihar

Miscellaneous 3 in Bombay, 4 in Bengal, 5 in Madras 3 in UP and 1 in CP and Berar.

48 per cent of the disputes were due to demands for wages and daily allowance, as compared with 45 per cent for the previous month.

Workers were successful or partially successful in about 52 per cent of the disputes. The corresponding figure for the previous month was 35 per cent.

In the beginning of September, 67 mills with 84,176 workers and 60 mills with 42844 workers were working night-shift in Bombay and Ahmedabad respectively.

Note — The figures are purely tentative.

Important Disputes

All the 3000 workers of the Burhanpur Tapti Mills, Burhanpur, went on strike on 1-9-43 demanding bonus and daily allowance. The strike ended unsuccessfully on 4-9-43. 9000 days and wages to the extent of Rs 193662 were lost.

Out of 8035 workers employed in the Mazgaon Dock Ltd., Bombay 1125 went on strike from 16-9-43 to 18-9-43, in protest against the Management order insisting on punctual attendance. The Labour Commissioner intervened and negotiations are afoot.

33: Official Notings on Communists and Labour (3.9.43 to 4.9.43) (extracts)

File No. 7/23/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

PSV's endorsement of Sept 2nd on Bengal Government's Letter¹

We are up here against the same old conflict between the short-term and long-term aspect of Communist policy which has been referred to in our long letter to Provl. Govts². I think that letter has been submitted with the file to PSV and is still with him?

It is no doubt true, as the Governor says, that the Communist Organisations might, if that was their object, be in a position to affect our war effort, tho' how seriously. I do not know. The point however, is that, so far as we can see, that is definitely not their object: nor is there anything in Mr Janvrin's report³ to suggest that the increasing control established by the CPI in the various services referred to has in fact produced any bad results at present. In fact, I suppose it is possible that their influence has been used to prevent labour troubles and keep the services in question working efficiently or in other words that the establishment of Communists as opposed to Congress control may have been for the moment actually beneficial

I do not remember to have seen any report from Bengal indicating that Communist control had gone so far as is indicated in Mr Janvrin's report but I presume that DIB is well aware of the position. I should like to send a reply to PSV (if possible today or tomorrow) on the above lines. But DIB should see first of all.

R. Tottenham
3-9-43.

D.S.

We are also face to face here with the contradiction so often shown in efforts to assess the CPI position, the assertion at one and the same time that the CPI is a negligible force and is making no real progress etc. and that it is a vital threat, terrible danger etc.

Will DIB kindly comment urgently on the Mr Janvrin report.

S.J.L. Olver
3-9-43

D.I.B. (Mr Brayden)

I do not think the position disclosed in the Janvrin's report forwarded with His Excellency the Governor of Bengal's letter provides any grounds for alarm. The CPI owing to the absence of the Congress and their sympathisers is practically without competition in the labour field in Bengal and has naturally used the opportunity to gain control of as large a field as possible concentrating on certain essential services the control of which they hope will place them in an impregnable position. On the showing in the report the party after one year has only succeeded in gaining effective control of one important Union, i.e., the Tramway Workers Union. They have made little headway on the Railways in Bengal, their influence on the Unions of other essential services in no way amounts to control.

As regards the highly efficient underground organisation and very considerable funds possessed by the party referred to by His Excellency we have no confirmation. The party in many provinces is short of funds.

Signed
Brayden
3/9/43

M.D. (Mr Olver)

DIB UO No. 3/BO 443 Dt/8 Sept.1943

1. Considering the statement made at the end of the Janvrin's note, viz., about the sincerity of the Communists' anti-fascism, there appears to be no reason for us to take any action to revise the present policy. We cannot have it both ways — get the party to assist in avoiding labour trouble and at the same time try to prevent its growth.
2. Ref last para of Mr Brayden's note, we should I think make every effort to keep track of the underground organisation (Communists are close students of the technique of revolution and it is not likely that P.C. Joshi has not adopted the safeguard of an underground organisation in case they come in unexpected conflict with authority again) and should also try to trace the source of their funds. As I pointed out in another connexion, the lakhs which the party spent on paper couldn't have come from ordinary comrades.

Signed
V.Sahay.

Issue the D.O. below to P.S.V¹ and then let D.I.B. see again with regard to para 2 of D.S's note and the concluding sentences of my reply to P.S.V.

Signed
(R Tottenham), 4-9-43
Addi. Secretary

D.I.B.

HD U/o No. D 7126/ 43 Poll (1), Dt/ 4/9/43

1. Doc. 62 in Chapter V

- 2 Doc. 69 in Chapter V
- 3. Doc. 62 in Chapter V
- 4 Doc. 66 in Chapter V

34: Enclosure to the letter dated 15.10.1943 from Home to all provinces — Doc. 72 in Chapter V

File No. 12/1/43 -- Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Note on the Labour Party of India, Bolshevik Party of India or Bengal Labour Party

The Bengal Labour Party was founded in April 1933 by the British-trained communist Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar. Ineffective branches existed for some time in the U.P. and Punjab. In its early years it was closely linked with the C.P.I. and its energies were devoted mainly to Communist agitation amongst the dockworkers and jute-mill workers of Calcutta. It was responsible for one large dockworkers strike at the end of 1934. Subsequently Mazumdar's relations with the communist hierarchy became strained and in 1938 he was expelled from the C.P.I. Thereafter, the Party was weakened by the desertion of many of its members to the ranks of the official Communist Party. Early in 1940 the Party rechristened itself the Bolshevik Party of India with the professed object of developing itself on an all-India basis in conjunction with the Anushilan Samiti. The alternative title, Labour Party of India, was adopted as a cover for 'open' activities.

For the first two years of the war, the Party's policy was to impede the war effort in every possible way, despite a professed dislike for Fascism. Within a few months of Russia's entry into the war, a majority of the leaders decided that the war had become a 'people's war' which should be supported unconditionally. Mazumdar, who urged that support should be given to Russia but should be withheld from Britain on the ground that it was still fighting an imperialist war, was expelled from the Party about May 1942 in spite of the fact he was its financial mainstay. Since then the Party has been unequivocally prowar and, when India was threatened with a Japanese invasion, it called on the public to form guerilla bands to harass the invader, utilising any arms that might be abandoned by retreating British forces. It cooperated with the National War Front and organised propaganda squads in Chittagong and on the Arakan front where its services were utilised by certain intelligence authorities. When the Japanese bombed Calcutta it helped to allay panic.

The Party has consistently condemned the Congress-inspired disturbances and has been very outspoken in condemning current Congress policy. It would, however, concede Congress representation in any National Government which might be formed.

In the latter half of 1942, protracted negotiations were carried on for reviving the alliance with the C.P.I. but they were not successful because the latter Party wanted the B.P.I. to submerge its identity in the larger organisation. These negotiations have been revived from time to time without success — at other times the Party has vigorously denounced the communists.

The Party regarded itself as subordinate to the defunct Communist International and early

in 1943, it drew up an elaborate Constitution on orthodox communist lines. There is some disagreement within the Party itself as to whether statutory provision should be retained for an underground organisation, but the majority are against it and there is no underground apparatus at present.

No reliable figures are available of the Party's strength. Its membership is probably under 500 in Bengal, and under 50 in the provinces of Bihar, Assam, U.P., C.P., Orissa and N.W.F.P. Attempts have been made to form branches in Indore, Bombay and Ahmedabad. It has volunteer organisations in Calcutta and Dacca. 5 of its members are on the General Council of the All-India Trade Union congress. The Party, however, has little influence in labour outside the Jute Mill, Port and Dock workers of Calcutta. Some of its members belong to Communist controlled Students and Women's organisations. The party publishes three journals at irregular intervals, the 'Pratirodh' in Bengali, the 'Awaz' in Hindi and the 'People's Front' in English: their circulation is very limited. The office-bearers of the L.P.I. and the B.P.I. are separately elected, some members being common to both executive committees, but otherwise the two Parties are indistinguishable. None of the present leaders are prominent in politics or in any other walk of life.

Note on the Labour Party of India

(Activities in Bihar)

The Labour Party of India was first formed at Jamshedpur by Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar, M.L.A., the Bengal Labour leader (now in jail) when he visited Jamshedpur during the strike in the Wire Products Co., in 1939, and left two of his followers Srinarain Jha and Harnam Singh Mali there to organise the party. They met with little success, due chiefly to the C.P.I. and C.S.P. counter-propaganda and the party then worked on the Forward Bloc platform for some time. After the externment of the leading communists from Jamshedpur in 1940, Dutta Mazumdar decided to take advantage of the situation. He tried to impress the labourers by giving impetus to the popular demand for war allowance and announced his intention at Jamshedpur. For this purpose, his minions Srinarain Jha, Harnam Singh Mali, Abdur Rahman Khan and others carried out intense propaganda and managed to collect Rs 300 from the public. Their externment, however, frustrated any further attempts at causing labour unrest.

The Labour Party of India formed the Bihar Labour Party at Jamshedpur, but this has never flourished. Before Russia's entry into the war, it adopted an anti-war policy and though it now purports to be anti-Fascist, is independent of the C.P.I. and R.D.P. and its genuineness in supporting the war efforts is very doubtful.

Early in 1948, the party tried to stage a revival at Jamshedpur and held several meetings at which Madar Khan, a party worker from Bengal, delivered violent speeches. He has recently been externed. The party has little influence elsewhere in the province, though it claims some Bihari members recruited among labourers in Bengal. Miss Uma Ghosh, a recent arrival in Bihar, and a member of the party, has settled in Muzaffarpur and together with Annada Charan Das alias Nemai is attempting to organise the Labour Party there.

(20.9.63)



35: Daily Report from the police department (Travancore) to the Chief Secretary

Govt of Travancore Confl. Dept. File No. 619/43/CS
[Kerala State Archives]

Confidential Department

No.Dis. 619/43/CS. Dated 10-43.

Sub: Daily Report – Part i (Secret Bulletin and Part 11 (Newspaper Abstract) for Friday the 8th Oct. 1943. (Crime No. 13/119 of Alwaye Station)

Secret

Police Department,
8th October 1943.

From
The Inspector-General of Police.

To
The Chief Secretary to Government

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith, Daily Report C.No. 281, Part I (Secret Bulletin) and Part 11 (Newspaper Abstract) for Friday, the 8th October 1943.

Yours faithfully,
Signed
For Inspector General of Police

Secret Bulletin

KOTTAYAM DISTRICT

Alwaye

On 3-10-43, the students in the Union Christian college Hostel met under the presidentship of the warden Abraham and prayed for the long life of Gandhiji.

Changanacherry

Communist J.P Mathew' was doing propaganda work in Changanacherry and preaching communism to the labourers.

Kottayam

Communists J.P. Thomas, C.S. George, P.A. Chacko, M.M. Chacko, K.J. Kurien, and a few others moved about the 12th ward with placards inscribed 'To remove starvation, increase cultivation'. To regulate distribution, unite the people', 'Stop black marketing', etc and did propagand work in connection with the meeting arranged to be held in Karapuzha on 5-10-43. In the meeting, Kummanam K. Gopala Pillai B.A. B.L. presided. After the welcome

speech by P.N. Kesavan B.A.B.L., the president and C.S. Gopala Pillai made short speeches on the necessity of intensifying cultivation etc. A resolution forming a people's committee in the 12th ward to work as per the directions of the Kottayam Taluk Food Production Committee was adopted. The following are the members of the committee: P.N. Kesavan B.A.B.L. (President), V.K. Sekharan Nair (Vice President), P.N. Gopal Pillai and Chandy Andrew (Secretaries) and a few others as members. The committee is to work for the success of the general rationing scheme, to do house to house propaganda for intensifying cultivation and for achieving unity among the various sections of the people for preventing hoarding black-marketing, etc. A sum of Rs 1-13 c. has been collected by the communists who moved about ward with placards.

QUILON DISTRICT

Alleppy

The Travancore Coir Factory workers Union has an idea to organise about 200 volunteers to conduct of the anniversary of the union and the Trade Union Congress meeting. The active workers of the union are moving about the town and are collecting money from the merchants and labourers.

Quilon

The working committee of the State Congress met in the house of T.M. Varghese on the evening of 6-10-43 with Pattom Thanu Pillai in the chair. G.P. Neelakanta Pillai, N. Sreekantan Nair, K.K. Kunchu Pillai, R. Sankar, P.C. George, T.M. Varghese and Miss Anne Mascarene were present. They had long discussion on the food problem of the State and resolved to heartily Co-operate with the members of the local committees in the matter of the distribution of food-stuffs. They also decided to co-operate with the Government in the paddy purchasing scheme.

A meeting of the Cashewnut workers was held at Chandanamthope (east of Killikolloor) on the evening of 6-10-43, K.P. Nanu presiding. There was only a small gathering of about 15 to 20 workers. The president spoke about the importance of unity among the workers. He suggested that no one could ignore their demands if they would stand united. He also requested them to render all possible help to the All-Travancore Trade Union Congress.

TRIVANDRUM DISTRICT

Nil

Important Crimes Reported on 8-10-1943

Station & Cr. No.	Date	Place	Section	Details
1 Alwaye 14/19	20-2-119 Bet:1&3	Alwaye Station	220, 221, 459, TPC	Accused Ayyapan Narayanan, (2) Karayanan Gopalan Nair, (3) Kochappu Ouseph, (4) Pappu Chacko, (5) Chennan Kumaran, (6) Meerukutty Mustaffa and (7) KandanKelen effected their escape from the station lock-up by removing the

<i>Station & Cr. No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>Details</i>
				iron bars and PC 14 Shek Ahmad, (2) PC 2452 Madurappan Chettiar, (3) PC 621 Yohannan and (4) PC 1441 Sankaran Nair were on station duty for the night.
2. Alway 13/9	17-2-119 5 PM AM	Alway Town 1 PS	277, 337 TFC	An unidentified Transport lorry driven in a rash and negligent manner by the accused driver, whose name not known, but could be identified at sight, dashed against PC 1200 Kuriskese of Perum- bavoor Station and as a result the constable sustained some injuries.

Signed
For Inspector-General of Police

P.S. It is reported over the phone that 3 of the accused in Cr.No. 14/19 of Alway station mentioned supra have been arrested within Cochin State and are kept in Ernakulan Town station. Vigorous enquiries are being made to arrest the others.

Secret

Part 11

Newspaper Abstract

The Powradhwany date 6-10-1943

Printer & Publisher: Chacko M Karuvelithara.

A correspondent from Thodupuzha under date 4-10-43 writes that the Assistant purchasing officer Mr Kesava Pillai detected the illicit transport of 45 bags of rice at Karimkunnam in the Palai-Thodupuzha road. The lorry which transported the rice and the people in it were taken into custody and a case was registered.

A news item under Alway heading dated 6-10-43 states that seven persons kept in the Alway Police station lockup escaped from custody by breaking two iron bars of the window of the lock up.



36: Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of October 1943

File No. 12/6/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>Inprogress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
Oct. 1942	58	34	44,779	2,04,016	8	13	27	6	4
Jan. 1943	103	51	1 00,271	4,41,813	14	45	37	–	7
Feb. 1943	60	35	46,520	1,91,410	7	20	24	1	8
March 1943	61	41	48,553	1,19,161	6	20	18	1	15
April 1943	98	74	17,180	80,781	8	41	28	5	16
May 1943	684	65	20,575	97,953	3	7	18	6	50
June 1943	46	22	32,235	1,12,531	7	13	19	2	5
July 1943	40	26	19,103	73,068	6	14	9	3	8
August 1943	29	13	11,886	36,426	5	4	5	12	3
Sept. 1943	25	12	6,754	15,621	5	8	6	3	3
Oct. 1943	28 ¹	12	12,365 ²	19,274 ³	8	5	8	1	6 ⁴

1 Includes 8 stoppages which began before October but were in progress at the beginning of the month.

2 Does not include 6 stoppages, 2 in Bengal and 4 in United Provinces for which figures have not yet been reported.

3 Does not include figures in respect of 10 stoppages, 2 in Bombay, 2 in Bengal, 4 in the United Province, 1 in Madras and 1 in Bihar.

4 Includes stoppage which may have terminated but for which termination reports have not yet been received.

Analysis of the disputes according to industries and the provinces to which they relate:

Textile industry 4 in Bombay, 1 in Bengal, 1 in United Provinces and 2 in Central Province and Berar.
Engineering industry 2 in Bombay
Colliery 1 in Bihar
Miscellaneous 7 in Bombay, 4 in Bengal, 3 in the United Provinces, 1 in the Punjab, 1 in Madras and 1 in Delhi.

43 per cent of the stoppages were due to demands in regard to wages and daily allowance, as compared with 48 per cent for the previous month.

Workers were successful or partially successful in about 40 per cent of the stoppages, The corresponding percentage figure for the previous month was 52 per cent.

In the beginning of October 67 mills with 83,439 workers and 64 mills with 44,108 workers were working night shift in Bombay and Ahmedabad, respectively.

Note — The figures are purely tentative.

37: Monthly statistics of strikes in India for the month of November 1943

File No. 12/6/43 — Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. of strikes</i>	<i>Strikes in which wages were the cause</i>	<i>Workers involved</i>	<i>Days lost</i>	<i>Successful</i>	<i>Partially successful</i>	<i>Unsuccessful</i>	<i>Indefinite</i>	<i>In progress</i>
Total for 1942	654	381	8,20,496	52,93,027	84	164	303	5	98
<i>Provisional</i>									
Nov. 1942	31	22	14,506	93,968	6	7	9	2	7
Jan 1943	103	51	1,00,271	4,41,813	14	45	37	—	7
Feb. 1943	60	35	46,520	1,91,410	7	20	24	1	8
March. 1943	61	41	48,553	1,19,161	6	20	18	1	15
Apr. 1943	98	74	17,180	80,781	8	41	28	5	16
May 1943	84	65	20,575	97,953	3	7	18	6	50
June 1943	16	22	32,238	1,12,531	7	13	19	2	5
July 1943	40	26	19,103	73,068	6	14	9	3	8
Aug. 1943	29	13	11,886	36,426	5	4	5	12	3
Sept. 1943	25	12	6,754	15,621	5	8	6	3	3
Oct. 1943	28	12	12,416	19,419	9	5	9	1	4
Nov. 1943	29 ¹	18	15,153 ²	29,235 ³	8	10	3	7 ⁴	1

1 Includes one strike which commenced in October but ended only in November.

2 Does not include figures in respect of 5 disputes

3 Does not include figures in respect of 6 disputes

4 Includes two strikes about which information is not available

As compared with the previous month, the number of stoppages practically the same though there was some increase in the number of workers involved and a still larger increase in the number of man days lost.

Out of the 29 strikes, 12 were in Bombay and 12 in Bengal. In 62 per cent of the stoppages (as against 43 per cent in the previous month) the question of wages and dearness allowance

was the only or main item of dispute. The rest of the strikes were due to other causes relating to bonus, leave concessions, hours of employment and other conditions of work, dismissal of particular workers, etc.

Sixty-two per cent of the strikes ended in success, partial or complete, for workers and only in 3 cases (10 per cent) were the strikes wholly unsuccessful. For the previous month the corresponding percentages were 50 and 32. The strikes were mostly of short duration. Only in one case did the duration of strike equal 10 days while in five other cases it was more than 5 days. In as many as 11 cases, the strikes lasted but for a day or less.

More than 1000 workers were involved in 5 strikes. In the case of 11 stoppages, the number of man-days lost was between 1000 and 5000 in each case, while in 11 strikes the number of man-days lost ranged between 100 and 1000.

Analysis of disputes according to industries affected and the provinces to which they relate:

Textile	2 in Bombay, 1 in Bengal, 2 in UP and 3 in CP.
Engineering	4 in Bengal
Miscellaneous	10 in Bombay, 10 Bengal.

Important Disputes

Bengal The workers of the Bengal Jute Mills, Sibpur, about 1,500 in number, struck work on 3-11-43. In respect of periods for which the mill had to remain closed due to shortage of coal they demanded (i) payment of Khoraki (Rs 3-0-0) or wages whichever was greater for a partially worked week and (ii) full dearness allowance for closed and partially worked weeks. They also asked for a reserve of one week's stock of coal for the mill before restarting work. Work was, however, resumed unconditionally on the 8th November, 1943. Their demands have been taken up by the Labour Commissioner with the Managing Agents.

Central Provinces & Berar There was a stoppage of work involving all the 2,200 workers of the R.S. Rekchand Gopaldas Meheta Mills, Akola, on 2-11-43. The workers struck work on the issue of non-payment of the second instalment of the bonus. The labour officer intervened and work was resumed the next day pending disposal of their complaints by the provincial Government.

There was another strike in the same Mills lasting from the 24th to 30th November on more or less the same issues. The strike was unsuccessful. The workers resumed work unconditionally when the illegal nature of the strike was brought home to them by the Deputy Commissioner, 13,200 man-days and wages approximating to Rs 20,000 were lost.

Night Shifts in Bombay and Ahmedabad Textile Mills

In the beginning of November 66 mills with 84,750 workers and 65 mills with 45,111 workers were working night shift in Bombay and Ahmedabad respectively.



38: Debate on Indian Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill (dt 13.11.1943)

CLA Debates – Vol IV – 1943

[NMML]

The Honourable Dr B.R. Ambedkar (Labour Member) Sir, I move: 'That the bill further to amend the India Trade Unions Act, 1926, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon'.

The motion is merely for circulation for the purpose of eliciting public opinion on this measure. That being so, it seems to me unnecessary to take the time of the House to deal in any detailed manner with the provision which are embodied in this Bill. It is enough, I think, to tell the House what are the main features of the Bill and what has led Government to undertake this particular piece of legislation.

The Bill has three important features. In the first place, the Bill seeks to compel an employer to recognise a Trade Union. In the second place, the Bill imposes certain conditions on a trade union in order to make the trade union, if I may say so, worthy of recognition by an employer. The third feature of the bill is to make non-recognition by an employer of a trade union, which has observed all the conditions prescribed in this measure and which has therefore qualified itself for recognition, an offence which is made punishable by law.

As I said, it is unnecessary to discuss the merits of this measure. The motion is for circulation which obviously means that the provisions embodied in the Bill by the Government at the present stage are only tentative. There is no finality about it, and government do not propose to make these provisions final unless they have received the opinions of leaders of labour employers, Provincial Governments and other parties who are concerned in this measures. The Bill may therefore be quite different from what it is now, when Government has applied its mind to the various suggestions that it hopes to receive as a result of circulation.

Mr N.M. Joshi (Non-official): I hope it will be better.

The Honourable Dr B.R. Ambedkar: I hope so from everybody's point view. All that therefore I propose to say is to tell the House what has lead the Government of India to take this responsibility upon its shoulders.

The House will recall that this matter was considered at great length by Royal commission on Indian Labour. A great deal of attention was devoted to the question of the recognition of trade union by employers, and all these Honourable Members who have read the Report of the Royal Commission of Labour will realise what great emphasis the Royal Commission laid on the recognition of trade unions as a measure for the healthy growth of trade unions and for amicable relations between employers and workers. The House would also remember that the Royal Commission at that stage stated that they very much desire if the recognition was achieved voluntarily by the consent of the employers without any legal obligation upon them. The House will also remember that the Royal Commission reported in 1929, particularly 12 years have elapsed and there has been no willingness on the part of employers to recognise trade unions voluntarily. Indeed the objections which the employers are pressing for non-recognition. Consequently the situation has certainly not improved.

As Honourable Members will remember, this question was taken up after 1937 when

provincial autonomy came into being by most of the Provincial Governments which came and took office under the new Act. There were both private measures and measures introduced by the Ministries in order to bring about recognition of trade unions by employers. For instance, in Madras there was a private Bill brought in, there was also a Government measure brought in by the Ministry of the day. In Bombay Government measures brought in a measure called the Bombay Trade Disputes Act and the same was done in the province of the U.P. Unfortunately, except in the case of Bombay, the Ministries in other provinces resigned before their projects could assume a statutory character. However, the Government of India, after provincial autonomy had come into existence had inaugurated a system of collaboration between the centre and the provinces and one of the means adopted for collaboration was to inaugurate which were called Labour Ministers Conferences. The First Labour Ministers conference was held in 1940 when this subject was discussed between the Provincial Governments and the Central Government. It was then decided that there was not enough material before the Conference to come to any definite conclusion on the matter, and the Conference gave instructions to the Central Government that the matter should be referred to the provincial Government in order to elicit opinion from the Provincial Governments as well as leaders of labour and employers, and that the material should be placed at the second session of the Labour Ministers Conference which was proposed to be held in the year 1941. Accordingly the Government of India addressed a letter to the Provincial Governments asking them to collect the opinion of the different parties relating to the measure, and a very large body of opinion was collected by the different provincial Governments and forwarded to the Central Government with the opinions of the different provinces on them. The whole of this was placed before the Labour Ministers Conference held in 1941 and the conclusion reached then was that the Central Government should undertake legislation, that that legislation should be prepared on the basis of the replies that were received from the Provincial Governments and from the various parties which were concerned with this matter. As a result of this the Government of India undertook the task and the present Bill is really the result of the sifting of the information which the Central Government received and the opinions which were expressed by the various parties concerned. This is the origin of the measure. This will explain why, although labour legislation is a provincial subject, the Central Government has come in with this measure.

I do not think that it is necessary for me to say anything further on this measure. As I have said the proposals are tentative, there is no finality, and there cannot be any finality unless and until we receive opinions on the draft Bill as it stands. All that I say is that it is one of the most important measures which this Legislature has been invited to undertake. It is also a unique measure. Except in the case of United States and Sweden, recognition of trade unions in other countries has been left to voluntary effort. I hope this will not be a controversial measure. In any case I do not wish to say more than what I have said in view of the fact that I prefer to submit the Bill to public scrutiny before I undertake to make myself responsible for any of the provisions contained in the Bill. Sir, I move:

Mr President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Motion moved: "That the bill further to amend the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon".

Mr P.J. Griffith (Assam: European): Mr President, the motion at present before the House is that this Bill be circulated for eliciting opinion thereon, and we trust that our support of that motion will not be taken to indicate that we regard this as being either a good Bill or a

well thought-out Bill or a statesman-like Bill. We are prepared to support circulation because we recognise that this subject is one of the most vital subjects about which India will have to think from now onwards, and we recognise therefore the importance of stimulating public thought and of calling attention to the many pitfalls into which Governments may fall with regard to the question of trade unions and into several of these, we believe, they have already fallen, in drafting this Bill.

The subject is one of paramount importance to the State, to employers and to labour. For every State under modern conditions, it is of importance to encourage the growth of sound labour organisations, organisations which will be strong enough to protect the true interests of labour organisations which will ensure for them fair pay and decent conditions of living and organisations which will enable us in this country to avoid those evils of ruthless exploitation of labour by capital, which formed one of the worst blots on English history in the corresponding phase of industrial development. For all these reasons the State is equally interested in seeing that those organisations grow up imbued with a due sense of responsibility, that they grow up in such a way that while the workman will demand a fair share, he will not demand an impossible share in the products of the industry, that these unions function in such a way that, just as the employer is not allowed to become a tyrant, so likewise the labour is not allowed to become a tyrant. From the point of the State, therefore, nothing can be more important than the balanced, healthy development of the Trade Union movement. When we come to the case of the employer we find that he too is equally interested in this balanced healthy development. It is not necessary for me, speaking in the year 1943, to say that every wise, intelligent, far sighted employer recognises the advantages of healthy, sound, trade unions. He recognises that it is far easier to deal with one sober body than to deal with several hundreds of several thousands of unthinking irresponsible individuals. The employer has nothing to gain by the growth of strong trade unions, he has everything to gain by the growth of strong trade unions provided that with that strength, is coupled soundness. It is, therefore of importance to the employer, as well as to the State, that legislation regarding trade unions should keep the right balance and the test which we apply to this as to every similar measure will therefore be, is the Bill such as to facilitate the growth of healthy unions and to discourage the growth of unhealthy unions. Is the Bill such that it will tend to improve relations between employers and employees? When we examine the Bill from this angle, I am afraid, we cannot congratulate the Honourable the Labour Member on his achievement. We feel that he began by grasping impulsively at the tempting principle of compulsion, that half way through the Bill his courage failed him so that when he had to consider exactly what he was to compel, he either did not know or could not face the issue and therefore left us without definition, left us in a nebulous state regarding the crucial point of the Bill. That as he went of further towards the end of the Bill he looked round the Treasury Benches and saw the angry faces of those of his colleagues who actually have to handle labour and he said at all costs I must keep myself from being embroiled in difficulties with these practical employers of labour and so he put in section 28J: the effect of which is at any rate for the present to leave out large classes of labour from the purview of this Bill. I want to consider these three points as briefly as possible one by one.

First, the principle of compulsion with which my Honourable friend starts this Bill so bravely. Do not let us confuse this question of compulsory recognition, with the quite separate question of the desirability of the trade union movement. There is nobody here in this Group and I imagine there is nobody in this House — who still has to be convinced as to the desirability of the trade union movement, but that conviction must not let us gloss over the

main point which is — will the principle of compulsory recognition make for sound trade unionism or not. Compare the position contemplated under this Bill with the position as it exists and has for long existed in Great Britain. I suppose there are very few countries in the world in which trade unions have won more respect, more honour, have ensured for themselves a more definite place as one of the pillars of society than has been the case in Great Britain and I suppose there are very few countries in which the effective practical power of the trade union is greater than it is in that country. But in that country, trade unions have reached their position, not under the shelter of compulsory recognition, but they have reached it because they have had to earn that recognition by their merits. They have had to satisfy employers, and they have had to satisfy the public, firstly that they could be reasonable and see that to any industrial question there are two sides and that there must be give and take between the employers and the employed in settling all these matters. Then they have had to go on and convince employers and the Government, not only that they were reasonable but that they were representative. For after all it is no use an employer making a settlement with a union, if that settlement is to be rejected afterwards by 80 to 90 per cent of the workers concerned. The representative character of the unions is an essential element in the path along which they have risen to power and respect in Great Britain. Thirdly, after having satisfied the employer and the public that they were reasonable and representative, they had to go on and prove that they were efficient, that they could collect their funds and pay strike pay at the time of strike, that they were so well organised, that if the employers proved unreasonable, it was possible for these unions to force their will upon the recalcitrant employer. And so, I say that, throughout the course of the last 100 years, unions in England have had to convince the public that they were reasonable, that they were representative and that they were efficient and they have attained their present status in British economic life simply because they succeeded in those three points. There have been phases in their history when they have not succeeded, when they were not reasonable, when they were not representative and not efficient and in those phases employers refused to deal with them. Some unions went wild in the early days and were broken against the refusal of the employers to deal with a union which had not yet proved itself reasonable, representative and efficient. Those unions were broken, but others learnt their lesson from them and their places was taken by unions, which thanks to this past experience, could claim to be so well ordered that they were entitled to be heard as the representatives of the labourers. Note the whole process. There was no question of suddenly forcing on employers recognition of something unformed, undeveloped and unthought out. The process was that the Union showed itself capable of doing a responsible job and then the recognition came inevitably when that state had been reached. I venture to suggest that if those unions had grown up under the shelter of compulsory recognition, if they had not been under the necessity of becoming reasonable, representative and efficient, you would not have had, as you have in Britain today, a sound and healthy movement, welcomed alike by the State and the general public. It seems to me therefore that in laying down that once a union has been given a certain status the employer must deal with that union, irrespective of the behaviour of that union, irrespective of its sense of responsibility or of whether it represents the workers or not by laying down a thing like that you are taking away the greatest incentive which a union could have to put its house in order and to turn itself into a sound and responsible body. I can quite understand the frame of mind of my Honourable friend the Labour Member in dealing with this matter. He is impatient. We all know the sincerity of his desire to improve the lot of labour but we also know that in practical life sincerity and over-zeal

very often lead to impatience. My Honourable friend sees this plant, in which he takes so much interest growing slowly and he says to himself 'I cannot tolerate this slow growth. Something must be done about it. Let me put it in the hot house and do something to force its growth'. Let me remind my Honourable friend that though he may succeed in forcing it to early maturity, the chances are that the plant will be sickly or will turn out to be a monstrosity and in any case will pass away and die. Let the plant stay in the open. Let it contend with the elements and fight for itself. Let me remind my Honourable friend too that trade unions have many enemies.

The honourable Dr B.R. Ambedkar: Employers are one of them.

Mr P.J. Griffith: In this, as in so many matters you are misinformed as to the view of the employers. Let me tell my Honourable friend that this temporary protection will weaken the unions and their ultimate growth, and increase the power of their enemies to destroy them. As I went through this Bill, I felt, as I said before, that the Honourable the Labour Member had not the courage of his convictions. He started bravely with the principle of compulsion. when he came on to details as to the classes of unions with respect to which compulsory recognition should apply, his courage failed him. He began by laying down certain obvious conditions with which I shall not trouble the House. Then he came to the main point, that a union is not to be recognised unless it is representative. This is a most excellent principle but I wish my Honourable friend had tried to tell us in the bill roughly what he meant by 'representative unions'. 'Representative' is not one of those dictionary words that you can take for granted. Opinions differ from time to time and from place to place as to what is representative. Some people might say that the Honourable Members on the front bench were representative of India, but it seems to me very unlikely that Honourable Members sitting on the Opposition benches would accept that point of view. It is no use telling me that you will not recognise a Union unless it is representative, unless you give me some idea of what you mean by representative. My Honourable friend knows that, in the many discussions that have taken place during the past few years on this whole question of recognition, the crux of the matter has always been as to how you should define a representative Union. My Honourable friend remember that that was so in Bombay. He will remember that in very discussion that has taken place this has been one of the main issues. I have looked through this Bill in vain for any sign of what the Honourable Member means when he talks about representative Unions. In otherwords, the Honourable Member is asking us to make the recognition of something compulsory, but that something nebulous, indefinite and unknown. But, hope springs eternal in the human breast and my honourable friend, the prince of optimists finding himself, his Department and the Draftsman, barren of ideas as to how they can define the term Representative Union says to himself, in a few months time, when we have to draft the rules the wells of inspiration will have filled again and we shall know then what we do not know now, what we mean by a representative Union.' So my friend says that the respresentative Union should be left to be defined in the rules. Sir, quite apart from the merits of this particular Bill, this seems to me a fundamentally unsound principle. Government comes to this house with what we take to be considered proposals. How can we pass judgment on those proposals when we are told, in effect, that the definition upon which the meaning of the whole of this Bill turns will be settled later. I claim as a Member of this House the right to judge Government's legislative proposals in their reasonable entirety and I say that when the Honourable Member takes a point, which is the crucial point of the bill, and says airily: 'We will deal with it in the rules', I say that this House is not being treated with proper respect. He is putting us in a

position where we cannot express any intelligent opinion on the merits or demerits of the most important part of his Bill. It will not do for my Honourable friend to say that these proposals are not final and they have been just put forward for discussion that they will go to the country and then Government will re-shape them in the light of the opinions received. Of course, Government will have to consider what the country says, but that does not absolve the government from the duty of putting before us detailed proposals. We cannot accept the principle that Government can throw on the table of this House something that is half drafted and half-formed, and say it does not really matter because the public will tell them where they are wrong. In other words, the public will do the work that the Draftsman has not done and then Government will give us a carefully framed and well-thought out Bill. If this Government were a responsible Government, my Honourable friend would not dare to put forward a proposal of that kind and I say that respect for this House demands that we should be told exactly what is in Government's mind. We should be asked to vote, not on vague and nebulous abstractions but on specific and concrete proposals. The function and scope of rules is to implement the purpose of a Bill. The definition of a representative Union is part and parcel of the whole purpose of this Bill. With that left out, it is impossible for this House to take a well-considered and reasoned view of the matter. It leaves me with the feeling that the Labour Department wants to do something but does not quite know what it is. We are not blaming them for that, for they have many other pre-occupations, but let them at least wait until they do know what they want to do and then come forward with the specific and concrete proposals.

Then again it was not only at this stage in the Bill that my Honourable friend's courage failed. Towards the end of the Bill, I find in clause 28-J what I call his complete collapse out of fear of his colleagues on the Treasury Bench. His position is different from theirs. He can afford to be a theorist whereas some of them are large-scale employers who have to do the practical job of making labour work. They know that these theories, thought out in the comfortable rooms of the Secretariat look very differently when they filter down to the places where the work has to be done. I have no access to the secrets of the holy places in which the Members of the Executive Council deliberate but I can only assume that clause 28-J means that some of the Labour Members, Honourable Colleagues regard this as a dangerous bill. At the same time they knew his reputation and they thought that the best method of dealing with the matter was to make an illogical compromise to demand exemption of those large bodies of labour for which they are responsible. Frankly, I do not pretend to understand the logic on which clause 28-J is based. The effect of that clause is to take out of the purview of this Bill, for the present labour employed by the crown, labour employed by the railways and labour employed in major ports. We have not yet heard a word from the Honourable Member as to why these exemptions were considered necessary. If this Bill intended to promise harmony or friction? If it is intended to promote harmony, then why should not that harmony be vouchsafed to labour in those particular fields of employment? Does the honourable Member think that this Bill will make for better relations or worse relations between employers and employed? If it will make for better relations, does my Honourable friend think that the relations between employers and employed in major ports in time of war — are of no importance? Frankly on the assumption that this Bill is sound and that Government approve of it, I cannot understand why my Honourable friend, the War Transport Member, could have acquiesced in being deprived of the great protection which this Bill is supposed to afford. I presume that he is just as anxious to preserve harmony amongst Railway labour as my

Honourable friend is to preserve that harmony in other fields of labour. But the illogicality inherent in this Bill with the inclusion of clause 28-J goes much further than this. We are told in effect that these provisions must not apply to major ports. They must not apply to railways because there is a war on and we cannot run any risks. But what about the hundreds and hundreds of contractors all over the place who are doing war work? Does my Honourable friend think that the work which is being done by labour contractors on aerodromes is any less important than some of the works that are being done on major ports? If my Honourable friend wants to be logical or if he feels not quite certain about this Bill and he wants to treat it as an experiment then he will have to go very much beyond major ports in his exemptions. I say this with the greatest respect for the Honourable Member himself. I accuse not him., but his department of either confusion of thought or lack of courage in dealing with this matter.

This is not the stage for the discussion of details. At a later stage, we shall have many other points to discuss and many other defects to point out and I, in particular, shall have occasion to point out how the Bill in its present form departs from some of the assurances given by my honourable friend's predecessors, particularly in regard to plantation labour. But this is not the time for details. Those will be dealt with at a later stage.

I will sum up by saying this, firstly that the Bill itself is bad because it embodies an unsound principle, a principle which will not make for the healthy growth of trade unions. Secondly, the Bill is nebulous, not in fit state for presentation to this Assembly because it fails to define a representative Union. Thirdly, the Bill bears upon itself the hall mark of confusion of thought and illogicality and exempts, from what is suppose to be a useful and beneficent measure, the most important labour forces at work in this country today. For these reasons although we are prepared to support the motion for circulation so that public attention may be called to the dangerous channels along which Government's mind is travelling yet we do so with the firm reservation of our right to oppose or criticise every portion of this Bill at any later stage.

Mr Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I must congratulate my Honourable friend, Mr Griffiths on his able speech; although that speech is really in opposition to this Bill. The line of opposition is two fold . One is that the Bill is too bad because it is premature, and secondly that the bill is bad because it is overdue. I am surprised at the inconsistency of the argument, which I shall presently show could not stand. Before I do so, I wish also to congratulate the Government on their bringing forward this measure. I do hope that Government will get the best assistance from Trade Union organisations in shaping it into an acceptable measure. We have long asked for it, not because we want any hothouse growth as my Honourable friend suggests, but because my Honourable friend and his supporters refused to learn the lessons of a century. Does he want that Indian labour should pass through all those travails and struggles which the British workers passed between 1825 and today? Does he not want to learn any lesson from the experience of one century which has led to the firm establishment of Trade Union Movement in Great Britain? Does he not realise that at the end of 1919, the Governments of all the countries which met together for the Peace Treaty issued a Charter for Labour in which they recognised that the lessons of the past must be understood, appreciated and applied and they laid down in the opening paragraph of the establishment of the International Labour Organisation at Geneva. The lessons which the world had learnt during 100 years of Trade Union Movement, my Honourable friend and his supporters are either not acquainted with the Pre-amble to the

establishment of the International Labour Office or they are still not in agreement with it. Otherwise, he would not have propounded the extraordinary principle that Indian labour should go through all those travails which labour in Europe and America has gone through and that we in India should not benefit by it and that the employers should learn no lesson. Does he know what the struggle was? Bitter fights, violence, stoppage of work, exploitation of children of 8 and 10 years of age who were torn from their beds by employers at a very early part of the dawn till very late in the evening. This is the experience through which Western Labour has passed and the lesson which they have learnt is laid down in that Chapter or the Preamble to the establishment of the International Labour organisation at Geneva. I ask my European friends that they should not shut their eyes to the lesson which is embodied in that Preamble and which practically negatives all the precautions which my friend has advised us. The experience has been that Government should take a hand in the matter as a representative of all interests: unless Government take a hand, the bitterness and struggle and stoppage of work will continue. It is therefore more for the benefit of the employers and for the better conduct of industries that this Bill has been brought forward. Of course, the Bill is not a perfect measure: nor is the case that it doesn't stand in need of any improvement. I shall presently show — that there are many features which need improvement.

I wish to make one or two further points regarding the need for this measure. The employers as a whole are not still willing to recognise Trade Unions voluntarily. In spite of all that has happened, the lip homage that is paid to Trade Unionism on the floor of the House and outside, has no reality behind it. They are at bottom hostile, the recognition which we get is due to the fear they entertain, not to the love which they have for us. They are afraid, but they build their fortifications as strongly as they can even after they give recognition. There is no will honestly and straightforwardly to recognise Trade Unions. Even the Government cannot be absolved from blame in this matter. Governments are, after all employers of labour and they have all the mentality of employers except that they feel they owe a duty to the public, some explanation, some justification for the wrongs they do to Trade Unions. I have sufficient experience of labour and of Government's attitude towards it. The Royal Commission on Labour which was appointed in 1929 and which reported in 1931 enjoined upon the Government to give increasing recognition without raising artificial pleas of opposition. Although there has since been some slight improvement, I cannot say that the lesson has been learnt. I can speak with greater confidence of railways than I can speak of other industrial labour. I say it has taken us ten years or 12 years of consistent pressure on the Railway Board and even now the success which we have achieved is very very small indeed. People think that railway labour is greatly favoured. I ask them not to believe it. Railway labour, while it is sometimes listened to is suffering from all the disabilities, from the inherent hostility of the employer to any recognition of the rights of labour. I will give you one instance of the implacable hostility of Government Departments towards labour in another department. I had the privilege of presiding at the all-India Conference of the Posts and Telegraphs Department in 1931. I pointed out in my Presidential speech that the large earnings of the Postal department were being diverted into other channels and the postal employees were suffering from disabilities both in point of wages and conditions of work.

[At this stage, Mr President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) vacated the chair which was then occupied by Mr K.C. Neogy, one of the Panel of Chairmen.]

I gave figures and I challenged the Department to disprove it. What then happened was this. The Director General of Posts and Telegraphs wrote to the Secretary of this Union to

remove Mr Jamnadas Mehta from the President's office, otherwise recognition of that Union will be withdrawn. This was in 1931.

An Honourable Member: You have changed since then.

Mr Jamnadas M. Mehtha: No I am the same good boy as I used to be. In 1931, the director General of Posts and Telegraphs threatened the postal union with withdrawal of recognition unless they removed their President. Why? Because he was alleged to have made mis-statements regarding the financial side of the running of the postal department. I am glad to say that the committee of the Union met together and challenged the Director General to show where Mr Jamnadas Mehta had made the mis-statements and told him that they could not remove him unless Government showed where the statement was wrong. The Postal Department could not muster up courage to give counter figures to mine but came out with another order. The order was that unless they removed Mr Jamnadas Mehta from the Presidentship not only would their Union be disrecognised — if I may use that word, but that if thereafter any postal employees continued to be members of that Union their service would be dispensed with. That would involve the dismissal of 1 lakh and 10,000 postal people if they did not remove their President. The Workers still refused to do that but Mr N.M. Joshi and the Director General talked together and came to an understanding that Mr Jamnadas Mehta should not be dismissed but that no meeting of the Executive Committee should be held during his Presidential regime and that the next conference should be held before the end of one year to elect a new President. Poor Mr Joshi was faced with the dismissal of 1 lakh and 10,000 employees and he simply did this under compulsion. So I was not dismissed but no meeting was held after this and a new conference was held before the expiry of 12 months and a new President was elected. But the workers avenged themselves by showing their resentment against this treatment by unanimously resolving that Mr Jamnadas Mehta should go as their delegate to Geneva next time. That was their loyalty to their creed and to their convictions, and that is the attitude of Government towards these trade unions.

The Bombay Government under the Congress regime brought a measure to recognise trade unions but it was an attempt to dissolve the trade union movement in the province. It was such a reactionary measure that one would be surprised that such a measure could be described as one for the benefit of trade unions. My Honourable friend, Dr Ambedkar, opposed it for a number of days and days until even the President was tired and he introduced martial law methods by sitting from morning till night without interruption, and the Bill was forced through but not without many admissions of its serious defects and without many changes. And this 'representative union' to which my honourable friend referred was one of the bones of contention in that measure of no blessed memory in the Bombay Assembly. It excited the most violent opposition from labour in Bombay and there was a terrific strike in which workers were injured and several were killed by the Congress Government in 1938. I will tell you this, a union was to be called representative only if a very large percentage of the workers in an industry belonged to that union; and if there was a stoppage of work except on the conditions laid down which were impossible, not only would the workers be punished but any one who gave milk to the children of the strikers would be a criminal.

That was the measure of the Congress Government's sympathy for trade unionism in Bombay in 1938. It appears that they had previously obtained the sanction of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for their Bill. Poor Pandit Nehru in the midst of a very busy life did not read it: so he said that as it was for the welfare of labour they could go ahead. When the agitation came to the front the Pandit went through the whole Bill and he wrote on the same lines as the

opposition in the Bombay Assembly. By some accident I have got the whole correspondence with me, in which the Pandit goes for Bombay Government and the Bombay Government goes for the Pandit for having approved of it in advance and later on repudiating it. I can show that correspondence to any inquirer. The Governor of Bombay also was impressed by the intensity of the opposition at every stage to the Bill. I think we took two months in opposing it and but for martial law methods the Bill would not have been passed in 1938. That is only intended to show that Governments are still behind the times.

Sir, there are two more points that I wish to state, I agree with my Honourable friend, Mr Griffiths, that 'representative' is not defined. I thought it was the pressure of the employers which induced the Honourable Members not to define it because I am sure that in whatever he did they would oppose him and say that that is not representative. And from his experience in Bombay where the word 'representative' created a lot of trouble he was wise in not defining it now. But that does not mean that we shall allow him to go back over the real object of the Bill by defining 'representative' as something impossible, because I will immediately confront him with his speech on the Bombay Bill where 'representative union' was defined in a very reactionary manner and he opposed it. So I am sure that when eventually he comes to lick the bill into shape the word 'representative' will be brought within reasonable limits and it will not be made impossible for a union to get recognition on account of the hard conditions. The conditions in the Bombay Act were such impossible conditions that not one single union since 1938 could be recognised under the provisions of that Act. My Honourable friend has learnt the lessons of that Bombay measure and I am sure he will not define 'representative' in an impossible manner. I am sure my Honourable friend has not defined it here because whatever he may have said my friends on that side would have opposed it. Therefore I am not at all perturbed by the fact that the word 'representative' has not been defined. I am here to see, as far as it lies in my power, that the word 'representative' is not made difficult of attainment by us. I am not therefore prepared at this stage to charge the Honourable Member with any designs on us because he has not used the word 'representative' more clearly.

There is one important flaw in this Bill. It provides that the Union shall be allowed to make representations about matters of common interest. My objection to this is that the words 'common interest' are likely to be a pitfall unless my Honourable friend is careful. These two words immediately exclude individual grievances and one of the commonest disputes between the railways and the railway trade unions and other trade unions — I am also responsible for the Dock Labour Union in Bombay — is about this 'common interest' which has often proved a bone of contention between us. I will not allow this exclusion of individual matters. Very often individual matters are a breach of accepted policy. The matter may refer to one man but it represents a breach of accepted policy. For instance, in railways after certain number of years a man cannot be discharged unless he is given an opportunity for explaining his conduct; and if he is found to be inefficient on grounds of health he is to be given a softer job but not to be discharged. Still the railway magnates are often guilty of disregarding their own provisions and they have discharged many people who for reasons of health should have been given a softer job because they had committed no fault. If we complain the General Manager says 'this is an individual matter' but I maintain that these are questions of accepted policy and the individual grievance is only an illustration of a breach of accepted policy. So I very much request my Honourable friend to remember that when he goes into this matter of 'common interest' he will make it clear that the words do not exclude the consideration of a matter of accepted policy.

Lastly this 28-J to which my Honourable friend referred: there I am in complete agreement with him because I am excluded from the protection of the measure unless 28-J goes. And I entirely echo the ground on which my friend has opposed that clause, because if you exclude the most material and the most essential labour from the benefits of this measures because the war is on, you yourself are not convinced of the usefulness of the measures. I think the objection is cogent and on that ground I will support Mr Griffiths. Subject to these observations, I support the circulation of the Bill. I assure the Government that labour will do its very best to securer public support to the principles of the Bill, will try its best to improve it during the stages of circulation and after and it will be possible as a result of a full and prolonged deliberation to pass a measure which will be of real and substantial benefit to the workers and to employers. . . .

Maulvi Muhammadan Abdul Ghani (Tirhut Division Muhammadan): No doubt there are great difficulties in the recognition of Unions particularly in the casse of Muslim unions. Sir, I will at once come to the point in view and refer to clause 28 D of the Bill part (c). It is stated:

‘(c) that its rules do not provide for the exclusion of members on communal or religious grounds.’

It is good but in case any union is not joined by members of other communities because that union started with a majority of its members belonging to certain communities, it is no fault of that particular union and on this very ground the Muslim Unions are not given recognition. they do not bar any other community from joining that union but simply because it is almost composed of members of the Muslim community it is not joined by non Muslim employees and it is very unfair on the part of particularly the railways and the Post and Telegraphs Departments not to recognize the Unions organized by the Muslim employees under them. If you look at the figures of the Muslim employees in the Railways the latest figures available to us are for the year 1941-2 – you will find.

Total number of employees in all the Railways	7,57,674
Muslim employees out of this number	1,72,519

Similarly in the case of Posts and Telegraphs Departmental the figures for the year 1940-1 are:

Total number of employees excluding extra departmental persons	83,677
Muslim employees out of this number	19,758.

From the figure it will be seen that there us a fair number of Muslim-employees and it they form their own associations or say unions recognition should be given. but it is denied.

An honourable Member: Pakistan

Maulvi Muhammadan Abdul Ghani: There is no question of Pakistan. Why do some Honourable Members resent when the word Muslim is used here fit apparently pinches my friend. It is the misfortune of this country that only the Mussalmans are the targets.

Sir Muhammadan Yamin Khan (Agra Division Muhammadan Rural): Why do you get excited? Let them resent.

Mr Chairman (Mr K C Neogy): I think the provisions of 28-D are ambiguous. Part (c) should be made clear and it should lay down that if any association is not joined by members of other communities then there should not be any bar in its recognition. If Muslim unions are formed and if they do not debar other communities from joining it, I do not think anything should stand in their way of recognition. *An Honourable Member:* Why do you call muslim unions?

Maulvi Muhammadan Abdul Ghani: I am a Muslim and shall remain for ever a Muslim. I have to call myself a Muslim. This is the mentality which forces people to have their own unions. As I was saying this Bill is going to be circulated for opinion and I think the opinion should be had on the amendment of clause 28 D in a way so that the Muslim unions may not be denied their recognition. I have just pointed out — that there is a fair number of Muslim employees under the two departments. Similarly in factories also where there is a fair number of Muslims. If these Muslims being tired of the hardships and of their failure to get redress of injustices done to them form their own unions, I think such unions should not be denied recognition. It is said that Muslims can join these so-called national unions and can have their grievances redressed there. The fact is that when Muslim employees raise their voice against injustice done to them, in the first instance it is not heard in such common unions: and in the second place the misfortune is that those voices are not heard because the injustice done to that particular class most often had been done by the members dominating that association. The majority of the members are such that if some of them do any injustice or wrong no grievance can easily be heard. So the Muslim employee generally suffers and hence they do not like to take part in the common unions. If they do not take part in the common unions it does not mean that if they form their own unions and air their grievance through that union should not be heard because those unions are denied recognition. This is the right time when we should urge the Government that the Act should be so amended as to give opportunity that the recognition of unions formed by Muslims: and this is a very opportune moment, when fortunately the matter is in the hands of the Honourable Member in charge who knows what are the grievances of Muslims particularly, and of the depressed classes as well.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till half past two of the clock.

The Assembly reassembled after Lunch at half past two of the clock, Mr K.C. Neogy (one of the Panel of chairmen) in the Chair.

Mr Chairman (Mr K.C. Neogy): The House will resume consideration of the motion that the bill further to amend the Indian Unions Act, 1926 be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon.

Mr N.M. Joshi: Like Mr Griffiths I propose to support the motion that the bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon, but at the same time I wish to make it quite clear that I have some criticisms to offer on the Bill and I have not made up my mind yet as to what my final attitude will be towards this measure.

Mr Griffiths in his speech assured the house that wise and good employers welcome sound, representative and responsible trade unions. He also said that they welcome strong trade unions. If the employers in this country had welcomed the trade union movement then the necessity of for this measure would not have arisen at all. The employers in this country not only did not encourage the starting of trade unions but proved themselves hostile towards that movement. It is an elementary right of an employee to discuss the conditions of his employment with his employer either individually or through an organisation. That I consider to be what is called recognition of trade unions. But the employers not only in this country but outside are autocratic, they want to impose the conditions of employment upon their employees without any consultation with the employees. Not only that but workers generally are anxious to co-operate with the employers in fixing the conditions of service, but the employers who believe in the principle of competition and rivalry have greater faith in struggle. They even struggle with their employees in fixing the conditions of employment of their employees. It is on account of this difference between the workers and the employers that the

need for this Bill has arisen. There is one more difference. An employer says that if the employees do not like the conditions they should leave the employment. It is very easy for an employer to say that; although he may suffer some loss if all the employees leave, the employer is not going to starve. But the worker cannot take up that attitude very lightly. He knows that if he gives up his employment it may not be very easy for him after serving in one industry to go to another industry and get employment. Therefore, the employer can easily take up an attitude that he need not discuss the conditions of employment with his employees but the employees cannot take up that attitude. On account of this reason the tendency on the part of the employers has been to oppose the starting of trade unions. This question was gone into very thoroughly by the Royal Commission on Indian Labour and the Commission has stated the various reasons given by the employers for not recognising trade unions and they are summarised in the Statement of Objects and Reasons of this Bill. The House will be surprised to know how unreasonable those excuses have been which have been pleaded by the employers. Some employers oppose the recognition of trade unions on the ground that outsiders are office bearers of the Trade Union. All the organisations of the employers at least most of them have got officers who are not members of their organisation. They do not mind employing outsiders as Secretaries of their organisations.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): What sort of organisations?

Mr N.M. Joshi: Take, for instance, the Bombay Milowners Association. Its Secretary is not a member. They do not mind employing outsiders as their office bearers but they object to the employees having outsiders as their office bearers. Then Mr Griffiths said that the unions are not representative.

Mr P.J. Griffiths: On a point of personal explanation, Sir, I never said that. I wanted to know what was meant by a representative union and I said that unions must be representative.

Mr N.M. Joshi: I feel that an employee has a right to form an organisation and every such organisation has a right to represent the views and opinions and the grievances of its members. I hold that the representative character of a trade union does not arise unless that trade union seeks to negotiate an agreement which will be binding upon even non-members. So long as the organisation represents the views of its members and so long as the organisation only seeks to negotiate an agreement on behalf of the members, the question of the representative character of the organisation does not arise at all. The employees may have a small organisation. So long as the organisation represents the views of the members, I feel that the organisation has every right to make representation to the employer and the employer should be bound to accept the representation on behalf of the members. I can understand again, I repeat — if the union seeks to make an agreement with the employers on behalf of the whole body of employees, a large number of whom are not members, then alone the representative character of the union has some relevance. I feel, Sir, ordinarily speaking, the conditions of service for all employees are common and from that point of view, the representative or unrepresentative character of the union should not really make any difference even though the union may seek to represent the views of the whole body.

I therefore, feel that the employers in this country are responsible for the bill. Some of them went much further than insisting upon the union being representative. They want the trade unions not to have any politics. Some of them do not like particular kinds of politics of the trade unions. I do not know whether the Government of India have insisted upon the various organisations of the employers having either no politics or having particular kinds of politics. I do not know why the employers should insist upon the trade unions either having

no politics or having only particular kinds of politics but the employers insist upon doing that. I know several employers who have done that. The Bombay Mill Owners Association did not recognise a trade union in Bombay on the ground that the office bearers of that trade union are communists. I know some employers in Cawnpore who did not recognise a union on that ground. I can read to you from the Standing Order of a mill in Madura — 'the management will recognise only a union of the workers devoid of the social or political views'. I, therefore, feel that the employers in this country had shown hostility towards the trade union movement. It is for that reason the Bill has become necessary. This question of the recognition of trade unions was given great importance as the Honourable the Labour Member has said by the Royal Commission on Labour. They felt that not only for the protection of the interests of the workers in this country but generally in the interests of the industry itself there should be a spirit of co-operation between the employers and the employees and therefore everything should be done to encourage the growth of the trade union movement so that by the method of discussion and argument the differences between the employers and the employees should be resolved and settled. This question of compulsory recognition was also discussed by the Royal Commission. They felt at that time that what is of great importance is not formal recognition but the spirit underlying the recognition. There must be the co-operative spirit . . . of giving justice to the employers, the spirit of giving fair play to them.

Therefore the Royal Commission felt, and I agreed with the Royal Commission that we should not attach great importance to recognition by legislation or by statute. What the statute and legislation can give is formal recognition. It cannot give the real spirit behind that recognition. At that time the Royal Commission felt that if the government would insist upon the employers recognising the trade unions not by legislation but by persuasion, the necessity for legislation may not arise and legislation itself really could not give what was of great importance. Although I personally still remain of the opinion which I had expressed in the report of the Royal Commission with which I agree. I realise that in the trade union movement in this country there is a large section of persons taking part in the movement who feel that although the legislation may give only formal recognition still it is better to have some recognition than to have no recognition. There are many people in this country who have worked in several unions and after conducting the unions for a number of years they find that the unions are still not getting recognition. There is a limit to the patience with which people can work in those organisations. Naturally they feel that although they cannot expect to infuse the proper spirit among the employers by legislation it is better to have legislation. That is the view of the general trade union movement in this country at present. When the Government of India circulated the draft of a Bill last year, the All India Trade Union Congress welcomed the intention of the Government of India to secure recognition from the employers by legislation. In this Bill the Government of India is empowering the Provincial Governments to secure recognition from the employers to trade unions and the Provincial Government is authorised to appoint a board of Recognition. The Board of Recognition will consider the conditions which are laid down in this Bill and some other conditions and make recommendations to the Provincial Governments and the Provincial Government is given discretion either to accept the recommendation or not. This Bill also lays down certain conditions. In the first place, I do not understand why the Government of India should provide for the appointment of a Board to go into the question of the fitness of a trade union to be worthy of recognition and then leave it to the Provincial Government to accept the recommendation of the Board or not.

Then, Sir I would like to say a few words as regards the conditions which Government of India have laid down. They insist that before a union is recommended for recognition the union must be in existence for one year. Such a condition is unnecessary. Then the Government of India have laid down that only a representative union shall be recognised. I have stated my view on this subject. What I have to say on this occasion is this. Under what conditions the union will be regarded as representative is not stated in the Bill. It is left to the rules and it is only after the rules are made that we can say how far this condition can be fulfilled or not but, Sir, the Government of India does not stop there. The government of India also has laid down in the Bill that the Provincial Government may lay down any further conditions by rules. We do not know what further conditions will be laid down. Mr Griffiths did not refer to this. He seems to have confidence in the Government that the Rules will lay down conditions which the employees will accept. Unless we know therefore what are the further conditions which the Local Governments propose to lay down for the recognition of a union, we do not know whether this Bill is likely to be of much use or not. The Government of India also provide that the Board of Recognition may ask for any further information on any points which the Board of Recognition think fit. And if the union is unable to furnish that information, that Union will be regarded as being unfit for recognition. The Union will try generally to give to the Board of Recognition whatever information the Union can reasonably be expected to give, but it is wrong to provide that if a union cannot give any information which the Board of Recognition wants, then the Board of Recognition has discretion not to recommend that union for recognition.

Then, Sir, this bill provides that under certain conditions the recognition of a trade union may be withdrawn. Among other conditions, the Government of India have laid down two further conditions. One of them is that if the members of a trade union take part in an illegal strike, then the recognition of that union shall be withdrawn. Similarly if the office bearers of the executive of a trade union take part in an illegal strike, on that ground the unions recognition will be withdrawn. I feel that the Government of India seem to believe that the workers in this country are so rash that they very light heartedly take part in illegal strikes. The workers know very well the consequences of taking part in an illegal strike. They expose themselves to being either fined, or generally speaking, being sent to jail. When they take part in an illegal strike, they do it because there is absolutely no other way of securing justice for them. Therefore, if a Government lays down a condition that if the members of a trade union take part in an illegal strike their recognition shall be withdrawn, I feel that it will have a very harmful effect upon the trade union movement and upon conditions of the working classes in this country. I ask the Honourable the Labour Member to consider what will happen today when under the National Service Ordinance and under the Essential Services Ordinance every strike is illegal if the employees want their conditions to be improved and if the Provincial Governments do not take adequate steps to see that their conditions are improved. I am connected in Bombay with a union which comes under the Essential Services Ordinance. I know about two years ago or a little less than two years ago there was an illegal strike. The workers wanted their conditions to be improved and the Local Government did not improve their conditions and there was an illegal strike. The workers knew the consequences of taking part in an illegal strike. But they took the risk because there was no other way of securing the improvement in their conditions or securing even justice to them. I, therefore, feel that this condition will reduce the usefulness of the measure. Then Sir, the Government of India provides that recognition of trade union will be taken away if the office bearers or the executive

of that trade union make propaganda which will retard the war effort. Now, Sir, I do not know what propaganda is likely to be considered as retarding the war effort. A trade union generally likes to secure proper conditions of work for the employees and one of the ways in which the trade union likes to improve the conditions of its members is to ask for more wages or sufficient dearness allowances. I do not know whether asking for sufficient dearness allowance will be regarded as retarding the war effort or not, but I know of several cases in which the representatives of workers, the executives of the trade unions and the leaders of workers were sent to jail simply because the workers had gone on strike for securing improvement in their condition and the Governments thought that the strike in that particular industry was retarding the war effort. A large number of industries in this country are today making production for war and any strike in any of these industries will be regarded as regarding war effort. I, therefore, feel that laying down such a condition in this Bill will reduce the usefulness of this measure.

Then, Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr Jammndas Mehta has already pointed out that if this Bill puts on the employer the obligation to consider only what are known as common grievance then the utility of the trade union will greatly suffer.

One more point as regards the duties to be imposed upon trade unions. The Government of India is proposing that if an employer on the representation of the workers once comes to a decision on a point, that point cannot be reopened again. I do not know whether the Government of India want to stabilise the conditions of employment for all time. I can understand the Government of India saying that if the employer has come to a decision the same question need not be opened for about a month or so. But if you say that once the employer comes to a decision that point cannot be reopened then we have to face stabilisation of conditions in the industry of this country. I do not like that the Government of India should exclude themselves from the operation of this measure. If an obligation is to be placed upon private employers to recognise a union, I do not know why the Government of India should exclude themselves from the operation of this bill. I do not attribute to the honourable Member the motive which Mr Griffiths had attributed to them but I would like the Government of India to take upon themselves the obligation which they are prepared to place upon others.

There is one more remark which I would like to make. The Government of India is securing for the employees the right of being able to make representations to the employers by means of this measure. I would have liked the Government of India to have gone a little further and provide protection for the workers against victimization to which the employers resort on the ground that the workers belong to a trade union or on the ground of their trade union activity. Such protection is provided in the legislation of this kind in several countries. For instance the American legislation, the Bombay Trade Disputes-Act also enable the worker if he is discharged or dismissed wrongfully to take up this question to an industrial court. I would like the Government of India to provide this protection against victimization to members of the trade union and for taking part in the trade union movement.

One word more, Sir, this Bill has left several important points to the rule-making power of the Provincial Government. I would like the Government of India to consider whether they cannot themselves take decisions and provide in the Bill after it is circulated and opinions are obtained and put in these provisions in the legislation itself. For instance, the Bill provides that representatives of trade unions and the employers will be appointed in accordance with the rules made. Sir, much will depend upon how the representatives are appointed. I have said that the question of the representative character of the trade union shall also depend

upon the rules made. Similarly they have also provided that further conditions laid down will also be according to the rules made. I would like the draft rules made before the legislation is passed so that we can understand whether the measure will be of sufficient use or not. We can judge the character of the measure by seeing the rules. I do not wish to say anything more. I am glad that the government of India have brought forward this measure and they are circulating it for eliciting public opinion. I hope the Government will benefit by the suggestions made by the trade unions in this country and introduce such changes as are necessary in the interest of the workers so that this Bill might be useful to them and they may wholeheartedly welcome the improved measure.

Sir Gurnath Bewoor (Secretary, Posts and Air Department): Sir my only excuse in getting up is to deal with certain remarks which were made by my Honourable friend. Mr Jamnadas Mehta. He rather conveyed the impression that of all the Departments of the Government, the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department, was harsher with its unions, and he had a particular word of love or tolerance for the Railway Department. I have been in the department for over 20 years and have had the pleasure of dealing with Indian Posts and Telegraph Unions. I think, we in the Posts and telegraphs are probably one of the first to have recognised Unions. I remember that we had recognised Unions before the last war – the Indian Telegraph Association. One of the reasons why the Government employees are excluded from the provisions of this Bill is probably – I do not pretend to reveal the intention of the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill because there are well established rules for the recognition of Associations of Government servants. There are rules for the recognition of Associations of Government servants in industrial as also in non-industrial establishments. There are in fact at the present moment a very large number of recognised Trade Unions of Government servants. In the Posts and Telegraphs Department itself, there are 13 All-India Unions which have been recognised. Many of these All-India Unions have their provincial branches, divisional branches and district branches and every one of these has access to the proper officer with whom correspondence is carried on and with whom interviews are given from time to time. The particular instance or incident which Mr Jamnadas Mehta mentioned, I think requires clarification. He seemed to give the impression that the then Director General and the then Member in charge had a particular objection to Mr Jamnadas Mehta. I do not think that was the case at all. I have here the circular which was then issued by the Director General reproducing the letter written by the Director General to the General Secretary of the Union. A meeting of the All-India Postal and R.M.S. Union was held in 1931 and they were rather exciting times, because those were days of retrenchment and pay cuts and I believe the feelings of Government servants were a bit excited. We were also one of the victims of that kind. At that time there was a meeting held and Mr Jamnadas Mehta, as President of the Union made a speech and also Mr N.C. Sen Gupta the then Secretary also made a speech. The Director General referring to the statement made and the article issued by Mr Jamnadas Mehta under the heading 'Clarion Call' which was published in one of the Departmental Magazines said that it was plain that the office bearers of the Union and others were responsible for the issue of most misleading statements to the body of the postal staff and for direct and indirect incitements to the staff to be false to their duties. The circular went on to mention certain statements made therein that the General Secretary asserted that, whereas the Government held the revisions of pay as responsible for the deficit, the real fact was that there is a surplus of eight crores of rupees which is taken away by the Government for the maintenance of the Army and the Police Department. He represented the Governments as maintaining the I.C.S.

at the sacrifice of the mail runners and he stated that the cut in pay was not graded but that the same amount was to be contributed by a postman drawing Rs 19 per month as by the highest paid I.C.S. Officer.

The Members of the Retrenchment Committee [including such public men as Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, the Honourable Mr Basu, Mr Muhammad (now sir) Yamin Khan, Mr F.C. Annesley, Mr Amer Nath Dutt, with only one of the Government servant, Mr N.V Raghvan] were represented as being men of the government and their recommendations belittled accordingly.

Now, Sir, Mr Jamnadas Mehta said that his statements were not challenged. I say, they were challenged. The letter to the General Secretary said:

The whole of the foregoing statements are manifestly untrue. As regards the accounts of the Department these have been recast and revised on the advice of expert official and unofficial advisers. The suitability of the accounting system and of the principles on which it is based has as your Union is aware, recently been the subject of an impartial review by an expert Committee presided over by Sir Cowasjee Jehangir and comprising as Members Mr Gangaram Kaula, officiating Controller of Civil Accounts and Mr F Pearson, late Deputy Controller and Accountant General of the General Post Office, London. To represent the presentation of the departmental accounts, in such circumstances as Mr N. C. Sen Gupta is reported to have done, as being in effect a device designed to injure a particular stratum of the postal service and to conceal a real profit designed to benefit other particular services or officials is a scandalous attempt to inflame and mislead the members of the postal staff.

Sir, it was not merely the speech which Mr Jamnadas Mehta or Mr N.C. Sen Gupta made that caused the action to be taken. The Union issued a referendum to its Members and in this referendum they called upon the members to agree to 'no work beyond the hours prescribed by the time test', 'No work more than eight hours a day', 'attending office with a minimum of dress' and 'wearing of a black badge'. Mr Jamnadas Mehta in his 'Clarion call' called upon the Members to support the proposal for passive resistance embodied in the referendum.

Sir, after such action was taken by the President of the Union of these lines, it was obviously impossible for the Postal Department of the Government of India to support the continued recognition of the Union. Actually what happened was that this letter of the Director General and later on the reply from the General Secretary to which a detailed reply was given were all published in the Director General's general circular and were sent over to every member of the staff, because I believe at that time many people felt including myself that the General body of the staff had really no sympathy with the movement, but it was only a few members who were creating mischief.

Mr Jamnadas Mehta spoke of 1 lakh and 10,000 postal employees. Sir, the number who formed members of this particular Union which is the All-India Postal and R.M.S. Union and excluded therefore the whole of the telegraph and telephone staff could hardly be 1 lakh and 10,000. However, the matter was negotiated; there was a good Deal of discussion and at the intervention of Mr S.C. Mitra — not Mr Joshi, — who was then president of the provincial branch of the Bengal and Assam Association, the matter was finally settled. It is true that the Director General and the Government of India felt that Mr Jamnadas Mehta's presence was a disturbing factor in the Union. It must be remembered that we in this House are accustomed to Mr Mehta's violent and exaggerated statements and we all take them with a ton of salt; but the members of the Postal Union who are people to whom Mr Jamnadas Mehta is a great leader more inclined to take his statements exactly as they are and not with any salt at all.

And though the Director General then said that he felt that Mr Mehta's presence was a disturbing factor he did not insist upon his removal. After Mr S C Mitra had interviewed the Honourable Member, Government agreed that—

they do not desire to insist upon the complete and unqualified observance of the requirement that no non official shall be employed as office bearers of the Union so long as they can feel satisfied with the general conduct of the Union and in particular so long as they are satisfied as to the character of the influence exercised by non-officials.

It was a very happy ending to an unfortunate incident. Eleven years have mellowed my honourable friend Mr Jamnadas Mehta and we do not any longer hear the speeches that he used to make in those old days and I think it is all to the good that Mr Mehta has come to appreciate that there is another side to all our problems and that employees of Government have a particular responsibility. They are there to render 'public service'; the Government of India have an enormous number of provisions to protect Government servants, — measures which I do not think you will find in any private employment. The Government of India have always considered that well-organised associations of Government servants are a positive help in fact we look to them to enable us to give to the public an efficient service. To us and to the Unions as well, service before self is the motto. I am all in favour of well organised associations and it would be entirely wrong to think that the Posts and Telegraphs Department are not encouraging them. On the other hand we welcome well organised associations of our Government servants.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: Sir, I think the House has now got some idea of the difficulties of such legislation as has been brought before us and which it is proposed to circulate for public opinion. And I can prophesy with some certainty that when we get those opinions they will be of a very conflicting nature and to pick out what is right and what is wrong will be no easy task either for the Honourable Member or for this House. Both points of view have been put before this House perhaps not very fully: but the House has now some idea that there are two sides to the question. My Honourable friend, Mr Griffiths very rightly pointed out that the most important factor in all Bills of this kind — this is not the first one that many of us have had to consider — is as to what constitutes the representative character of a trade union. But I may point out that I consider it much more important to define clearly the representative character of a trade union *leader* in India for trade unions in all parts of the world are made by their leaders. And if you have a really representative trade union leader, one who is really anxious to serve his people and to look to the interests of the workers then that trade union will be a representative trade union. But if you get professional trade union leaders who are there not for purposes which are legitimate, but which are in my opinion completely illegitimate then however representative that trade union may be it will be a source of mischief not only to the employers but much more to the employees.

Sir, Mr Griffiths talked about trade unionism in England. The important point to remember is that trade unions in England are led by working men of a character of which any country can be proud. John Burns, when I was a boy, was the first trade union leader to enter the House of Commons, and when he came in with a bowler hat instead of a top hat he prided himself on being a working man, a man who had worked with his own hands, a man whose father had done the same, a man who had received the recognition of all his fellow workmen and who had been sent as the first representative of labour to the House of Commons. That is the class of trade union leaders that will make trade unions successful. Sir, I am not casting

any reflections. The two gentlemen who sit here are worthy leaders of trade unions but all trade union leaders in India, — my experience is only confined to Bombay, — are not of the calibre, the sincerity honesty of purpose and with the consistent record of hard work in the interests of labour as my Honourable friends Mr Joshi and Mr Mehta. And therefore I would beg the House not to believe that all so-called trade union leaders are of the calibre of these two gentlemen, although they may not have been labour workers themselves. I believe my Honourable friend, Mr Mehta, is an eminent lawyer: he is also interested in trade and commerce but is still a trade union leader. And I believe, as my friend, Sir Gurunath Bewoor, said, in latter years he has mellowed down, as we see him today and during at least this war, let it be said to his credit, he has led labour aright. Although he is a Barrister-at-Law, although he is a commercial man let us give him credit that is due to him. About the Honourable friend to my left, Mr Joshi, whom I have had the pleasure and honour of knowing for about 40 years and with whom I have dealt on more than one occasion. let me tell the Honourable Members in this House that no more honest leader of trade unions exists in India. Of most of the others the less said the better. That is why I insist that there should be a proper definition as to what a trade union leader should be.

Now, Sir, we have been told that the employers of labour are against trade unions. I can speak with no authority for all parts of India, but I do claim to have had a little experience of the Province of Bombay, a little experience both as an employer of labour, also as a Member of Government in charge of labour, during some of the worst strikes we have ever had when my Honourable friend Mr Joshi came on many an occasion to plead on behalf of labour, in company that was sometimes very doubtful. My mind goes back to those days, — and I remember having warned Mr Joshi, to leave such company or else his independent character would be doubted in the future. But I am glad to say that notwithstanding the company he kept Mr Joshi remained the dear N.M. Joshi of old. That is why I maintain most friendly that it is the leadership of these unions that we have to guard against. Sir we have been told that employers of labour are against trade unionism. I do not think Mr Joshi has been fair to the employers of labour. I have known of instances where employers have tried to start trade unions on proper lines so that they may assist.

Mr T.T. Krishnamachari (Tanjore cun. Trichinopoly: No. Muhammadan Rural) — Rival trade unions?

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: No. Proper trade unions. If my honourable friend knows a great deal about it, he can speak about it later.

Mr T.T. Krishnamachari: I shall.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: I know instances where employers of labour tried to start trade unions on proper lines with leaders who were really interested in labour and who would see that labour gets a fair deal. And I think I can conscientiously echo what Mr Griffiths said that the accusation that employers of labour are against trade union is not true today. Much water has passed under the bridge since the report of the Royal Commission on Labour and conditions of labour in Bombay have considerably changed since those days and what may have been correct then cannot be said to be true today.

Then, Sir, Mr Jamnadas Mehta referred to the legislation which was brought forward in the Bombay Legislative Council — mark you by a Congress Government — which he so strenuously opposed. If it had been done by a Government in which I had been unfortunately a Member, or if it had been a Government in which some of these Honourable Members sitting here had any part one would have said that there might have been something in

Mr Jamnadas Mehta's vigorous opposition. But I would again repeat that that legislation which is on the Statute-book today was introduced by a Congress Government and was pushed through the legislature by methods perhaps unknown to us, but, notwithstanding Mr Jamnadas's long and persistent and obstructive eloquence the Congress Government with their majority knew how to deal with him by methods which I trust he will never experience again.

Mr Jamnadas M. Mehta: They accepted many amendments.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: At any rate, having accepted some amendments, they pushed through that legislation, and it is on the Statute-book today

An Honourable Member: What is it about?

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: Trade Dispute Bill for the *Textile* industry of Bombay. If my memory serves me aright, one of the objects that tempted the Congress Government to insist on this legislation was to prevent labour trouble in textile industry in Bombay, because they felt that great industry was being paralysed by so-called trade union leaders

Mr T.T. Krishnamachari: Were you in the confidence of the Government at that time?

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: It was an open secret. Where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise. If you will keep quiet and listen, you will learn something.

At any rate it was a fact repeated in the Legislative Council of Bombay by the Congress Home Member while giving reasons for bringing forward that legislation: It was to prevent unnecessary strikes, and above everything else to give them some peace of mind. I do not maintain that piece of legislation was perfect, but I do say honestly that if I ever agreed with the Congress Government I did on that occasion. And let it be said to the credit of those members of the Congress Government, who pushed through that Bill that they did it in the interests of their province, in the interests of labour and in the interests of the employers of labour.

Mr Jamnadas M. Mehta: That latter statement is true.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: No wonder there was such opposition from Mr Jamnadas. He has related to what extent that opposition went, but it also is a very clear illustration as to what we shall be up against when this Bill comes before us after circulation. There is bound to be difference of opinion and I do hope and pray that this House will take a balanced view in the interests of labour itself, for the interests of both the employers of labour and the employees are identical in maintaining peace and harmony in trade and industry. You must make the measure such that men will not get power and influence in these trade unions for political reasons alone. Men who are out to serve some other object, political or otherwise, who can find no method of doing so or attempting to do so unless they take advantage of innocent labour. Prevent that by any legislation you can, and you will be doing a service to this country. Build-up if you can, a set of real trade union leaders, men who come from the lowest rung of the ladder, men who know inside out the work that has to be done, men who have suffered themselves and realised what the sufferings of the workmen are, and demand remedies for such sufferings. Prevent men from taking a prominent part in trade union matters, men who, to say the least can be described as despicable because, in order to serve their own ends they are prepared to see thousands of men and women starving for some length of time without the slightest compunction and without the slightest ability to feed them, and sustain them in their time of trial; and in the end when the labourer has to yield what happens to these so-called leaders? They disappear not to be found again for a year or two or more, when they start their nefarious work again. Such men I am sure, are well known to my friend who sits behind me and my friend to my left, and if both of them will help this House to frame

legislation which will prevent such men from getting power they will have done a service to labour and to this country. It is no easy matter but an attempt can be made and is worth making: as my Honourable friend, Mr Joshi said, legislation may not be effective. You may recognise a trade union by law but very much will depend on the trade union itself. In some parts of the world trade unions get power without legislation: they get power because they deserve it. If a trade union does not deserve it, it will not get power merely because this House chooses to recognise it. It will be a failure. It will do the damage that many trade unions have done and are doing to labour today

Then Mr Joshi gave us a most extraordinary comparison. He said that the secretary of the millowners Association is a paid man

Mr N.M. Joshi: I said he is an outsider

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: Every man in any association, in any industry, who does the administrative clerical work, who carries out orders and merely orders, is a paid man.

Mr N.M. Joshi: Why should not the Secretary of a trade union be an outsider?

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: Because the secretary of a trade union is not merely a clerical or administrative man who carries out the orders of the President. There is a very great difference. I do not object to him being a paid man: there is a very great difference between a man who does the administrative work and carries out orders and the man who gives the orders. The secretary of the Millowners Association, a most qualified man, a man we have had for many years, Mr Maloney. . . .

Mr N.M. Joshi: An outsider!

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: And no better man the Millowners Association ever had — he had to work under a Committee and under a chairman.

He guided them perhaps: but final orders were the chairman's and the committee's. There is no objection to the trade unions having paid presidents. By all means let the trade unions pay those officers: there can be no objection. Every man must live and if the president of a trade union devotes his whole time to the work of the trade union it is only right that the trade union should pay him properly and maintain him and his family. There is nothing wrong in it: but where the objection comes in is that the head of the trade union is not a workman himself: he has never been a workman he becomes the chairman of a trade union for purposes other than to serve the interests of the trade union. Nobody objects to a man being paid. In England all trade union officials are paid by the trade unions. Do they live on air? They are all full time men, paid and paid liberally by the Unions: they are returned to the House of Commons at the cost of the Unions: nobody objects to that. What I am objecting to is the class of men that become chairmen or presidents. By all means Mr Joshi must be paid for the work he does: how can he live otherwise? I would be the first vote that he should be paid: I am not objecting to that: but I am objecting.

Mr N. M. Joshi: To my being the president

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: . . . to being the president and taking advantage of trade union funds surreptitiously and not openly: take a salary openly by all means, but do not put your hand into the pockets of the trade union members surreptitiously. That is what I am objecting to. To be an honorary trade union worker and to pilfer funds from its treasury is a criminal act. Take a salary openly by all means. Who objects to that? But to make a comparison between the secretary of the millowners association — why we even had a paid Chairman for years, a distinguished Member of this Honourable House — there is nothing wrong in that. The man is a fully time man and he must be given his wage.

There was just one point raised by Mr Joshi which was of considerable importance. He said that a few labourers or a few working men who might be members of a trade union should have the right to represent the whole of the trade union: and that in his own words, if they represented the views of all the members they should be recognised. Amongst its members there may be 5 per cent. of all labour, they may be only 10 per cent, not very much more; and yet they should be recognised because according to Mr Joshi they represented the views of labour in that industry. But what is the guarantee that that ten per cent do represent the views of all? That is the point. The point is that it does not matter who it is, but if he represents the views of all the labour in that industry he has a right to be heard; but if he merely pretends to represent their views, it is objectionable, and that is what is happening. You have a trade union with 10 per cent. of labour as members. You pretend what guarantee is there that it does? The only guarantee is that a large number of the industrial labour are members of that trade union: that can be the only guarantee. That is the point that makes a representative trade union a large number being members helping out of their small salaries to support that union. That makes the union representative and that must be provided for in the Bill. It is not easy to define in India what is a representative trade union. Mr Griffiths well knows perhaps that there are trade unions in India with only 5 per cent of the whole labour as members, who have clamoured for representation and who have not represented the views of labour, who have misled labour rather than led labour. Therefore, what is a representative union is difficult to define, but in general terms it must have as a minimum a certain percentage of the whole labour as its members. There must be on each occasion a fair unanimity on the point they are fighting, then it becomes a representative trade union.

I do not want to take the time of the House any longer I will only apologise to my Honourable friend Mr Jamnadas Mehta, for having been indirectly responsible in any way for having him removed from the Presidentship of the Post and Telegraph Union. I was not aware of it, but I can assure him of one thing, that the Committee over which I had the honour to be Chairman worked for many months, and the conclusions we came to were arrived at my honest conviction. I greatly regret that I should have had even an indirect and in having my Honourable friend removed.

Mr Jamnadas M. Mehta: You were not responsible.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: That is all I have got to say. In conclusion I would beg that this House do take a real interest in this piece of legislation and that when it is being considered we shall see a few more occupants or those Benches opposite, that they will not be empty. Where they have all disappeared today on an important Bill of the sort I do not know but when it is before us again, I do express the sincere hope that they will be here to assist us in this most important legislation.

Mr T.T. Krishnamachari: The provocation of my rising to day has been furnished by my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir. I must say that I was not amused by all that he said. It is not an unexpected exhibition in this House either. My Honourable friend gave this House the benefit of much of nineteenth century wisdom. He told us about what should be done, about what should not be done, what are the right things to do, and his own particular affiliation to that country six thousand miles away made him draw parallels from what has happened in that country. But, Sir, the whole object behind Sir Cowasjee Jehangir's speech is merely to tell us that employers do not trust labour leaders that they are the best custodians of labour interests and that they would have to approve whether a particular individual is a fit person to be a representative labour leader or not. All these things were very good when

people looked to benevolent employers in times back, but to-day that does not happen to be true. I am not concerned, Sir, with the fact that he is free with his bouquets of praise of the leadership of my Honourable friends Messrs. Joshi and Jamnadas Mehta but objects generally on principle to non worker leading the labour movement. That does not alter facts. I am not concerned either that he condemned the late Congress Government of Bombay roundly, but at the same time he is quite satisfied that they did the right thing by his class what to-day happens is this. Labour wants its right to be recognised. Division cuts across the whole population — those who have and those who have not. Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, if he has got any representative capacity at all represents those that have and it does not lie in his mouth to speak of the class that is opposed to his own.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: Whom do you represent?

Mr T. T. Krishnamachari: I certainly do not represent your class.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: You represent yourself

Mr T.T. Krishnamachari: I do not feel disposed to respond to Sir Cowasjee Jahangir's jibes, particularly when he did not want other people to interrupt him

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: I won't interrupt him again.

Mr T.T. Krishnamachari: My Honourable friend attempts to be humorous but I cannot see any humour except in his appearance, and I do not propose to take him seriously. There is no denying the fact that many Members of this House represent much large constituencies than my Honourable friend who chooses to interrupt me. The fact really is that he has come here as an avowed representative of one class a class which does insist on its right to be preserved. It is understandable, but it nevertheless remains that the arguments that he put forward were nineteenth century arguments and he now rises like a Rip Van Winkle and demands the rights of people who have lost their right in the eyes of the world.

I have been listening with very great attention and respect to the statement made by my Honourable friend, Mr Joshi. I must say that I agree with his objections to this bill, this particular amending Bill — a hesitant halting attempt brought forward by the government of to-day which cannot bring forward a bolder measure because of the very nature of its composition arouses the criticism of my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir. He says that labour leaders should be people who have done some manual work but employers' Secretaries Chairmen of employers Associations need not be people who have worked. They must be men with money with a large bank balance and above all plenty of 'Readymoney'. And it would not be proper for a labour organisation to say what should be the nature and type of employers' organisations. But my Honourable friend, the representative of employers, will say such and such a person should be a labour leader: if labour would not come together no outsider must come and bring them together to see that justice is done to them to see that they get a living wage. If an outsider comes into the labour movement, in very many cases it happens that people who have come in, have done so because they desire to see justice to be done to labour, he should be forbidden from doing so. I must say here that I am not a labour leader but I have seen scores of instances in my own province where every time there is a strike or an attempted strike it was because the just demand of labour was opposed by employers and these outside leaders saw to it, that justice was done to labour union. My Honourable friend Mr Joshi, mentioned the instance of an employer in Madura refusing recognition to a labour union. And why? Because the employer has got under his thumb another labour union, whose leaders are perhaps extremely docile and he does not want any trouble in his industry. If the definition of a representative trade union is left as it is in this

bill to-day labour has got to face a great deal of risk. What does it matter whether a union is represented by ten per cent of the workers or more or less? The workers have got only one voice and one set of views and that is always opposed by the employers. If it be that there is only one worker who constitutes a union, that worker's right to represent labour is much more sacred than the right of any employer to refuse to recognise his representative character. That is why labour interests will look askance at this rather loose definition of representation — leaving the definition open by saying subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the Provincial Government and by the Tripartite board which this amending Bill seeks to create. [At this stage, Mr President (The Honourable *Sir Abdur Rahim*) resumed the Chair]

There is also another aspect which my Honourable friend, Mr Joshi, touched on, to which I would like to add my support and that is the question of rights of union to negotiate with the employers. Such rights have been defined in this Bill but some rights have been taken away also. Labour's rights have been limited by the definition. I think the rights of a trade union to negotiate with the employers should be unlimited. I have seen myself that such restriction of rights will only lead to labour unions being completely left to the tender mercies of the employers. I have known an occasion in my province when a union representing 13 to 14 thousand people could not get near the employers and they had to approach the government which acted as a post office, sending letters from the Union to the employers and from employers to the union. the net result was that 13 to 14 thousand people were kept locked out for a couple of months and ultimately they had to accept the employers terms. These rights must be unlimited so far as the approach to the employer is concerned and that is why I feel that the Bill does not really go far enough. It is halting and hesitant and even this Bill with so many safeguards would not find acceptance from that interest, which my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, represents. I think today, Sir, in any elected legislature there can only be one view. The preponderant majority in an elected legislature there can only be one view, that is the view of the workers and not the view of the employers. (An Honourable Member: 'Not very much chance'). If they don't then bad luck to them that is all I can say.

I would like before closing to add my meagre measure of support to what has been said by my Honourable friend, Mr Joshi. This Bill will have to be examined with a bias in favour of the worker rather than in favour of the employer. The employer has this safeguard — that there is money which is behind the employer. There is no denying that as politics can be influenced by the employer. The labour Union are every day running the risk of rival labour unions being started or their own leaders, loyalty being split and the union disintegrated. That risk is there. A powerful employer can do whatever he likes to do. With this in the background, the amending Bill will have to be shaped and I would like every elected member to bear this in mind, that he is expected to do justice to the man in the street and who happens to be a worker and not an employer.

An Honourable Member: I move that the question be now put.

Mr President (The Honourable *Sir Abdur Rahim*): The question is:

'That the question be now put'

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Dr B.R. Ambedkar: Sir, the Bill which I have the honour to move for circulation has given rise to controversy. This is of course, not unexpected. As I said in my opening observations, this Bill is undoubtedly a controversial measure but I also stated in the course of my opening observations that I do not propose to enter into the controversy today

and to reply to the various points that have been made. I do not do so in any spirit of discourtesy to Honourable Members who have taken part in this debate and presented their point of view. I assure them that I will bear their points in mind and consider their validity on the occasion when such occasion will arise.

If I rise at this stage, as I said it is not to reply to the various points that have been made but I do feel that I am bound to meet certain points of criticism which were made by my Honourable friend. Mr Griffiths. There is one point which he made which, if will permit me to say so, I think was very unfair. He said that I have brought in a measure which was vague in some ways which contains, if I may use the phrase, empty clauses. His criticism was that I was not justified and that it was unfair on my part to ask the House to consider a Bill which contained such vague and empty clauses. I do not accept that criticism and I do say that it was entirely misconceived and unfounded. I do not admit in the first instance that there are any clauses in this Bill which are vague or that there are any clauses in this Bill which are empty, so empty as not to enable anybody to understand what the Bill aims at. But assuming for a moment that there are certain clauses which are vague and other clauses which require to be put in I do not think that the criticism was valid. If I ask the House to proceed to enact the measure in the form in which it was represented, I could have understood the point of the criticism but that is not what I am doing. I am asking merely the permission of the House that this Bill, such as it is may be circulated for the purpose of eliciting further opinion, so that Government have guidance from such parties as can give guidance and Government in the end may be able to fill in the gaps and make definite what is vague. I therefore submit that there was no point in that criticism which Mr Griffiths made.

Mr Griffiths then said that the Bill in his opinion was unsound in principle. Well, that is a matter of opinion. We have heard people on the other side saying that there is a perfectly sound principle in the Bill and that it ought to be embodied in an Act. Therefore I shall not dwell on that point of his criticism.

The second point that he made was that I have somehow not stated what a representative trade union was. Without meaning any offence, if I may say so, he has either not read the clauses of the Bill or if he has read them he has not understood them. It is perfectly clear from the provisions that are set out in this bill that there are two principal conditions laid down. One is this — that a trade union before it can be recognised must fulfil certain conditions. The second condition which has been laid down is this — that mere fulfilment of the conditions laid down is not a qualification enough for recognition but that the trade union, in addition to fulfilling these qualifications will have to undergo the test of a certification by a board. In fact, if I may say so the principle of the bill — the fundamental part of it — is that the representative character of the Union will depend primarily subject to other conditions on the certificate that a tripartite board, representing Labour, Government and the Employers, will be able to give. My friend then made great play of sub-clause (g) on clause 28D which says: any further conditions that may be prescribed. I cannot understand how Mr Griffiths could have so completely misunderstood the purport of that clause. The position of the Government is . . .

Mr P.J. Griffiths: On a point personal explanation. I did not refer to sub-clause (g) at all.

The Honourable Dr B.R. Ambedkar: I am very sorry if I misunderstood the honourable Member. That is what I took down. What I would like to say is this. The position of the Government is perfectly plain and may be stated briefly. On the basis of the views that were communicated to us in 1941 and on the basis of the views that were communicated from the

various organisations representing labour and capital, Government came to the conclusion that the positive conditions which they have laid down ought to be sufficient. But government does not wish to dogmatise about it and Government does not feel that there might be certain conditions which either the Provincial Government or the employers of labour or capital may find to be necessary to be introduced in this Bill before recognition is granted. It is to make provision for a contingency of that kind that we have introduced these clauses wherever it is stated that further conditions may be prescribed. It is a loophole; it is an opportunity which we have left and designed to take to ourselves the benefit of any advice that we might receive. There is certainly no vagueness and no uncertainty with regard to the provisions of the bill as to what a representative character means.

Mr P.J. Griffiths: On a point of information. Would you explain to the House the meaning of the new clause 28D, sub-clause (e) 'that it is a representative Trade Union'.

The Honourable Dr B.R. Ambedkar: It means a Union which has been certified by the Board as a representative Trade Union.

Mr P.J. Griffiths: Of their own free will?

The Honourable Dr B.R. Ambedkar: The Board will make an investigation and that was the point of comment of my friend, Mr Joshi, who said that the Board is authorised to ask for all sorts of information including the views of the private members.

Mr P.J. Griffiths: Is it the intention that the Board shall have some guidance as to what is meant by 'representative'?

The Honourable Dr B.R. Ambedkar: We propose to. On that point we would like to have a suggestion from various parties as to what sort of instructions they would like us to give to the Board.

Mr P.J. Griffiths: So, you have a blank mind on the subject.

The Honourable Dr B.R. Ambedkar: It is not a blank mind; it is an open mind. That is the way I would like to define my position correctly.

Mr Griffiths as well as other Members who spoke on the bill said that the Government was not justified or rather, to use their own words, Government was illogical in applying clause 28J by exempting Government undertakings from the operation of this Bill.

Now, Sir, the first point that I would like to make in reply to the contention is that logic is certainly not always life. There are many occasions when illogicality would reduce ourselves to extremism and I do not think that any man would prefer extremism to illogicality. Personally, myself, I think if anything could be said with regard to clause 28J, it could be said that Government is not timid, Government is not illogical: Government is wise and Government is cautious. I think that this clause has been somewhat misunderstood. There is no intention to exempt Government from the provisions of this Bill. All that is said is this that a date will be fixed when the provisions of this Bill will be applied to government undertakings. Therefore, if there is any discrimination made in favour of the Government, it is not with regard to the application of the Bill but with regard to the date on which it will become applicable to Government.

Mr P.J. Griffiths: Why is that made?

The Honourable Dr B. R. Ambedkar: There may be necessity for it.

Mr P.J. Griffiths: What is it?

The Honourable Dr B.R. Ambedkar: As I said, I do not want to enter into controversy at this stage and as the Secretary of the Posts and Telegraphs Department said, Government feels that, at any rate for the present, the Government Departments who are employers of labour

have made sufficient provision for the recognition of their trade unions. And in view of the fact that Government has certainly been far more ready to recognise Trade Unions than private employers, I do not think that the interests of labour will suffer if the date for the application of this Bill is postponed. Sir, I have nothing more to say.

Mr President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

'That the Bill further to amend the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon'.

The motion was adopted

39: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from United Provinces for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour has on the whole been quiet, although Communists have been active in Allahabad in attempting to organize a union of railway coolies and in Cawnpore in connection with the question of bonus. There was a short strike for four days at a cotton mill in Aligarh which ended on a promise of a bonus of 3 annas per rupee half-yearly being given. Labourers of another mill withdrew their threat of strike on a similar promise being given. In Lucknow there have been a few dearness allowance and the grain supply arrangements, but at which also alleged misbehaviour of certain railway officials towards the employees was condemned. The Postmen's Union and the employees of the power House also held meetings; the former dealt largely with the need for increased dearness allowances.

40: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/1/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

The Commissioner of Labour reports five strikes during the period under review. Of these, strikes at the General Metal Trading Company, Koilpatti, Tinnevely district and the Industrial Leather Company, Tiruvottiyur have been compromised, the strikes have ended. Reasons for both strikes were demands concerning higher wages or increased allowances in cash or kind. The strikes in the Veda Vyasa Press, Chittoor, Sri Ganesar Aluminium Factory, Madras and the Press room of Common-wealth Trust Tile Factory, Puthiyara, Malabar district are still in progress and further reports from the respective District Magistrates who are negotiating with the parties are awaited. The reasons for these last three strikes are respectively differences of

opinion as to a question of treatment. there was an unimportant strike of Ralli's Ginning Factory at Guntakal on the 17th of January and similarly in south Kanara in the Commonwealth Trust Tile Factory. The inaugural meeting of the Madras provincial Cinema worker's Union was held on the 29th January under the presidentship of T.S. Ramanujam, President of the Madras Rickshaw Pullers' Union. The Madras Labour Union also had a meeting. The Madras Electric Tramways and Supply Corporation workers, the Madras Dock workers and the Madras Kerosene Oil Workers continue to agitate for increased wages and further dearness allowance. Similarly the beedi workers in North Arcot are agitating for an increase in wages. The Collector of South Arcot report that there was some Communist trouble in the south Indian Railway Union at Vridachalam on the 23rd January when a number of communists marched around shouting slogans. He is of opinion that Communists are gaining some influence in labour unions in that area. There has been no trouble in Coimbatore Textile mills, but there has been some agitation advocating firewood rationing. There is at present a great demand for labour for military works at Cocanada, and at Vizagapatam. It is interesting to note that J Ramalingayya, the communist labour agitator has with another communist recently lost elections for office bearers of the Visagapatam Harbour Labour Union. The collector is under the impression that this is an indication that communists school at Vizianagaram was closed on 1-2-44 in order that J.V.K. Vallabharao should proceed to Vizagapatam to deputise for Ramalingayya.

41. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

Textile labour is restless and the Deputy Commissioner, Nagpur, reports that indiscipline is rampant and labour is more and more inclined to resort to violence. Frequent sporadic strikes of short duration have become a regular feature of the Nagpur textile industry. The Commissioner, Nagpur, says that the situation is further complicated by lack of regular supplies of coal and that the Empress Mills have only a week's supply left and will be forced to close down after that, if no coal is received in the meantime. The strike notice given by the C.P. and Berar Textile Workers Union for the 15th of February has been extended on the intervention of the Labour Officer. Communists have been carrying on a vigorous anti-strike propaganda in Nagpur, Nimar and Akola with some success. Textile labour at other centres in the province has also been affected by the agitation for a strike in order to enforce the extravagant demands which have been made by the Textile Union.



42: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Communists

Propaganda continues for the release of Political leaders and the formation of a National Government, and the programme is flavoured with strong criticism of Government's handling of the food problem. Estrangement between the Communist Party and the Provincial Trade Union council grows steadily. The Trade Union council considers the Communists are using the Trades Union Organisations to strengthen their own party interests. While in their turn the Trade Union council are criticised for failure to take steps with regard to the coal situation. At a meeting of the Communists in Jamshedpur apparently the only subject mentioned was criticism of the Radical Democratic Party for the unfair distribution of standard cloth which had been entrusted to them.

43: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

There were the usual number of comparatively unimportant strikes during the fortnight under review. Possibly the most important strike at present in this Presidency is the Sri Ganeshar Aluminium Workers strike in Madras city where the workers who struck illegally without notice are still out. The beedi workers at Ambur, North Arcot and in Malabar have resumed work after successful arbitrations. In the Tiruvallur Division of Chingleput District there is dearth of labourers for agricultural work as a great many men have secured employment in the Avadi military works. This is said to be the main reason for men not forthcoming for recruitment to the Civil Pioneer Force. The workers in the Industrial Leather company at Tiruvottiyur resumed work at the instance of the Labour Officer. There was an unsuccessful one day strike at the Vasanta Mills, Coimbatore when an attempt was made to force the management to grant one day holiday to celebrate the death of a local labour leader. The workers of the Andhra Scientific Company, Masulipatam who struck in protest against the dismissal of six of their colleagues are still out. Two strikes at Visagapatnam are reported. The quarry workers of the Hindustan Construction Company, New Shipyard, Visagapatnam had a one day strike for an increase of wages and gained their end. There is also a strike at present pending settlement among the dockyard workers in Gordon Woodroffe & Company. There was a one day strike at the Crompton Engineering works in Madras. The 18th Annual Conference of the Public Workers Department Workers Union was held on the 12th of

February 1944 under the Presidentship of A. Ranganatha Mudaliar. A Workers Rally was held on the 15th of February under the auspices of the Madras Committee of the Communist party of India and the Provincial Trade Union Congress. S.A. Dange, president of the Trade Union congress presided. Dange also presided over the South Indian Railway Labour Meeting at Trichinopoly when a public meeting of the Labour Union grounds at Golden Rock was held. During the conference he criticised the present Railway administration and other Railway Companies in not redressing the grievances of the labourers, to keep up production of war materials and to help the Allies to win the War. At the 2nd day session of the Conference, (which Dange did not attend), the delegates tabled 37 resolutions, two of them being to stamp out corruption in railway administration and clerical ranks. The Golden Rock Labour Union itself convened a public meeting on the 23rd of February to commemorate the 26th anniversary of the Red Army Day.

In Madras City during the fortnight under review meetings were held by the Tramway workers to condemn the action of the management in organising a welfare committee for Tramway workers; by Motor bus drivers and conductors reiterating the demand for increased dearness allowance and daily batta; and by employees of *Swadesamitran*, Burmah Oil Company, Standard Vacuum Oil Company; Caltex Company; by the workers by the P.W.D. workshop; by the Foundry and Smithy workers; by the 'Toddy tappers; by the Madras Press Labour Union.

In the Ceded district Famine Test Works are being opened. At the famine test work at Perur in Anantapur district, the attendance is 250. In another Test Work in the same taluk the attendance has already risen to nearly 400. The Famine Commissioner has been on tour in this area during the fortnight in order to study the local labour and agrarian situation. The Collector of the Nilgiris reports that shortage of coal has resulted in certain sections of the Cordite factory stopping work at night. There has been a certain amount of unrest in the Nellimarala jute mills in Vizagapatam, where difficulties as to supply of rice have been exploited by local Communist agitators. Two labour clashes are reported during the fortnight under review. In one of these Naval ratings and Dock workers had a fight at Mandapam in the Ramnad District, and in the other, there was a clash between the military and Civil Pioneers at Cocanada. Both these clashes were settled and smoothed out by the local officers concerned.

44: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from United Provinces for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Industrial and Economic

Labour has been generally quiet and what activity there has been has mostly been stirred up by Communists and Radical Democrats. Meetings by employees of railway workshops at Lucknow still continue.



45: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

Swami Sahajanand is again busy at Bihta but without much success. In the collieries there are very substantial increase in some places in the labour force, but nevertheless production for January was still less than in January, 1943. Some of the new labourers from Gorakhpur have arrived and with proper supervision are reported to be likely to make good workers; some of the meetings organised by the Radical Democratic Party recently have been attended by the Government of India Labour Welfare Officers, who give this party their support. Although there has been a 50 per cent increase in basis wages the pay of miners is still not attractive compared with the standards of wages of labour employed on military works.

The Management of the Tatanagar Foundry have filed a petition saying that they have no confidence in the present Adjudicator, and that they were moving Government to transfer the arbitration to some other officer; in the meantime they declined to press their case before the present Adjudicator.

Meetings of the East Indian Railway Labour Union and the Tatas and Dalminagar Unions held during the fortnight were not of great importance, and the speeches for the most part contained complaints about rationing and dearness allowance.

46: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

The shortage of coal is having its effect on textile mills all over the province. The Savatram Ramprasad Mills at Akola and the R.B. Bansilal Abirchand Mills at Hinganghat district have announced their intention of closing down unless adequate stocks of coal are received. The present difficulties are reported to be mainly transport rather than production, and the Provincial Government is in correspondence on the subject with the controller of Coal distribution, Calcutta. The threatened strike in the Nagpur mills commenced in the 26th February involving about 22,000 workers. It was apparently timed to coincide with the Viceroy's visit so as to attract the largest measure of attention to the worker's grievances and demands. The strike was sponsored by the Nagpur Textile Union in opposition to the Communists. The Union is reported to have Congress sympathies since its founder and former President, R.S. Ruikar*, is now a detenu in jail. It is likely that the strike will spread to other mill centres in the province since the Provincial Textile Union is merely a larger edition of the Nagpur

Textile Union. In view of the shortage of coal and the abundance of stocks of cloth the mill managements are reported to be indifferent to the strike.

47: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

The textile strike in Nagpur, Akola, Hinganghat (one mill) Burhanpur and Plugaon which commenced on the 26th of February continues. The mill-hands at Bandnera and Ellichpur (Amraoti district) have refused to join in. Emissaries from the Nagpur Textile Union who went to these two centres were warned off. The Deputy Commissioner, Amraoti, thinks it highly probable that mill-owners themselves have encouraged the strike as it suits them financially. Nagpur mill-owners are known to have bribed labour agitators in the past. The strikers have been peaceful so far. Minor incidents of rowdiness occurred in Nagpur during the Holi festival, which were probably unconnected with the strike.

About 200 out of the 1,000 labourers who were brought into Jubbulpore from the United Provinces deserted. The rest are settling down. A further batch of 1,500 is expected shortly.

Communists are busy with their anti-strike propaganda in the textile centres of the province, but have met with little success so far.

48: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

A strike is threatened at the Bishnu Sugar Mills, Gopalganj, Saran, over various demands for increased pay and allowances, which have been referred to the Labour Commissioner. There is considerable discontent in the Steel Melting Shop at Tata's over the Promotion of the Parsee, superseding a Bengali. Nearly 60 employees of the Bihta Mills have been dismissed since the decision of the Labour Commissioner. The District Magistrate of Patna apprehends developments when Swami Sahajanand returns from Bezwada. In Hazaribagh Chapalendu Bhattacharji continues to be active among coal and mica labourers. The mica production conference was held at Domchanch on the 14th and 15th February, 1944, under the presidentship of Babu Nirapada Mukharji, M.L.A. The conference has coincided with an out-break of dacoity, the

object of which has been the theft of mica from isolated mines and godowns. It is suggested that some at any rate of these dacoities have their origin in the attacks on capitalist firms made at the mica production conference. It is reported from Dhanbad that the situation in the Jharia coal fields has improved.

The ex-Premier, Mr Sri Krishna Singh, who was recently released on grounds of ill-health, is now getting into his political stride once again. According to reliable information, he has advised Nirapada Mukherji, President of the Provincial T.U.C. should support the communist food campaign, but should carefully avoid giving any assistance to their programme for increasing coal production. It is even said that certain Congressmen are trying to obtain sympathy for Congress by exposing criminal revolutionary groups, and propose when possible to revert to non-violence in some form or other. To rehabilitate Congress in the public mind is recognised by its supporters as the most urgent need of the moment.

49: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of March 1944

FileNo. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Communists have been active wherever possible in exploiting labour grievances. In Cocanada where there are a number of important military works, they instigated some of the coolies to demand higher wages, but unsuccessfully.

In Vizagapatam the art-man at the Chittivalasa Jute Mills went to strike from the 7th to 10th putting forward a number of grievances. On enquiry it was found that they were well paid and had no real grievance. Communists seem to have been behind this, and they are also behind an agitation started among the workers of the Arrack Distillery at Vizagapatam.

At Koilpatti workers in the 'Loyal Mills' staged a fifteen minutes stoppage of work as a protest against the part distribution of millet along with rice. As the collector observes when there is a general scarcity in Tinnevely district, this attitude of theirs can only be characterised as extremely unreasonable.

In Madras City there was a certain amount of tension between the Madras Labour Union and local communists and on 1st March 1944 the latter held a meeting at which they condemned the Secretary of the Labour Union for carrying on anti-communist propaganda. The Labour Union on its own side, similarly held a number of propaganda meetings warning workers against playing into the hands of the communists. A Federation of Government Workers Trade Unions was formed recently in the City at the instance of P.R.K. Sarma to take up with Government grievances which are common to such Trade Unions.



50: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

The Labour situation in Bombay continued to be generally peaceful except for minor and shortlived strikes in a few concerns over the question of bonus and some purely domestic grievances such as promotion by seniority. Conciliation over the question of bonus in one textile mill, however, has failed and there may in time be trouble over this dispute. The strike in the Investa Machine Tools and Engineering company, Limited referred to in my last letter terminated on the 1st March. Workers of W. Lesli and Company, Limited, are on strike since the 25th February 1944 over their demands for bonus and higher dearness allowance. Workers of the Victory Engineering Works struck work from the 1st March 1944 over their demand for dearness allowances.

All mills in Ahmedabad and 30 mills in Bombay city remained closed on the 23rd February on account of Mrs Gandhi's death. Three more mills in Bombay city which had their staggered holiday on that day remained closed on the following day for the same reason. The Gandalal Mills at Jalgaon closed at about 9.30 a.m. and the Pratap Mills at Amalner stopped work for 5 minutes on the 23rd February. The workers of Shree Laxmi Narayan Mills at Chalisgaon did not attend work after the noon recess on that day.

The N v Pratap Mills at Dhulia referred to in my last letter resumed working on the 1st March 1944. The Khandesh spinning and Weaving Mills, Jalgaon, which remained closed since 26th January 1944 due to shortage of coal, has not resumed working and the District Magistrate, East Khandesh, apprehends a breach of peace if no arrangements are made for the early supply of coal to the mill.

The Ahmedabad Mills are still experiencing acute shortage of coal. The Commissioner, Northern Division, has reported as follows:

The present acute shortage of coal continues and will affect the working of the Ahmedabad and Gujarat Mills. If the efforts of the Millowners' Association, Ahmedabad, in obtaining further supplies are not successful some mills will have to stop night shifts. The Royists say this threats to stop night-shifts in Ahmedabad on the plea of shortage of coal is a Congress device to tempt such of the workers as belong to the Royist and Ambedkar groups to desert their groups and to join the pro-Congress Majur Mahajan.

51: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

There has been no further labour trouble over the introduction of rationing, and the position may now be said to have been stabilised. More cooked food canteens have been started and the bajra propaganda campaign is being continued. The workers of the Burma Shell installations at Budge have agreed to take their rations, and apart from election manoeuvres the Calcutta Corporation employees are quiet.

Certain textile mills were again closed owing to shortage of coal. Requisitioning led to the cessation of work in four jute mills in the Budge Budge area from the 13th March. The workers claimed three months pay in lieu of alternative service, and refused to accept the arrangements made for double shift working in neighbouring mills. Alternative employment has not yet been found for the workers of the requisitioned Hastings Mills and the workers are now idle. The workers of the Kinnison Jute Mill appear to have acquiesced in the alternative arrangements made for them and are working quietly.

The strikes in the Hooghly Docking and Engineering Company's works and the Bengal Chemical Company's Workshops have both ended unconditionally, but a further strike notice has been received from the former company's workers. The New Central Jute Mill has resumed normal working. A further sit down strike is reported at Messrs. Burn & Co., Ltd.'s premises at Howrah. There has been trouble at the Oriental Gas Company's works, and the grievances of the workers are now under enquiry. About one hundred workers of the Indian Industrial Works of 55/1, Dharamtola Road, struck work on the 3rd March and demanded an increase of wages and bonus, but returned to work the same afternoon on the intervention of the Labour Commissioner. A few other strikes occurred in the Calcutta area but all were short-lived. The sweepers of the Mymensingh Municipality went on strike on the 27th February, and demanded higher pay, less work and the supply of rations. Their pay was raised from Rs 23 per pair to Rs 30 per pair, and arrangements were made to open a municipal ration shop. On hearing of these concessions the sweepers returned to work. This strike is reported to have been engineered by the Radical Democratic Party.

A further slight improvement is reported in the labour supply in the coal fields, but the situation still gives cause for anxiety. The Provincial Labour Supply Committee has met under the chairmanship of the Minister for Labour and has discussed the whole question of the supply of unskilled labour. At meetings held during the fortnight in the industrial areas the usual demands for Rs 30 dearness allowance, and an increase in the scale of rations were repeated. Generally speaking, the meetings were poorly attended. One meeting at the work of Messrs. Guest Keen & Co., Howrah, was disallowed.



52: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The workers of Messrs. Burma Shell at Budge Budge have again refused to take their rations ostensibly on the ground that certain workers have been discharged on the plea of lack of work. The workers of the Clive Jute Mills are also said to be refusing their rations on the ground that certain workers are being denied the concession of rations at cheap prices. Some Mills were again closed owing to coal shortage, notably the Budge Budge and Caledonia Jute Mills has not yet been entirely cleared up. The workers of the Lothian and the Albion Jute Mills for whom alternative employment was found in the Orient and Cheviot Jute Mills have not taken up their new employment though the workers of the Albion Mill are said to be willing to do so if temporary quarters are provided for them. Some of the workers of this Mill have in the meantime taken up employment under military contractors. No employment has yet been found for the idle workers of the Hastings Jute Mills.

53: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

The textile strike continues. In Nagpur the Empress and the Model Mills are still closed, but the Model Mills do not appear to have sufficient coal to run even if open. Special precautions have been taken to protect mill property and personnel and so far there has been no threat to law and order. Labour leaders have warned against any acts of rowdyism. V.G. Balwaik, one of the agitators of the Nagpur Textile Union, has been dismissed by the management of the Empress Mills for unauthorised absence from duty. An attempt made by the textile union to induce public support for the observance of a hartal on the 24th of March was only partially successful. At present there appears no prospect of settlement of the strike. It is likely that the longer the strike lasts the more difficult will become the position of the Nagpur Textile Union under whose inspiration and direction it was launched. At Pulgaon the Manager of the Mill had conversations with the leaders of the workers who appeared to be inclined to resume work. Although negotiations have not so far been successful it appears as if a large number of workers would like to rejoin. At Hinganghat work has been resumed at the Mohota Mills where the mill labourers refused to co-operate with the Worker's Federation. At Burhampur the strike continues. Home workers in Nagpur and Burhampur have left these towns to take up other work on account of there being no immediate prospect of settlement.

54: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Communists

Communists continue to be activating Industrial Labourers. In Madras they held a meeting to exploit the 'grievances' of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mill workers and exhorted the latter to follow the lead of the Communist Party who have control over many labour unions. This was directed more or less at the Madras Labour Union and its leader G. Selvapathi Chetti who in their turn held a counter-meeting of the workers, condemning the communist section among them. In Vizagapatam the local communists have been active and the District Magistrate has recommended the detention of 3 leaders for continued subversive propaganda among the labourers in the Chittivalasa Jute Mills.

Communist wooing of the Congress also continues. The latest instance was a tour made by Pridhivi Singh of the Punjab in the northern districts. He spoke at various places stressing the need for Hindu Muslim unity, release of National leaders and the formation of a National Government. He had informal talks with local congressmen in which he tried to impress upon them that communists are neither in favour of British 'Imperialism' nor against the Government. His attempts do not appear to have been very successful and at a meeting held at Tenali, a disturbance was created by the local congressmen.

55: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

The labour situation in Bombay during the fortnight was not as peaceful as during the previous ones. The workers of His Majesty's Dockyard, Bombay, have grown restive over a notice issued on the 1st April 1944 by the Captain Superintendent curtailing overtime work and the payments they received for it. They are considering whether they should strike work as a protest.

There was a short-lived strike in Bombay in the Acme Manufacturing Company, Limited, on a petty matter of internal organization. There were also strikes in the Wadala Benzine Installation of the Burma Shell Oil Storage and Distributing Company on the 7th April and in the Texas Company (China) Limited on the 9th April on the question of bonus.

The position regarding supply of coal to the Textile Mills in the province continues to be unsatisfactory. All the mills at Sholapur and a mill at Poona have stopped work due to shortage of coal. The Fine Counts Spinning and Weaving Company Limited, at Broach had to close

its day-shift from the 24th March 1944 for the same reason and about 1,100 operatives have been consequently thrown out of employment. The position is particularly unsatisfactory at Sholapur where there is already agitation amongst the workers in connection with demands for bonus.

2,500 workers in the M. & S.M. Railway Workshop, Humli, struck work on the 27th March 1944 as a protest against insufficient supply of food-grains. They, however, resumed work in the afternoon of the same day on an assurance from the Rationing Officer that the necessary supply would be forth coming.

The strike in the Mukund Iron Works reported in my last letter ended on an assurance being given to the workers that their demands would be examined by the management. The Khandesh Spinning and Weaving Mills, Jalgaon, referred to in my last letter resumed working on the 7th April 1944.

The threatened strike of the workers of the Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways Company mentioned in my last letter is not likely to materialise as the dispute of workers in the traffic section has been referred to Mr K.P. Vasudev for adjudication and the demands of workers in other sections are also likely to be so referred in the near future. In the Textile industry the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag) which was agitating for a bonus of three month's wages has again pressed government to order adjudication of the dispute under the Defence of India Rules or to refer it has put forward the view that conciliation proceedings are very slow, that those that have taken place have already failed, that are to follow must share the same fate and that consequently it is a mere formality for Government to await their result. Government have decided to refer the dispute to the Industrial Court.

56: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The workers of Messrs. Burma Shell at Budge Budge and the Clive Jute Mill still refuse to take their rations, but it is reported from the Clive Jute Mill that the majority of workers are purchasing rations at a mill shop, but are insisting on paying the controlled prices instead of the subsidised price. It is said that they intend to prefer a claim under the payment of Wages Act for the cash value of the subsidised rations.

18. The workers of the Albino Jute Mill still refuse to work. A settlement of the problem of finding work for the employees of the requisitioned Hastings Jute Mill is now in sight and it is hoped that by May the 1st these men will be employed on a second shift in the neighbouring Wellington Mill.

57. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

The Radical Democratic Party is paying a good deal of attention to the railway workers and jute mills in Darbhanga district and has held several meetings. The need of improvement in the flow of labour from one district to another is indicated in the reports of scarcity of labourers in one district – Bhagalpur, while the neighbouring district of Santal Paragrapths is reported in places to have an unemployment problem. Munition workers of an Engineering works of Dhanbad went on strike for one day at the end of March, but resumed work on the same day at the intervention of the District Officer. Some of the labourers are said to be still dissatisfied and they were to meet the District Officer again. The number of labourers in the coalfields went up from 86,000 in January to 107,000.

58. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

The textile strike continues. Many operators have left Nagpur to return to their homes. The strike continues to be peaceful, although two communists who were doing anti-strike propaganda in Nagpur were assaulted with the result that this activity of the Communist party in Nagpur has terminated. The Deputy Commissioner, Nagpur, reports that there are indications that this long protracted strike is causing considerable unrest amongst the labourers with consequent indignation against those who precipitated them into the present position. V.G. Bailiwick, President of the Labour Federation, is reported to have been to Delhi to interview the Hon'ble Member for Labour, Dr Ambedkar, with the object of inducing him to intervene. The Nagpur Textile Union workers are now making collections from the public in order to support the workers. It is said that at least 70 per cent of the strikers are willing to return to work and that the remainder would gladly follow provided any concession was granted. It is reported that Government is being criticised by the workers for not intervening in order to resolve the deadlock. At Pulgaon attempts on the part of the management to induce the labourers to resume work on the 21st to 23rd March, but owing to secret picketing and propaganda, the mill could not function. Two hundred workers on strike at Pulgaon are reported to have obtained employment on military works in the vicinity. At Hinganghat work has now been resumed at the Rai Bahadur Bansilal Abirchand Mills which were previously closed on account of shortage of coal. Owing to fuel shortage the Mills are to have two holidays in the week.

Both Mills at Hingenghat are now functioning and the position normal. At Burhanpur the strike at the Tapti Mills continues, although it is reported that the workers are anxious to rejoin work, but are prevented by their leaders from doing so. As a result of the accident which was reported in the last Fortnightly confidential report to have occurred at the Khamaria Ordnance Factory about one thousand workers went on strike on the 3rd April. Practically all, however had returned by the 6th Two strikes of short duration also occurred at the Central Ordnance Depot on the 12th and 13th April principally on the question of pay and rations.

59: M.N. Roy's statement

M.N. Roy Papers

[NMML - M.F. Roll No. 28]

18.4.1944

My attention has been drawn to a press statement supposed to have made by Mr Jamnadas Mehta about the agreement between the Indian Federation of Labour and the Government of India regarding war propaganda among industrial workers. Of course, I should not say anything about the merit of the statement before speaking to the person who is supposed to have made it. That cannot be done before Mr Mehta returns from the I.L.O. Conference. Meanwhile, I wish to draw public attention to the fact that on the face of it the statement is of doubtful nature. It is dated Madras, April the 15th. On that day, Mr Mehta was already at Philadelphia. It is for the public to judge how he could be in Madras and Philadelphia on the same day. It has also been enquired why the statement was issued from Madras after more than a week of his leaving the country. In view of these considerations, it is permissible to suspect that someone anxious to malign me personally and to harm the India Federation of Labour has issued the statement in Mr Mehta's name, taking advantage of his absence at a great distance.

Dehradun, April 18th, 1944.

M.N. Roy.

60: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour 15. The dispute over rationing and dearness allowance at the Clive Jute Mill continues and is likely to be referred to adjudication. In the meantime, preparations for the introduction of food rationing in the remainder of the Calcutta industrial area are proceeding and the situation is being accepted calmly. No trouble is expected in any area except Budge Budge.

16. The workers of the Hastings Jute Mill have accepted the arrangement under which they are to work from May 1st in the Wellington Jute Mill. Any surplus will be absorbed in the Presidency Mill near by. The financial arrangements resulting from the working of two distinct companies in the same premises are still under discussion. The workers of the Hastings Mill have been paid Khoraki rates, viz, Rs 3 plus Re. 1-4 weekly for the nine weeks of their enforced idleness.

17. Some embarrassment was caused in the Titaghar Mill area when orders to quit were served upon nearly 8,000 workers living in private bustees, in order to make room for extensions to barracks required by American Air Force personnel. After considerable discussion, an agreement was reached on the provision of alternative accommodation and revised dates for eviction were fixed. The taking over is scheduled to being from May 1st.

18. There were no strikes of importance. A strike at the India Cycle Manufacturing Company's works is said to be within sight of settlement, while a strike which took place at the British Army Medical Store in Calcutta and was caused by the chastisement of some coolies by a sergeant for damaging boxes of medicines was settled after 3 days. A deadlock is reported at the Jewel Filter Company's works Howrah where the workers have staged a stay-in strike.

19. The Fort Gloster, the Lawrence, the Ludlow, the Gogalbhai and the Shamnagore Jute Mills were closed for varying periods during the fortnight for want of coal. The District Magistrate of Burdwan reports that the shortage of labour in the collieries continues despite the fact that wages have recently been increased. He remarks that the wages given to miners still do not compare favourable with those paid for aerodrome and other military works and states that efforts are now being made by collieries to import labour from neighbouring districts and build up a reserve by opening labour camps. In the meantime there are signs of a drift back to the villages for ploughing earlier than usual this year, and the situation is such as to give cause for acute anxiety.

20. The supply of unskilled labour is satisfactory in the Calcutta area, but local difficulties are reported from East Bengal and from two districts in the presidency Division.

21. The usual meetings were held pressing for enhanced dearness allowance and other concessions and these has been a slight increase of restlessness among industrial labour in general.

Efforts are being made by the C.P.I. to gain a hold over not only the bus and tramway workers but also the taxi-drivers and rickshaw-pullers in Calcutta. It is reported in this connection that C.P.I. has already won over most of the workers of Calcutta's essential services.

61: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll ()

[NAI]

Labour

The Communique issued by the provincial Government on the textile strike is reported to have had a good effect and it is believed that people who were previously inclined to blame Government for not interceding on behalf of the worker now understand the real situation.

Mr Ruiker, the labour leader detained in the Seoni jail, commenced a hunger strike before the issue of the communique, presumably with the object of showing that although in jail he is prepared to suffer for the cause of labour, so that he may, thus establish a claim to leadership in the future. He is reported to be in good health and it does not appear that his hunger strike is of a very serious nature.

The Pulgaon Mills have resumed work after the Deputy Commissioner and the District Superintendent of Police had spoken to the strikers. The strike in the Nagpur Mills continues. At a meeting held in Nagpur it was decided to form a relief committee with Mr Page, the Municipal Chairman, as President. At this meeting government was condemned for indifference towards the demands of the strikers. The strike continues to be peaceful, except for a minor assault which occurred on a mill assistant on the 26th April.

62: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

In Madras a new organisation called the Independent Labour Party has come into being sponsored by Mr Albert Jesudasan, who was once a prominent labour leader. It is yet too early to say what line it is going to take and what its activities are going to be.

The strike in the Sri Ganeshar Aluminium Factory has come to an end, the workers having surrendered unconditionally. A strike was reported recently in the Dehydrated Meat Factory, Red Hills, but this too came to an end very quickly. Some trouble is reported in Mettur and a dispute has now arisen over the demand of the workers for a holiday on 'May Day' for which there was no precedent. The Collector reports that absenteeism in the Mettur Industries is increasing and the average percentage for April has been as much as between 15 and 20.

Communists

Communists continued to be busy both among industrial labourers and kisans. In Madras they recently held a meeting of the workers of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills to enlist their support for the newly formed committee of the Madras Labour Union. In North Arcot they have formed a Tailors' Association drawn from workers engaged in making clothing for military personnel with the intention of exploiting the discontent among them over the present rate of wages. In Tinnevely the trouble at Vikramasingapuram Mills seems to have settled with more than 800 workers signing a declaration agreeing to abide by the new Standing Order of the Mills. The workers of the Lakshmi Mills in Koilpatti have also agreed to bonus of one month's pay. The Communists tried to organise a meeting against the acceptance, but this was prohibited by the local authorities.

63: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

5. Labour

The labour situation in the Province during the fortnight was generally peaceful except for minor and short-lived strikes in a few concerns over the question of bonus, grant of dearness allowance, holidays and leave with pay and the like. The strikes in Ralli Brothers Limited, Bombay, the Army Tent Factory at Kurla and the Kamla Mills at Bombay which started respectively on the 10th, 17th and 25th April 1944 still continue.

The explosions in Bombay docks on the 14th April caused some panic among the workers in the labour area, in the factories by the Dockside, the Railway workshop and the G.I.P. Railway's goods yard at Wadi Bunder. The panic was, however, short-lived and the situation was restored to normal the next day as a result of the very helpful propaganda carried on by the local labour organisations.

The mills at Sholapur and the Fine Counts Spinning and Weaving company, limited, at Broach referred to in my last letter resumed working on supplies of coal becoming available. The situation in Ahmedabad and Khandeshin respect of coal supplies continues however to be unsatisfactory.

2,500 workers of the M & S.M. Railway workshop, Hubli, went on strikes on the 11th April 1944 over the question of extra rations for all workers employed in the workshop and their families and the supply of food grains of better quality. They resumed work on the 14th April as the Agent promised to look into their grievances.

64: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

Unrest in the Karachi port came to a head during the fortnight. A small Union representing 200 or 300 workmen employed by Stevedores gave a fortnight's notice of strike on April 13th. Little attention was given to this notice because another Union which represents a larger number of Stevedores workmen was against the strike. Moreover, the demands made were for an increase in wages of about 100 percent, which were patently unreasonable. Then on the 19th of April a notice of strike was given by the Karachi Port Trust Labour Union, which is an influential body, in respect of about 13 demands which had been put up to the Government of India in January last. This Government pressed the Government of India to order adjudication in respect of the most important of these demands. However, before orders

were received, the negotiations in respect of the demands of the Stevedores workmen, which had been going on in a desultory manner, were suddenly terminated and an ultimatum was given on the 27th April that the strike would start next day. On the next day every single man employed on the loading and unloading and the bunkering of ships came out on strike to the number of over 2,500. Arrangements had been made with the military authorities to send troops to the docks to carry on with the most urgent loading and unloading of ships, the port being particularly full on account of the diversion of ships from Bombay, and these were put into operation.

On the 29th the Hon'ble Mr Gazdar, Home Minister, who has great influence, especially in labour circles, in Karachi, intervened personally and by the next day he had succeeded in persuading the Stevedores and the workmen's leaders to agree to arbitration and in the meanwhile to resume work.

65: A note about the grant of Rs 13,000 to the Indian Federation of Labour by government for war propaganda (dt April-May 1944)

M.N. Roy Papers

[NMML - M.F. Roll No. 28]

There seems to be some misunderstanding here about the grant of Rs 13,000 pm received by the Federation from the Government of India. A few facts will clear the position. The grant is received by the Federation for carrying on war propaganda amongst workers to keep up their morale and stop them from going away to their villages. No part of the grant can be used for day to day trade union activities of unions or for organizational activities of the Federation. The grant is earmarked for certain provinces and cities and is to be spent for certain specified activities such as leaflets and posters, meetings and group talks etc. There is however no control or supervision by the Government on the nature or character of the propaganda. The Federation has in the matter an absolutely free hand to be made in the following circumstances. Towards the end of 1941 and early in 1942 panic was spreading amongst workers in such industrial centres as Calcutta, Jamshedpur, Bombay, Cawnpore, Madras, Vizagapattanam, etc. and workers were running away to their villages. As a result, production in a number of essential industries was seriously affected. Government was seriously alarmed by this situation and invited the cooperation of Labour organisations for counteracting panic and persuading the workers to stay at their jobs. They even offered financial assistance for carrying on the propaganda. The offer was made to the T.U.C. as well as to the Federation. The T.U.C. could not accept their offer as their attitude towards the war precluded them from carrying on the propaganda. The Federation gladly accepted the offer as it had been already engaged in that propaganda and found that it could be carried on more effectively with the financial assistance forthcoming from the Government. The ordinary revenues of the Federations and its affiliated unions were too meagre for this type of work which was essential if production was not to be held up as a result of the exodus of the workers from cities to their villages. It therefor gladly accepted the grant and has been using it for carrying on war

propaganda more particularly in such threatened and affected areas as Calcutta, Jamshedpur, Asansol, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Madras, Vizagapattanam coalfields etc. The propaganda of the Federation was responsible for allaying panic and for counteracting disruptive activities set on foot amongst workers more particularly during the days of the Congress sabotage movement. Accounts of the grant are regularly submitted to the Government.

66: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. and Berar for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

The prolonged strike in the Nagpur and Burhanpur textile mills came to an end on the 12th of May when work was resumed. The management decided to reinstate V.G. Balwaik on terms which were not regarded by the Union as humiliating. This and the decision of the Government of India on the subject of a three months bonus made a complete settlement possible. In Akola a day shift was started on the 15th of May, but the Mill management refused to work the night shift. The Pulgaon Cotton Mills, also resumed work on the 23rd of April. Shortage of coal is interfering with the running of the Bansilal Abirchand Mills, at Hinganghat, although the quota has been increased, the Balapur Colliery workers are discontented at the delay on the part of the mill management in implementing the Dhanbad Agreement, and the Majri Colliery is closed owing to a strike. As a result of the termination of the Nagpur textile strike Mr R.S. Ruikar, the labour leader, who is a detainee in the Seoni Jail, has ceased his hunger strike. In Jabulpore considerable activity was shown by leading members of the Communist Party in organising meetings and processions amongst the employees of Burn and Co. and Municipal sweepers. Amongst the grievances enumerated was the need for an increase in dearness allowance and the issue of ration on a monthly basis at concessional rates. The labour situation in Khamaria is said to have improved and the situation at the Central Ordnance Depot is also more satisfactory.

67: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

In Madras City they continued their vendetta against the Madras Labour Union and they have formed a Reorganisation Committee with the object of wresting power from the present leaders of the Union. . . .

There has been an epidemic of strikes amongst scavengers and sweepers again over the question of increased dearness allowances. There was one in Gudiyattam in North Arcot

district and another in Tirupati in Chittoor district. Both were of a very short duration and on a promise being made that their grievance will be looked into, they were called off. The most serious one has been in Madras City. On May 17th, 300 workers of the conservancy staff of the Madras Corporation struck work. They had sent in a petition about three weeks ago setting out certain demands and the question was under consideration by the Corporation Council. The main demand was an increase of Rs 10 in their basic pay and an increase in the dearness allowance from Rs 9 to Rs 20 and it was estimated that if the demands are conceded, it would mean an additional recurring expenditure of Rs 8 lakhs for the Corporation and that it can only be met by increasing taxes. In spite of every effort made to dissuade the conservancy workers, they went on strike and the work is now being carried on by means of a skeleton service.

68: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Growing discontent is noticeable among low paid Government servants, and Government have under active consideration proposals for an increase in the pay of the lower ranks of the Police. In the Ambala district Patwaris are threatening to go on strike unless their pay is raised.

69: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

In Madras City the feud between the Madras Labour Union and the Communist Reorganization Committee still continues. In Malabar when a Conference of the Cannanore Commonwealth Labour Union was held under the presidency of P.R.K. Sarma, Vice President of the Madras Trade Union Congress, there was trouble when a speaker criticised the policy of the Communists. In the Vikramasingapuram mills in Tinnevely when the non-Communist leader S.R.V. Naidu held a meeting of the Cooperative Stores, it was found that the Communist Textile workers Union outnumbered his followers with the result that it was impossible to conduct any business or to elect offices bearers, which had been the main business of the meeting.

The strike of the Conservancy Staff in Madras which started on the 17th came to an end on the 20th, the strikers resuming work on a promise that their legitimate grievances would be looked into. There was a similar strike among the scavengers of Saidapet Municipality for enhanced dearness allowances, but this came to an end the same day. Labour trouble is however reported from a number of other centres usually following demands for increased

bonus and dearness allowances. At the Gordon Woodroffe Tanneries, Pallavaram, the workers struck without notice on the 15th on a demand for bonus, but the Labour Officer intervened and work was resumed unconditionally the next day. Similarly some 74 workers of the Dehydrated Meat Factory at Red Hills struck work on the 25th, but resumed work two days later following the intervention of the local Officials. In Mettur a strike notice has been served on the management of the Mettur Chemicals. Adjudication has been ordered by Government. It will be taken up by the Commissioner of Labour on 9th June. There is a possibility however that the trouble will spread to the neighbouring Mettur Industries Mill, where also the workers demanded an increase in pay which has been refused.

70: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

The labour situation during the fortnight was less peaceful than previously. While the strike and the lockout in the Jam Manufacturing Company and the Freel and Ganj B.B.C.I. Railway Workshop at Dohad respectively reported in my last letter terminated during the fortnight, the strike in the Viramgaon mills is still dragging on. There were quite a number of short-lived strikes in several concerns over the question of increase in wages, the issue of free uniforms, loss in wages due to defective material supplied, increase in the dearness allowance rates and the like.

During the fortnight the disputes between the Bombay Electric Supply and Tramways and two more sections of its employees were referred for arbitration under the Defence of India Rule to Mr K.P. Wassoodev. The National Oil Workers Union has served on two local oil companies, namely, the Standard Vacuum Oil Company and the Caltex (India) Limited, a fortnight's notice of intention to strike on a demand for the grant of 3 months wages as bonus. Considerable agitation was noticeable amongst the workers of His Majesty's Indian Dockyard regarding the rates of pay for overtime work and other matters, the Union exhorting the workers to be prepared for a strike if their demands were not referred to a adjudication.

71: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour has on the whole been quiet, but the Communists have not lost many opportunities of stirring up whatever trouble they could, with the result that there have been a few shortlived strikes, but none of them of any importance. The R.G. Cotton mills Lucknow had again to

be closed from May 3 to 10 owing to shortage of coal and on that occasion the Communists were unsuccessful in their attempt to stir up trouble amongst the disgruntled workers.

72: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

A number of minor labour troubles have been reported. There was a very short strike by some of the men of Tata's Blast Furnace over the closing down of one of the Furnaces. The Commissioner reports that the subordinate supervisory staff are suspected of having instigated the demonstration. One or two other small strikes or threatened strikes in Jamshedpur have been reported. There is still some possibility of trouble with the labour at the Indian Copper Corporation.

The Additional Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad reports that there are loud complaints by employers of labour, particularly the Indian mining Association, in the coalfield about the continued absence of several thousand mining labourers who are employed on tasks outside the coalfield areas. They think that steps have been taken long ago to release these men, and this is certainly very necessary in the interests of coal production in which these men are skilled workmen.

73: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Communists also continue to be busy among the industrial labour and no field seems too small for them. At Ellore, for instance, they have organised a branch of the Press Workers' Union, though there are only about one hundred press workers in the whole town. The natural reaction has been that the press owners on their side have started organising themselves. In Madura Communists organised a conference of the Railway labour Union attended by others among P. Ramamurthi, one of the most prominent Communists of this province. There was little political comment of any importance, but after the proceedings, little 'sketches were staged on the capitalist exploitation' of workers, the vanity and over-bearing attitude of subordinate officers, corruption of Railway officials, etc. In Trichinopoly at a meeting of the Golden Rock Labour Union, the General Manager was accused of 'incompetence' and partiality to the employees Association. In Vizagapatnam though three of the local leaders were arrested and detained recently, Communists continue to be active and have persuaded members of the Labour Workers' Union (now enrolled in Defence of India units) to refuse to take rations

issued to them on the ground that they are poor in quality and inadequate and to demand money instead.

74: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

The Labour situation during the fortnight was generally peaceful except for some shortlived strikes in a few concerns over the question of bonus, increase in dearness allowance, reinstatement of discharged workers and the like. The strike in the Viramgan mills, Viramgan, reported in my last letter terminated during the fortnight.

The appointment of a conciliator to enquire into the dispute between the Administration of H.M.I. Dockyard, Bombay, and their employees has resulted in the withdrawal of the strike notice but the workers still refuse to do overtime. The Union has, however, decided to enter into negotiations with the Captain Superintendent on this question. As regards the notice of strike given by the National Oil Workers Union mentioned in my last letter, the reference of workers' demands to adjudication is under consideration.

The Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association has started a campaign amongst workers against drinking and gambling and in favour of a compulsory savings scheme prepared by it.

Two out of the 52 mill hands dismissed for unsatisfactory work by the management of the Fine Counts Mill, Broach, staged a demonstration on June 3rd by observing a fast. Seven more workers went on a sympathetic hunger strike have proved fruitless. The situation is quiet and the usual police arrangements have been made to maintain law and order in the mill area.

The Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union's (Red Flag) campaign support of the demand for three months' wages as bonus to textile workers culminated in a meeting on 4th June which was attended by about 4,000 workers only. Speeches were made at the meeting condemning government for refusing to refer the dispute to arbitration and stressing the enormous profits made by millowners during the war. There was, however, no incitement to strike.

75: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

About seven or eight thousand men of the Loco & Carriage shops of the East Indian Railway at Lucknow were on a stay-instrike from May 31, but as a result of negotiations between the strikers on the one side and the railway and district authorities on the other the strike ended

with effect from the morning of June 12. The main reason for the strike was the order that ration cards must be authenticated and the workmen then realised that many of them would be caught out having drawn rations for more units than they were entitled to. There had obviously been a considerable amount of cheating going on in this respect which the recent orders about authentication of ration cards would have brought to light. One of the main difficulties in settling the strike was the fact that the majority of the strikers insisted upon forming what was tantamount to another union which is mostly controlled by Muhammadans as Muhammadans formed the bulk of that section of those who were on strike, and at one stage it was feared that the split among the strike might take a communal turn. As is usual on such occasions, when their preliminary objections regarding the authentication of the ration cards were likely to be met, the strikers changed their ground and came forward with a list of fourteen demands, many of which had nothing to do with rationing or the ration cards, e.g. the abolition of the 1934 scale of pay . . .

. . . There was also a strike on May 24 by some of the the lawalas engaged in the Government food rationing scheme in Lucknow who refuse to load their carts unless the retailers agreed to pay them 12 a bag instead of 4 as before. This was quickly broken by the use of Government lorries in place of the thelas. Lucknow also featured in a scavengers' strike on June 1 and 2 when 1500 of the city sweepers were involved, the main cause being apprehension that they would not receive the dearness allowance recently sanctioned by Government as they were not whole-time workers. A promise was given that they would get the allowance, so the strike ended. Sweepers also went on strike at Sitapur, but that was merely due to the conviction of one of them for absence. Sweepers in Cawnpore are said to be able to earn Rs 45 a month and this has resulted in a great scarcity of sweepers in some of the surrounding areas.

Labour generally is scarce and expensive and this is particularly so where big works are in progress, such as aerodrome work near Allahabad.

76: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal

Govt of Bengal (Home) File No. 402/44
[Bengal State Archives]

IV-Labour

Agitation for an increase in the amount of rationed foodstuff, and a cash dearness allowance of Rs 30 per month, is being maintained by the Communist Party and it proposes to hold a large conference in Calcutta on the 18th June as part of the campaign. The workers of Messrs. Jessop & Co. Dum Dum, are still not taking their rations, . . .

Strikes have been much fewer this month than in May. The strike at the Jewel Filter Workers in Howrah, as a result of which certain strikers were arrested, has since collapsed, and the case is not being referred to adjudication. A second strike in Messrs. Saxby & Farmer's Entally Works was eventually called off on the dispute being referred to adjudication. A short strike of the clerical staff at Shalimar Paint Works, Howrah, over the dismissal of the Union Secretary, collapsed. After a fracas between the police and a bus conductor at Howrah Station, there

was a shortlived strike of bus conductors and drivers, but it was called off when an enquiry was promised. Several strikes among municipal sweepers occurred, notably at Bhatpara, Burdwan and Titagarh. The pretext was the delay of Government in coming to a decision as to the terms and conditions of the proposed subventions to municipalities to meet enhanced conservancy costs. In textiles, the only important strike was at Fort William Jute Mill, Howrah. This ended in a resumption of work unconditionally.

Certain Jute Mills again reported stoppages on account of shortage of coal. The labour position has not further deteriorated (except possibly in coal mines, where complete figures are difficult to come by) and request from military authorities for help in the supply of unskilled labour have been promptly dealt with. The evacuation of mill labour from their homes at Khadah has been completed without incident.

A booklet containing demands for more dearness allowance, written by Somnath Lahiri of the Communist Party, is being widely circulated. A 'signature campaign' is also reported to be in progress, particularly among jute Mill workers, in connection with a demand for increases in cash and food.

Shortages of unskilled labour are reported from the 24 Parganas in the Presidency Division and from Mymensingh in the Dacca Division, but they are not believed to be serious. Wages generally vary from Re. 1 to Rs 2 per day but in some districts they range from 12 Annas to Re 1 per day with two meals.

77. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Communists have also had cause for jubilation this fortnight in the field of Industrial labour. The case of misappropriation against S.R. Varadarajulu Naidu of the anti-Communist Labour Union in the Mills at Tinnevely ended in his conviction and sentence to one year's imprisonment. There was one unfortunate clash at Koipattti, between the rival parties in which one of the Communists was stabbed and killed. On the whole however, the leaders of both parties both in Madras and Tinnevely have managed to restrain the wilder spirits among their followers. Varadarajulu Naidu has now preferred an appeal and the result of this is awaited.

In Vizagapatnam local Communists are again attempting to stir up labour at the Chittivala Jute Mills and the District Magistrate reports that he is considering action against them under the defence of India Rules. In Madura railway labourers have split up into three or four different unions, the complaint being that the South Indian Labour Union does not give proper support to the causes of certain communities as a result of which a Dravida Workers Movement and a Muslim Railway Workers's Union have been formed. The Muslim Railway Men's Union proposed to hold a conference in Trichinapally shortly. Taking advantage of this split, Communists will in all probability endeavor to get control over the Labour Union and to bring the other unions also under their influence.

78: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

The Commissioner of Chota Nagpur reports that the leaders of the Data Workers Union are trying to link up with the local Communists in order to oppose the Radical Democratic Party and the Indian Federation of Labour and the Labour Federation.

In Jamshedpur some units of the sheet mills have been closed for about a month for repairs and the workers have either got work elsewhere or been allowed to go on leave. There have been no complaints by the labour about this. The Indian Copper Corporation has had to cut down its work owing to the shortage of coal. The management of the Rohtas Industries has stated that he is prepared to recognise any union which the Labour Commissioner recommends, but of the rival unions so far none commands a clear majority.

79: Jamnadas Mehta to Krishnamurthy regarding the grant of Rs 13,000 by the Govt. (dt 29.7.44)

M.N. Roy Papers
[NMML - M.F. Roll No. 28]

Dear Krishnamurthy,

Once more I was glad to receive your letter this time of the 12th inst. from Hubli with much detail and more suggestions. I thank you for it.

Yes, I have been touring too much and will have to continue to do so - such is the state of the country and the condition of labour. The work is enormous and the workers not many. Even the few are not always honest and the strain on the rest is necessarily severe. It has to be borne - there is no avoiding it. My health is however quite good.

I was to be in Poona only on 31-7-44 and 1-8-44; in Bombay on the 2nd and 3rd Aug. in Delhi 3rd to 8th August. I have been here since the 9th. I am leaving for Dohad today and will be back on the 17th. On the 18th I am going to Calcutta or to Delhi. Not quite certain yet. I am awaiting from the Railway Board. I will be back in Bombay on the 24th and will leave for Coimbatore on the 28th. I have no programme after returning to Bombay on the 3rd September). You will thus see that much as I wish to go to Hubli to meet dear Chalgeri and you, it is simply impossible. If you are in Madras on the 29th inst. please see me at the station when the express from Bombay arrives and then we shall have few hours talk about the various matters that you have written to me about.

I am painfully aware of Guruswamy's lack of enterprise and initiative and his sneaking fondness for Congressmen whom at heart he detests. It seems this malady is incurable though it may be less virulent now and then.

I do not think you are acquainted with the facts about Rs 13000 obtained by Mr Roy without the knowledge or approval of the Committee of the I.F. of L. or myself as the President. I consider it a serious matter but I have no intention of breaking with him on that account as Mr Roy seems to be willing to clarify the position both of the Federation and myself. My relation with Mr Roy have been not only friendly but cordial all these years; inspite of certain fundamental differences, our agreements are more fundamental and more numerous and if we can agree on the best way of clarifying the position on the issue of Rs 13000 our co-operaion will continue and ever increase. I will be glad to discuss these and other matters with you in Madras on my way to Coimbatore, if you are in Madras on the 29h inst. Guruswami will also be present and we may be able by joint endeavour to strengthen out some of the issues. His hostility towards you, if there is any, is only skin deep. he dare not be really hostile to you if I can help it. I have no feeling in the matter of your joining the R.D.P. as an earnest and honest man you are the best judge of what you do. You will soon find out any humbug wherever it may be lurking – Congress, Labour, R.D.P. or any other Party.

I am surprised at the amount of the hobnobbing with C.R. and others which Guruswami has done. The details you have given are simply shaking. I do not know one word about it but such exuberance is a passing mood and one can knock it out of his head if we jointly try. Your description of Kallappa is true to life

More in person at Madras and with best wishes in the meantime.

Yours sincerely,
Jamnadas Mehta.

80: Home Member of Council to Sir Akbar Hydari*

File.No. 7/5/1945 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Appendix to Notes

Home Member of Council

New Delhi, 16th Aug, 1944

My dear Hydari,

Will you please see the enclosed papers¹ (return requested) which were sent to me by M.N. Roy as the result of a talk that he had with me two or three days ago? I consider that M.N. Roy's propaganda is definitely important. He is the only person who stands up to the Congress. He certainly helped us a great deal with industrial labour in Cawnpore and he was of some use also in the coal fields in Bihar. Anything that you can do, therefore, to help him to get more paper ot to obtain his present supply we would much appreciate.

1. Not printed.

81: Extracts from evidence of Mr L.G. Pinnell, Special Officer Civil Supplies Department, Bengal, before Famine Enquiry Commission dt 4.9.1944

Nanavati Papers – Vol III

[NAI]

Chairman: We were concentrating on the period from 1st January, 1943, and the first week of March 1943. That seems to be most critical period. It has been said that during that period there was tremendous speculation, people were buying heavily in order to hoard; where they were hoarding is not perfectly clear. All the commercial firms were buying very heavily in order to keep stock; all these factors were largely responsible for the increase in prices which was taking place by March 1943. Can you throw any light in a few minutes on that? – I will mention a few points to indicate what further information I can give to the Commission. In the statement put regarding that period, for which I am responsible, I have given what I considered to be the main causes of the trouble.

As regards these other points, I would like to deal first of all with the question of purchases by industrial firms. It is true that we recognised that they were dangerous; we knew they had unlimited buying capacity because their loans would be written off against E.P.T. We frankly took advantage of that fact later on, when we had to buy rice dearly and sell it cheaply; we did not want to lose money on the transaction as a whole and we frankly charged the industrialists high prices, because we knew that they could afford to pay and that was a method of obtaining a subvention from the Government of India. We told the Government of India so informally.

We started first with a gentleman's agreement not to buy. That did not work because we would not promise to supply their requirements and they (the Chambers) could not control the firms from buying individually. All the Chambers were invited to set up supply organisation in September 1942 but the Bengal Chamber was the only one which had organised complete supply of system. Others organised rapidly after the crisis. In both cases individual firms had been buying also. When our embargoes were on, they did operate as a means of preventing the industrialists buying to an unlimited extent.

This was sometime in January – It was on January 20th. I propose to give the Commission informally copies of two papers. We used to have a weekly conference to decide how to feed Calcutta during the next week. All the papers of these conferences were secret and the secrets of the actual stock position was well kept which is fortunate as otherwise there would have been a much more serious panic. Possibly that is the reason why I cannot now trace them but I have managed to get hold of two. Here is a copy of one, of the meeting of 22nd January. I will just state the conclusion. It goes:

This excludes the Bengal Chamber of Commerce some of whose member firms are holding stocks. Mr McInnes has information that one of the member firms has bought 30,000 maunds in the mofussil which cannot be moved in owing to our embargoes. If we insist on this being put into the Chamber's quota we should be able to keep them going upto 10th February without insisting on mutual transfer of stocks between members by giving them another 20,000 maunds from our resources.

This is an indication of the line we took with Chamber. That is the only case I have got on record now where their purchases have been held up by our embargoes. We said 'you cannot have this individually; you should put this into the pool. We will give you another 20,000 maunds and with that you could get through till the 10 February without insisting on mutual transfer between the members'. Why we were reluctant to insist on mutual transfer was the danger of badly upsetting the labour. They would have got very restless if they had seen rice going away from the mills.

Away from the manufacturing concerns? — Yes. Everybody was afraid of the effect on labour. Labour was in a critical situation at that time. One mill in Howrah succeeded in running into its own siding some trucks of rice intended for the District Magistrate, Howrah. He (the District Magistrate) could not get them away in daylight: he tried to move them but the attitude of the labour was so menacing that it looked as though there was going to be a riot. He got them away subsequently.

Sir M. Nanavati: This was in the Jute mill? — Yes.

That will illustrate at any rate that we were keeping this factor in mind. We used the embargoes to keep down the deliveries to the Chamber as far as possible and make them as far as possible live on their resources. What we did not do certainly to my knowledge, was to insist on this mutual transfer between firms. It may have been done later on, I cannot say.

I have another case (copy of record of a conference) at the end of March. I have not got the conclusions, but I have got the papers that were discussed. They show that we were expecting Orissa rice and we were planning its distribution so as to cover the whole of the needs of Calcutta as far as possible. It shows that our plan for distribution in Calcutta and Howrah was 9.10 lakhs of maunds a month, including wheat and millets, on a basis of 12 seer per head per month, which is less than 3 seers a week. In the case of the Chambers I considered that what we should allow them was 12 seers a head per employee per month and then, if possible, we should double that so as to include their whole population including dependants.

Chairman: You doubled that in order to give the family? — Yes. If there were 1000 employees we doubled the quantity in order to cover the family.

Mr Ramamurthy: That means 24 seers per month per family? — It depends on the family. It would be up to the mill to find out what family a man had got. But our plan was to allow them in bulk 24 seers a month per employee to cover the employee and his dependents. Having made that target, and having considered what we had got in hand, I arrived at these figures. If you look at the bottom of the first page you will find that as against the target of 80,000 for the Bengal Chamber we were only in a position to deliver 45,000. As against 50,000 for other priorities, we were able to deliver only 30,000. As against the target 65,000 for other markets and shops we could only deliver 30,000. You may also note the next sentence. In other words I was doubtful whether we should be able to keep Calcutta going for the next week if we did hold down the other priorities.



82: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

Felings continue to be strained between the two rival Unions in Tinnevely District. The Textile Worker's Union celebrated their anniversary on 3-9-1944 when P. Ramamoorthy and P.R.K. Sarma spoke in favour of the recognition of the Union. On the same day the Papanassam Labour Union held a meeting within doors in which Vardarajulu Naidu's Services to the workers were praised.

The Communist controlled Madura Textile Worker's Union is reported to have a membership of 3,000 and to have collected Rs 400 in funds. They are also making a move to have their Union recognised and registered. Anandan Nambiyar of the S.I. Rye. Labour Union has been on a tour. At a meeting in Nellikuppam he is said to have stressed the usefulness of strikes as an effective weapon for having grievances redressed.

Trouble is brewing again at Mettur. In the Chemicals the dispute is about the retrenchment of 53 men, while in the 'Industries' there is an agitation for the reinstatement of certain employees who did not return to work immediately after the conclusion of the strike last month. Surendran Nair has been elected president of the Hydro Electrical Department Work's Union and he is reported to be trying to oust the Communist leader Ramamoorthy and his followers from the Mettur Industries Union. The Collector is pessimistic about the situation and expects a strike in one or both of the mills next month soon after the payment of the annual bonus.

83: V.M. Tarkunde to M.N. Roy (regarding the grant of R. 13,000 by the Government)

M.N. Roy Papers

[NMML – M.F. Roll No. 28]

My dear Com Roy,

[*Omitted:* Discussion on draft statements by Jamnadas Mehta explaining the grant of Rs 13,000 by the government; before the paragraph quoted below:

Also omitted: routine administrative points regarding their journals – Ed.]

... I have now carefully considered the draft sent by Jamnadas Mehta and the amended draft sent by you. My suggestions are as follows:

I think our general approach to this question should be that it is desirable to have a compromise with Jamnadas if it can be without any harm and without giving him a chance to continue his malicious underhand propaganda. If there is no compromise, Jamnadas cannot

do anything much. If he issued any public statement, a counter-statement can be issued pronouncing him to be a liar. He has no public reputation for honesty and, therefore, there is little doubt not as to who would be believed. Moreover, Com. Karnik will be coming in less than a month, and it is desirable to keep the matter pending through correspondence till then.

Yours sincerely,

V.M. Tarkunde.

84: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

There has been considerable activity among the Labour unions at Mettur. The election of the office bearers of the Mettur Industries Union was to have been held on the 17th, but the President postponed the elections to the first of October. However on the 17th, Members of the opposite party led by Surendran held an election of their own and elected Surendran as President and others of his party as office bearers. The election has been repudiated but the Communists controlled party who are making preparations for their own regular elections to be held on the first and the District Magistrate reports that there is a possibility of a clash between the two parties and that he is making arrangements to provide sufficient police to maintain order. In Tinnevely district also strained feelings still exist between the two rival labour unions.

There has been some trouble also in the Ajax factory near Madras. The Labour Union there made a series of demands, mainly for an increase of dearness allowance and for revision of the rates of wages etc. The management were not prepared to concede these demands in full and as the workers refused to accept any compromise and resorted to 'slow-down' tactics, they finally closed down the factory altogether with effect from 22nd September 1944.

85: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

The labour situation in Bombay Province during the fortnight was not as peaceful as during the previous fortnight.

About 1,700 workers were involved in a strike in the Data Mills Limited which began on the 10th September as a protest against the reduction in statutory wages. The strike ended on the 14th September in view of the assurance given by the Government Labour Officer that he would look in to the matter.

The entire staff of 250 workers of Messrs. Fakirji Rustomji & Sons, Railway Labour Contractors, Bombay, was on strike from the 12th September over a demand for reinstatement of 10 discharged workers, wages for overtime work, etc. The strike gradually fizzled out and all the workers resumed work by the 20th September.

On the 16th September, 182 weavers of the Bharat Suryodaya Mills, Ahmedabad, struck work on the Management's refusal to take all weavers on work, as all machines could not be worked due to a defect in the machinery. The strike continues.

There was a short lived strike of sweepers in the employ of the Dholka Municipality over a demand for an increase in dearness allowance.

At the 17th Annual General Meeting of the G.I.P. Railway Accounts Staff Union held on the 2nd September resolutions were passed protesting against the policy of the Railway Board in not revising the scales of pay during the war, requesting Government to refer the matter to an Adjudicator and demanding Bombay local house and compensatory allowance to all clerks in the Accounts Department.

At a private meeting of the Bombay Textile Clerks' Union held on the 2nd September, speeches were made urging for a programme following the lead of the Congress. The meeting passed a resolution demanding four month's wages as bonus for 1944 for all workers.

86: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

5. *Industrial*

There has been a noticeable increase in labour unrest and at Tundra near Agra the Communists continue to be particularly active amongst the railway workers. At Lucknow there was strike amongst coolies at the Aishbagh power house, which was illegal but was firmly dealt with by the District Magistrate who arrested the ringleaders. Sweepers at the Lucknow Medical College also struck work one day and were joined by the ward boys and cooks. In Allahabad there were a number of labour disputes and there also some of the ring-leaders had to be arrested when the municipal sweepers struck work. There were short strikes in Allahabad and in some other areas including a jute mill in Gorakhpur, a Government Blanket Factory in Muzafarnagar, and a strawboard factory in Meerut, but Cawnpore labour was quiet.

87: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

The labour situation generally is quiet, but there is a certain amount of anxiety in the mica fields where many mica labours have recently been discharged. It is understood that the Joint Mica Commission is taking much less mica of inferior grades and has rejected a good many samples recently offered. There has been a very considerable falling off in the amount of work done by home splitters, particularly in the Girding area, and 60 percent of the home splitters in the villages in that locality are now unemployed.

It is believed Babu Krishna Ballabh Sahay and Sukhlal Singh, both of whom have recently been released from jail and both of whom have been inclined to be stormy petrels in the mica field, have again started interesting themselves in the industry. For the professional politician there are no doubt pickings to be made at Koderma and Girdih.

88: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

Relations between the two rival organisations at Vikramasingapuram in Tinnevely continue to be strained. Meetings and processions were held by both parties and there were mutual clashes which necessitated an order under Section 144 Cr. P.C. by the local Sub-Magistrate prohibiting both parties from holding meetings or taking out processions for a period of two months. A similar order had also to be passed at Koilpatti. In Madura, Varadarajulu Naidu continues to address the Madura Labour Union, attacking the Communists.

Other labour activity has been comparatively slight. In Madras, the workers of the Madras Port Trust have been guaranteed free coupons for the purchase of foodstuffs to the value of Rs 5 in the case of the non-militaries units and Rs 3-12-0 in the case of militaries units in addition to the dearness allowance drawn at Central Government rates which are in excess of the Provincial Government's rates. Demands for similar concessions are being made by all labour Unions. In Trichinopoly, Ananda Nambiar addressed a meeting of the Golden Rock Labour Union at which their demand for more pay and the formation of an All-India Railway men's Federation were discussed. In Dindigul, there was a short strike among cigar workers following a demand for increased pay and additional dearness allowances but the strikers returned to work unconditionally. In Salem, the election in the Labour Union, held by the Communists on the 15th October has been declared void by the Commissioner of Labour.

The situation at Mettur is relatively quiet following Surendran's experiment but allegations continue to be made by the latter's followers that they are being molested by members of the Communist Party.

89: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

As has already been reported, the U.P. absconder, Mohan Lal Gautam,* has paid visits to Bihar and he is now reported to have visited Jamshedpur where he held a secret meeting at which representatives of the Data Workers Union were present. The line taken by Gautam was that the Congress Socialist Party should endeavour to get labour organisations on to its side.

At one of the weekly meetings of the East Indian Railwaymen's Union at Jamalpur, it was disclosed that the Central E.I. Railwaymen's Union was contemplating a general strike throughout the railway if some of their demands were not conceded. The principal demand appeared to be one of dearness allowance.

The dispute between shellac merchants and labourers in Balarampur in Manbhum district continues and very few of the furnaces are functioning.

A shortlived strike took place at the Jitpur colliery in the Dhanbad subdivision. It appears that this strike was planned by outside agitators, one of whom was a Communist and the clerical and other superior staff of the colliery to make up the loss of production.

90: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Labour

M.D. Madan has been convicted for disobeying his externment order from Jamshedpur and has been sentenced to one years rigorous imprisonment.

There was some trouble at the Tatanagar Foundry owing to the failure of the management to pay wages to the workers. Apparently the Managing Director had been removed and a good deal of confusion resulted. The Assistant Labour Commissioner has been in Jamshedpur for the last 10 days and has been keeping in touch with the situation. The District Magistrate reports that an unsatisfactory feature of the business is the absence from Jamshedpur of all of the Directors of the Company. One difficulty seems to have been that there was not enough cash in hand to pay the wages due to the workers. The workers have remained quiet and at a meeting which they held on the 16th of November, gratitude was expressed for the help given by the Magistrate and the police.

91. Report on labour activities in Bengal during the months of November and December 1944

Govt. of Bengal – Industrial Dispute in Bengal 1944
[Bengal State Archives]

Public Utility

At a meeting of the Calcutta Tramways Workers' Union held on 7.12.44 at Wellington Square under the presidentship of Mr Md. Ismail (C.P.I.) the speakers condemned the management of the Company for not giving effect to some of the awards of the adjudicator and urged the workers to unite and carry on agitation till all of their demands were fulfilled.

At a meeting of the Calcutta Electric Supply Mazdoor Union held on 10.12.44 the speakers urged the workers to unite under the union, like the tramway workers, for realisation of their demands, such as increased dearness allowance of Rs 30 p.m. and increment of 4 per rupee in wages and a bonus equivalent to one month's pay etc.

At a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation Workers Union with Mr Shamsul Huda (C.P.I.) as President, the speakers urged the workers to join the union for the realisation of their demands through adjudication and condemned the Corporation authorities for trying to create a split amongst the workers.

Seamen

At a meeting of the All India Seamen's Federation held on 26.11.44 under the auspices of the Indian Quartermaster's Union, Indian Sailor's Union, Indian Maternal Maritime Union and the Bengal Saloon Workers Union, the speakers informed the seamen present at the meeting that the federation had been formed to fight for the cause of the Indian Seamen and urged them to unite under it for the realisation of their demands.

Miscellaneous

At the annual general meeting of the Bengal Chemical Mazdoor Union held on 10.11.44 under the presidentship of Prof. Humayun Kabir the speakers stressed the need for forming a chemical worker's federation with all the chemical workers in Calcutta. Resolutions were passed demanding (1) Rs 18 and Rs 40 as the minimum wages of the lower and higher grade workers respectively, (2) supply of uniform, medicine, and speedy supply of rations, (3) better facilities for overtime work and grant of pay during leave period when engaged on a contract system.

At a meeting of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress held on 20.11.44 at Sradhananda Park with Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose as president a resolution was passed urging the Government to settle immediately by adjudication the existing trade disputes between the jute mill workers and their employers on certain demands such as increased dearness allowance, bonuses, etc. put forward by the workers to their employers long ago.

At a meeting of the Press Employee's Association held at Wellington Square on 9.12.44 under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress with Mr Mrinal Kanti Bose as president, grievances of the press workers and concessions recently granted to the workers of the Bengal Government Press, and the *Statesman* were discussed. A resolution was passed, condemning the employers of Gouranga, Newsman, Corporation and E.I. Rye presses for not

removing the long standing grievances of workers and urging the Government of Bengal to refer these disputes immediately for settlement by adjudication.

For Labour Commissioner, Bengal

92: Secretary, All India Seamen's Federation to Labour Union Office, Calcutta (intercepted letter)

Govt. of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. SK 511/44
[Bengal State Archives]

Secret

S.B. Sind C.I.D. Karachi

dated 11–12–1944

The following obtained through a Secret Source, is a copy of a letter from the Secretary, All – India Seamen's Federation, 21, Rajabali Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta to Comrade Jamaldin Bukhari, C.O. Labour Union Offices, Kutchery Road, Karachi:

I have the pleasure to inform you that the proposed All India Seamen's Federation has been formed after first inaugural meeting of representatives of Seamen's Union in India held in Calcutta on 25th and 26th November, 1944. It has been decided at the meeting that an All-India Seamen's Conference should be held in Bombay at a convenient date suitable to all concerned. A meeting of the General Council of the All-India Seamen's Federation will be held in Bombay before the date of the open conference. In the meantime you are required to revive your Seamen's Union in Karachi so that you can be co-opted in the Federation.

93: Appeal to the labourers to ask for higher wages

M.N. Roy Papers

[NMML - Roll No. 14] – (Translation from Gujarati)

Dear Friends,

One can really not tell the difficulties that we face due to the high rate of inflation. Due to the high rates of interest the effect to wages that we get are very low, and our earlier wages were not taxable.

We get dearness allowance according to the norms but of late mill owners are finding means to reduce the amount of this allowance, as they are expecting a government ordinance regarding it, according to which the amount of dearness allowance can only be 1 times or one and three quarter times of the basic wages. If the owners give more than that, the extra amount will not be considered as expenditure while calculating tax.

Under these circumstances we must decide what steps should be taken.

Actually in the time of price-rise we should have asked for higher wages (basically salary) along with the dearness allowance. Three years ago we had raised the question of increase in basic salary. But Majdoor Mahajan (an organisation) had turned the negotiations towards dearness allowance and bonus and kept aside the basic point of contention i.e. rise in wages. Claiming to be the true representatives of the labourers of Ahmedabad the Majdoor Mahajan Organisation had just asked for dearness allowance.

And now many of us are quite satisfied that we are getting a reasonable good amount as dearness allowance. But that is a grave mistake. In the short time that has elapsed many undesirable results of such a myopic policy can be seen.

1. As the mill owners have to give us dearness allowance, a very small part of the enormous profits they make from the govt. orders and also on other goods during the war, they don't mind it. But according to the agreement with the Majdoor Mahajan they have accepted to give this allowance only till the end of the war. In Europe now, we know that even after the war ends, the war against Japan will continue for a couple of years more in Asia. And it is also possible that inflation is as high as now even after the war. That is according to the existing agreement, though inflation will continue to be high the allowance will be stopped. We can well imagine our condition under these circumstances.
2. The ordinance would probably be implemented after a month according to which a person earning Rs 30 a month would get an allowance of about Rs 45 which will be much less than what we are getting now. Those who have higher salaries would receive higher allowances. Our condition will worsen in the near future and will become unbearable once the war ends in Europe. Therefore, the need today is to try out new options. The mistakes that we have allowed to happen, the myopic policies of Majdoor mahajan that we have allowed to continue need to be rectified immediately. Today the war is on. The mill owners are also making hefty profits; at this time we must put forward our demand for higher wages. No ordinance can be promulgated on increase in wages and that increase will be a permanent one. Only if we continue to get increased wages after the war, can we face the inflationary situation prevalent then.

Only now has the Majdoor mahajan started talking about increase in wages but they plan to put forward this demand after the war is over; this is suicidal. If we want to succeed, this is the right time to press for our demands when the factories are working in full swing for which we must unite. Later it will be very difficult to achieve this.

As far as bonus is concerned, Majdoor Mahajan has again got us a raw deal they have agreed to an amount which is 20 per cent of the yearly income as bonus. But the important thing is that they have not included the dearness allowance in the income. By agreeing to such a condition in these difficult times, the Majdoor Mahajan has in fact betrayed the labourers. As such fifteen days in the year the mills had been closed due to Gandhiji's hunger strike and on the 9th of every month the mills are closed. The wages for those days are automatically cut, therefore, we are open hardly for 9 months in an year. One who earns Rs 30 a month would earn around Rs 250 a year (for 9 months). If we calculate 20 per cent of that it comes to around Rs 50 as bonus. When there is a profit of crores of Rupees we get Rs 50 as bonus.

This is less than even a month's dearness allowance. Actually by accepting such a meagre amount as bonus, the Majdoor Mahajan has almost acted on behalf of the mill owners. It is amazing that the secretary of Majdoor Mahajan did not even consult the representative or the

Working Committee before signing the agreement. After signing he called a meeting for its acceptance or for it to be passed.

Therefore, it is our duty today to unite and put forward the demand of increase in wages, we must let the govt. know that it must constitute a board immediately to look into this, our members should get proper representation on the board and must see to it that this demand is conceded and steps are taken to implement it. We will also have to ensure that there are no cuts in our income. We must stress on increase in wages rather than dearness allowance.

If we want to get long term benefits and do not want to be caught in unbearable circumstances after the war we must not sit back and be satisfied with the D.A. that we are getting but fight for higher wages.

Do not be satisfied with the shallow policies of Majdoor Mahajan. There is no option to higher wages.

Chandrakant Das
G.H. Mansoorie
Ahmedabad Majdoor Mandal.

XI

Student Movement

In the main introduction we have already mentioned one of the principal developments in this period – the emergence of a nationalist anti-Communist Students organisation. This happened because the appeal of the 'Quit India' movement was too strong for many politically minded students to retain their allegiance to the Communist dominated All India Students Federation. Document no. 10 in this chapter (an extract from the survey of Communist Party office by the Intelligence branch) summarizes the organizational and financial weakness of the Communists in the students front. Document no. 12 (an extract from a C.P.I. circular) reveals, by the very bitterness of the polemic, the sense of frustration felt by Communist leaders at seeing the weakening of their hold among students.

From the point of view of the Raj, and also from a broad liberal humanist point of view, it was desirable that the Indian student community should be made aware of the nature and menace of Fascism, but the habits of Colonial government stood in the way. In Bihar a blanket ban on any type of political activity by students stopped not only open organizational efforts by nationalists but also efforts to organise an anti-fascist students movement. Documents 15 and 16 bring out the story and reveal the contradictions between the perspectives of the Intelligence Bureau and the politically sophisticated officials of the Home Department of the Government of India. In Bihar the influence of the underground leaders of the '42 rebellion was very widespread (Docs no 4, 5, 7).

Who were the students who got caught up in political activity of this type? Social conditions and opportunities for college education varied so widely in different parts of India that our documents probably do not provide a representative biographical sample. In Bengal, the evidence of Docs 13, 14 and 17 points to one case where the student is the son of a middle-level government official who has the cushion of some landed property in his native village, where the student is interned, after having been sent away from Calcutta where he was involved in pro-'Forward Bloc' activities.

The Student Community belonged to an age-group when people are easily stirred by idealism, hopes of changing the world, and the spirit of self-sacrifice, especially when there was the example of many national leaders, including Gandhiji, in front of them. Under war-time conditions of press censorship and the Defence of India Rules, the expression of this idealism and the elucidation of their perception of nationalism is to be found in the speeches made and the manifestos written by them and their mentors in course of their organizing activity.

Documents 18, 20, 21 show that the South Indian 'National Students Organisation', which anticipated the Indian Students Congress used the anti-imperialist slogan of 8 August 1942 as its credo: struggle against British imperialism, inspired by the Gandhian ideal of non-violent civil disobedience and non-cooperation. The vision of nationalism encompassed within its fold the citizenship of all religious groups. Frequent criticism of the C.P.I. and praise for Nehru and the Congress Socialists are characteristic of some of the speeches (Doc. 20). Using the death anniversaries of eminent Indians as occasion to hold meetings (Tagore day, Mahadev Desai day) are characteristic of the ancestor-worship that a nationalist ideology, which has no social and economic programme, is liable to indulge in. There are dangers that from this

ancestor-worship students would start sustaining their nationalism by a selective reading of history, which would have strong communal overtones. In Ch. XVIII we have illustrations of this, but it is worth noting that there are some disturbing similarities between the organisation and drill of volunteer youth corps like the Rashtriya Seva Dal sponsored by the students' Congress (Doc. 66) and the R.S.S. (Ch. XVIII). However, the practice of drilling in shorts with lathis did not turn the Seva Dals into communal bodies, because the pledge that had to be taken was clearly secular, the organizer in C.P. was a Muslim called Suleman Pathan, and there was co-operation with the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It is instructive to contrast the speeches made at meetings of the Rashtriya Seva Dal with those made at R.S.S. shakhas. (Ch. XVIII).

Other Documents Relevant for this Chapter:

1. Doc. 151 in Chapter II.
2. Doc. 60 in Chapter V.
3. Doc. 77 in Chapter V.

1: Viceroy to Sir Ganga Singh

File No. 3/60/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India

Home Department

(Political Internal) Sec.

Subject: *Congress Disturbances and Benaras Hindu University.*

17th August, 1942.

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

I have been distressed to receive from the Governor of the United Provinces confidential information to the effect that the situation of the students of the Benaras Hindu University in relation to the present subversive Congress Movement, etc. is such that with the greatest regret it will not be possible for him to refrain from taking action. It appears that the sabotage incidents, which are very serious and which are reported from the vicinity of Benaras, are substantially the work of an organisation within the University, and this is equally true of the organisation of the dacoities to railway stations. The vice-Chancellor has reported that in present conditions to have absolutely no control, and many students are going away to their homes. In these circumstances the Governor has felt that he has no option but to authorise the occupation of the University's buildings and hostels; and action in that sense will be taken in the next couple of days.

I need not say that my own grief that matters should have developed in this way is as great as will be your Highness. but in the circumstances reported you will, I am certain, share my

view that the Governor has no option in the matter. Let us hope that these distressing conditions will be remedied before too long.

Yours sincerely,

Linlithgow.

General His Highness
Maharajadhiraja Raj Rajeshwar
Shriomani Maharaja Shri
Sir Ganga Singhji Bahadur,
G.C.S.I., GCI, GCVO. GBE, KCB.
LLD. A.D.C.,
Maharaja of Bikaner.

2: Sir Ganga Singh to the Viceroy

File No. 3/60/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Palace, Gajner,
Bikner, Rajputtana.
24th August 1942.

My dear Lord Linlithgow.

I was greatly pained to read the contents of your Excellency's letter of the 17th August¹ regarding the sad state of affairs on the political side of the Benares Hindu University.

2. As one of its founders and its present Chancellor, I have for some time past watched with no little concern the trend of political events in that Institution. Your Excellency is doubtless aware that in 1935 in Lord Willingdon's time, I took up with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was then Vice-Chancellor, the question of the University's undesirable political sympathies and the lack of discipline of the students, and I was able in a great measure to get the University authorities to agree to a more reasonable policy. But the advent of Congress Provincial Governments again upset matters. The problem was however continuously in my mind: and in March 1941 when I was in Benares I pressed on Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the present Vice-Chancellor, the necessity of keeping the University outside all undesirable political activities and of maintaining strict discipline among the students.

3. In view of all this and the distinct Congress colouring given to the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the University in January last, I resigned the Chancellorship of the University immediately afterwards. It was only at the pressing request of the Vice-Chancellor and in view of the enquiry entrusted to Sir Maurice Gwyer and his Committee that I agreed reconsider my decision. This was while I was in Madras in July last; and though ill at the time, I also took the opportunity on that occasion of once again impressing on Sir S. Radhakrishnan the dangers of the course which the University seemed to be pursuing and the urgent desirability

of his and the other University authorities on the spot checking or controlling matters with greater determination.

4. As soon as civil disobedience was decided I wrote officially on the 10th August to the Vice-Chancellor asking him to let me know at the earliest convenience what policy and line of action he proposed to adopt so far as the University and its activities were concerned. I have not till now received any reply to this letter.

5. Naturally I am deeply grieved that there are some in the University for which successive Viceroy's had done so much, who have thus associated themselves with such objectionable activities, which has left His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces no option but to authorise the occupation of the University buildings and hostels; and I have no doubt that so drastic a course would not have been contemplated or authorised unless the Governor was absolutely satisfied about the necessity for such action.

6. I have called for a report from the Vice-Chancellor; and I need hardly assure your Excellency that everything that I can do in the matter will be done at once to secure the wholehearted co-operation of the authorities on the spot.

7. I can, in conclusion, only share your Excellency's hope that conditions will soon improve all over India and that the present unhappy and distressing circumstances will not continue too long.

Yours very sincerely,
Ganga Singh.

I Doc 1

3. Dt. Magistrate, South Arcot to the Chief Secretary, Government of Madras

Govt. of Madras Pub (General) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 9
[Tamil Nadu State Archives]

From (Name) Khan Sahib Md. Ismail Sahib Bahadur, B.A
(Designation) District Magistrate of South Arcot
Post Box . . . (Station) Cuddalore.

The Chief Secretary to Government,
Public (General) Department, Madras.
confl 1/43, dated 6/1/43

Sir,

Political Agitation – Civil Disobedience movement-Annammalai Pillai and Sivapragasam Pillai –
Prosecution under rule 38(c) and 39(b)

I have sanctioned the prosecution of the two individuals mentioned below of Kumarakupam Village (Valavanur) for having committed an offence under rules 38(c) and 39(b) of the Defence of India rules.

- (1) Annamalai Pillai son of Vaithinadha Pillai
- (2) Sivapragasam Pillai son of Vadivelu Pillai

Both these individuals were found to be distributing prejudicial pamphlets on 4/1/43 in 'Valavanur' shandy in the midst of crowds. A gist of the translation of the two kinds of pamphlets is given below.

2. I request that my action having sanctioned their prosecution may be approved.

Signed
For Dt. Magistrate.

Gists of the Contents in the Pamphlets

No. 1. 'Oh Indian, From today onwards you are an independent warrior. Rise with valour. Arise to fight for your mother land – Drive out the foreigner – Uproot the foreign domination – Tear off the law – Obstruct the officials – Make the sepoys as servants for the country – Prevent Paying tax etc'

No. 2. 'Sisters of India – The independence of our motherland is in your hands. The whiteman who came to our country about 150 years ago to eke out his livelihood deceived and seized our country from us. He made us slaves, shutting our mouth and binding our hands. Slipped all our wealth to his country, besides that he has brought the war on our head for him to live, to have power and to drink and to enjoy with his wife and children and so on '

Please see the reports on pp. 3 & 5 ante. The prosecutions of the person mentioned on pats ante may perhaps be approved.

May be approved.

4. Extracts from the report on the events in Bihar during the first half January 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files -- 1943 -- File No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

Students

On the night of December 23, students raided the Jain School at Arrah and removed a duplicating machine and some stationery. According to the school watchman they were armed with guns and revolvers. The more turbulent among the student community are making plans to promote strikes, take out processions and hoist flags on Independence Day. The communist fraction of the students' federation while disapproving of strikes, proposes to take out licensed processions, hold meetings and issue posters and leaflets. No licence for any procession or meeting will, of course, be issued.



5: Extracts from the report on the events in Bihar during the second half of January 1943

Govt of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

Students

Students in Patna were apparently demoralized by the raids and arrests of their Council of Action leaders which were carried out before Independence Day. Their attempts to celebrate the day in the usual way were, therefore, half-hearted. Attendance at schools and colleges was practically normal and in some institutions even better.

6: Dt. Magistrate, South Arcot to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 9
[TNA]

Office of the District Magistrate, South Arcot,
Cuddalore, dated 17.3.43.

From
Khan Sahib Muhammad Ismail Sahib Bahadur, B.A.,
District Magistrate, South Arcot.

To
The Chief Secretary to Government
Public (General) Department, Madras.

Sir,

Political Agitation – Civil disobedience movement – V. Balasubramaniam, student of the Annamalai University Prosecution – sanctioned.

V. Balasubramaniam, a student of the Annamalai University was found in possession of a letter written by himself intended to be despatched to the Municipal Commissioner, Coimbatore. A copy of it is enclosed.

2. The letter is a prejudicial document. The student is a congress sympathiser and it is also learnt that he took part in the recent disturbances of the University. I have therefore sanctioned his prosecution under Rule 38(i) (a) punishable under 38(5) and 39(1)(b) and 39(b) of the Defence of India Rules. I request that my action may be approved.

Signed
For Dt. Magistrate

Copy of the letter seized from the room of the accused V. Balasubramaniam in Room No. 115 of the Annamalai University Hostel.

Com. of Coimbatore.

Sir,

We cannot but jot down certain relevant facts and ideas which in our opinion, will be of immense help to you and further which will guide you in the near future.

After all the congress had got into the boat of freedom and *I am dogmatic when I say that the boat had crossed the mid oceans.*

Sir,

Out of gratitude and necessity this letter was compelled to be written to you.

It is but meet and justifiable to write this letter to you, a learned, who had tackled the situation in a more appreciable manner. This letter was compelled to be dropped to you out of gratitude and necessity. One cannot but praise your past actions for your benevolent attitude towards others. Yet we cannot help jotting down certain additional relevant facts and ideas which to our conception will be of immense help to you and will guide you in the near future.

After all the Congress got into the boat of freedom – a freedom for our Mother country – and I am dogmatic when I say that the boat had crossed the mid ocean. We all know that the Congress leaders had nearly put into action the boiling emotions of the 400 million people of India. The Indian National Congress had taken the initiative in launching a movement thereby fulfilling the long cherished hope of attaining freedom of the masses. So it is not right on the part of critics of the Congress to throw the blame in their faces? Well, Sir – further does it not lead to the legal conclusion that one who discredits the mass movements is becoming an enemy to the 400 million people of India, more than 1/5 of the World's population? *Therefore we consider, it is the burden duty of India to actively participate in the present struggle, to till the tangled webs of all others who disagrees with the present action and to enthuse the militant people to rise in revolt against the Britishers in India. . . .*

Members of the council, freedom of speech and in resisting the proposals if any of the Government to supersede the Municipality. You should act as mediator in pacifying the Government whenever it got excited against the Councillors. More than nay other else, you as Commissioner should see that the Municipality had not been steered by the present autocratic Government. We believe in your sincerity that *you will not allow the Police or Military to step inside the Municipal Building area even when the mob approaches the same in fury.* As one who is handling a responsible post you bear the whole burden of responsibility if any resident of your Municipal area is lathi charged or fired. *Remember that lathi charging the mob will, give rise to further incessant revolt.* To quote from Sir Samuel Hoare, the power of the spirit is greater than the power of the lath. *Above all a man of eminence like you should take the lead in leading a procession, in finding all methods of paralysing the arrogant Government and putting them in action now itself and encouraging the masses to rebel against.* If only you act at this time, you will be an Indian, a true patriot, a man who serves for the attainment, protection and continuation of freedom of India. You will be failing in bounden duty if you do not work for the putting down of the present unrepresentative Government.

More over as an extreme case who expected to resign your job and take the pledge that you will

serve only in a free India. While tendering the resignation must be sure to discharge the duty as mentioned in the 2nd para as Commissioner.

Yours truly,
(True Copy)

7. Extracts from the report on the events in Bihar during the first half of April 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

In Patna an extremely prejudicial publication called 'Our Struggle' has begun to appear. This is the work of the Bihar Students Council – an underground organisation composed largely of the students of the former socialist group of the students' Federation. It is well printed and produced and first appeared on March the 25th, the date on which the *Searchlight* resumed Publication. A long article by Jai Prakash Narayan of a very inflammatory nature advocating systematic sabotage, organisation of gorilla bands, etc., appeared in this publication. In Jamalpur near Monghyr, some very objectionable leaflets purporting to emanate from the Bolshevik Leninist party,¹ otherwise known as the Fourth Internationale, were found. These leaflets urged the destruction of Government, the looting of police stations and the sabotage of railways.

¹ Not to be confused with the Bolshevik Party of India, which was pro-war – [Ed.]

8. Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat states for the fortnight ending the 30th April 1943

Baroda & Gujarat State Agency, File No. 6(10)P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

Confidential.

Baroda

15th April 1943

A section of the Baroda Prajamandal Working Committee dissatisfied with the action of the President in coming to an agreement with the Baroda Government has formed a body called 'The Baroda Raj Prajamandal Rashtriya Party' to oppose the settlement'. They held a meeting and decided to continue the programme outlined by the Prajamandal in its resolution of 18th August 1942 protesting against the war effort of the State. As a result the Baroda Government

arrested several of the leaders and have so far detained about twenty persons. This new organisation commands as yet no particular influence in the State but it has the support of the more fanatical student element. It is hoped however that this action of the Baroda Government will prevent it getting a start.

Several meetings have been held to condemn the action of the Baroda Government in arresting these men and to encourage students to continue the 'fight for freedom'. It remains to be seen whether the more moderate Praja Mandal leaders can hold their party together.

9: Extracts from the report on the events in Bihar during the first half of May 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File. No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

1. *Anti-War activities.* A teacher and a number of students of a High English School on the borders of the Bhagalpur and Santal Parganas districts interfered with an Indian soldier who had come home on leave, tried to persuade him to desert from the army and tried to get hold of his uniform to set fire to it. About a dozen arrests have been made and an enquiry is being made by Education authorities in to the state of indiscipline which appears to prevail in this school.

10: 'Communist Survey' (extracts) – July–Oct 1943

File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Students

9. The students 'fraction' is inevitably in even dire financial straits than the Party proper. A circular admits that the position is 'precarious' and that only the 'Fighting Fund' collected during the summer vacations has enabled the A.I.S.F.¹ to continue publishing 'The Student' as a monthly; a scheme to convert it into a fortnightly had to be postponed until December. This same circular complains bitterly of the shortcomings of provincial federations in respect of sending in reports and paying up dues to the Centre. The situation is to be reviewed at an All-India Student Workers Conference in Bombay at the end of November when some 100 delegates are expected to attend if they can raise their travelling expenses – the Centre has expressed its inability to help. Meanwhile the student's movement remains in the doldrums and in the more active provinces communist supremacy is threatened by rival federations. In Madras and Bombay these have appeared under the guise of 'nationalist' organisations which profess to be Congress and very hostile to the Communist Party of India. These groups, however, are not yet functioning on an All-India scale. Apart from these, the communists are finding their pitch queered throughout India by the slow growth of the communal groups

such as the All-India Hindu Students Federation (identifiable with the Hindu Mahasabha) and the Muslim Students Federation which faithfully choose Muslim League policy. The Party leaders have counselled 'joint meetings and discussions' with the Muslim students but since Dr Adhikari has admitted that the 'League patriot looks upon the Communist Party as a good *Hindu* party which is taking a sensible and just attitude towards the League', it is not surprising that the response is not as yet very marked outside the Punjab where a certain amount of liaison exists.

1 All India Students Federation

11. Director of Public Instruction, Bihar to all schools & colleges

File No. 3/68/43 - Home Poll (I)
(NAI)

From
The Director of Public Instruction, Bihar,

*Patna,
The 21st July, 1943.*

Confidential.
D.O. No. 228-C.

Dear Sir/Madam,

While noting with satisfaction that discipline in Schools and Collages has greatly improved I have to remind you of the need for continued vigilance in future so that the smooth working of the institutions (s) in your charge may not be interrupted. It is possible that some kind of political demonstration or hartal may be attempted by discontented elements on the 9th to 11th of August next. I am to request you to warn those students who may entertain any such intention that very serious notice will be taken of it. In case any demonstration or hartal is attempted you should not hesitate to use the ample powers which you now possess to deal with the offence.

Yours sincerely.

Signed A.S. Khan.

Memo. No. 229-C. Dated Patna, the 21st July, 1943. Copy forwarded to all District officers for information.

Signed A.S. Khan.

Director of Public Instruction.



12: Extracts from circular issued by the CPI ¹ (dated sometime before Aug 9)

Govt. of Bengal, File No. SR 506/43 VI
[Bengal State Archives.]

Playing with Students

Office of the Dy. Commissioner of
Police Special Branch

The Fifth column is concentrating on the Student. The A.I.C.C. programme 'called for a three days' strike. Their agents found that the students were critical instead of enthusiastic. Three days strike was very near last years indefinite strike slogan, which 'lead not to Revolution & victory but explosion and demoralization'. In Bombay the Fifth column boys have come down to one day strike to beguile the student patriots. Their game is to get the students some how on strike and they know the rest will follow. First days' strike will lead to arrests, to give the chance for second days' protest strike against arrests, two days would be enough for the authorities to put up expulsion lists and the third day will be hot enough for the strike against expulsions and then the indignant students could be made to dance to their tune.

Congress boys are asking them 'will it be 'peaceful' 'or not?' Fifth column lads have been coached up to promptly assure them; 'absolutely peaceful.' The gangsters know the police will be waiting round the corner to start the show & they will be present in students' own ranks to start provocation.

Young student patriots were swept off their feet last year. They have been struggling to find them again. They are being put to the test again. They won't let the fifth column exploit their youthful patriotism if they remember that Bose in waiting for their strike as a signal to march in.

1. The complete document is in chapter V, Doc. 61

13: Extract from notes and orders in Home (jails) Department regarding detention of Babu Ashim Kumar Majumdar (dt 9.9.43–26.9.43)

Govt of Bengal (Home) File No. W/561/43 – (Home)
[Bengal State Archives]

History sheet¹ (Ashim Kumar Majumdar) scrutinized and returned, information about him dates from 1940. He appears to have been exclusively concerned in students organisations, e.g. the Forward Bloc students' Federation from 1940 and membership of a Central War Council of students formed for carrying out working activities in connection with the Congress

'rebellion'. He is said to have organised strikes, planned meetings in defiance of prohibitions, smuggled out instructions to the War Council from jail after detention and in an intercepted letter talked big about what he was going to do. All this strikes me as being very largely tall talk. He is only 21; and, although there seems to me to have been grounds for his detention, I think that he should now be released and restricted to his home district and placed under the direct responsibility of his father with an indication that a breach of the restrictive order without prejudice to any criminal action against him will be visited with a period of detention. Ask the I.G., I.B., to report by 16-9-43 whether he has any objection to the adoption of such a course.

Signed A.E. Porter,
9/9/43.

Ashim Kumar Majumdar may be released and his movements may be restricted to the village of Gopinagar, P.S. Ranaghat in Nadia District, where his father has some landed properties. His father has himself expressed the desire that his son may be in a position to look after this property.² It would be undesirable to allow Ashim Majumdar to renew his former student contacts in Calcutta.

Signed J.W. Purdy.
16/9

May be released and restricted as suggested.
Issue orders, submit letter to H.C.M.

Signed A.E. Porter,
24/9/43.

Draft release orders¹ put up.

As however, the prisoner will be required to stay in his village home after release, the Home (Defence) Department may be requested to put up restriction order under D.I. rule 26 (1) (d) for issue simultaneously.

After issue, the file may be submitted to H.C.M.

Signed A.U. 25/9

Signed
G.D. Singh Roy,
26/9/43.

1 Not printed
2 Doc 14 below
3 Not printed



14: Representation, from A K. Majumdar's father

Govt. of Bengal, File No. W/561/43
[Bengal State Archives]

Government of Bengal, Home Department.

To
The Deputy Commissioner of Police,
Special Branch,
Calcutta.

16.9.43

Sir,

I have the honour to state that I have been informed by one of your officers about a proposal to release my son Ashim Kumar Mazumdar, a Security Prisoner in the Presidency Jail, under certain conditions.

I agree to take responsibility that he will abide by all the conditions which may be imposed on him domiciling him in my house at Ranaghat, Dt. Nadia where my wife and some of my children are living.

In this connection, I would pray that you will be kindly pleased to permit him to look after my landed property at village Gopinagar (P.S. Ranaghat) which is only 5 miles off from Ranaghat, near Gangrapore Railway Station and also to attend to all family needs in Ranaghat area.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your most obedient servant,

7/2 Russa Road,
Calcutta, 16-9-43.

Signed Nalini Mazumdar,
Inspector of Excise.

15: News item from *Searchlight* (dt 15.10.43)

File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Anti-fascist students conference Bihar Govt. forbid Students to join
(From our own correspondent)

Muzaffarpur, October 3

The Government of Bihar have, it is learnt, pointed out in course of communication to Bihar Anti-Fascist Students' Association that students of educational institutions can not join students'

Bureau or the students' Anti-Fascist Conference or Association organised by the Labour Party of India¹ for Articles 116 and 355 of the Education Code strictly forbid students of schools and colleges from becoming members of political organisations of any kind or to attend or take part in political meetings and organisations or in the organisations or arrangements for the conduct of any such meeting or demonstration. It may be recalled that the Bihar Anti-Fascist Students Association sought permission to organise a students and mass demonstration to counteract the effects of All-India Congress Committee Resolution of the 8th August 1942 and to organise a District Students' Anti-Fascist Conference.

1. See Ch V for documents on the Labour Party of India.

16: Extracts from Official Notings (dt 15.10.43–29.10.43) to prevent students from joining political movement

File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

We cannot grumble at their (Bihar Government) preventing students from joining the anti-fascist conference or association.¹ If, on the other hand, little is done to control Congress student activity in the various student federations etc. – and my impression certainly is that student federations in Bihar are fairly active – then we should I think have a good case for enquiring from Bihar what the exact position is with regard to this anti-fascist association.

15.10.43.

(S.J.L. Olver)

Under Secretary.

D.I.B. (Mr Ryan)

Intelligence Bureau (H.D.)

As a result of their experience in the 'Quit India' disturbances, the Bihar Government decided to tighten up the provisions of the Bihar Education Code relating to discipline in schools, and at the end of October, 1942 they introduced new articles in the Code prohibiting students 'from becoming members of a political organisation or to attend or take part in political meetings or demonstrations or in the organisation or arrangements of any such meeting or demonstration'; any student who wished to join any club, society or organisation outside his college or school had to obtain the approval of the Principal or Headmaster before doing so. Corporal punishment was reintroduced.

The communist students were to the forefront in the agitation against these orders, but the Student Federation leaders were cowed by the fear of expulsion from their colleges and consequently the agitation did not flourish. Throughout 1943, the Bihar students organisations have in fact been far less active than those in most of the other provinces and have been forced to abandon open activities in favour of furtive and rather fruitless plotting. Even the August 9th anniversary met with little response in the schools and colleges. According to a communist students circular, one of the principal reasons for the failure of the 'Fifth Column'

to organise demonstrations on 9th August was the vigilance of the college authorities: 'Notices were again and again circulated in the classes that students taking part in the political activities would be expelled. Professors were asked to keep record of attendance of all students for four consecutive days from 7th to 11th'. It appears from this circular also that the Students Federation leaders did not dare even to contact students in their college hostels.

It is clear, therefore, that the Bihar Educational authorities have all their students, of whatever political complexion, thoroughly in hand and that this happy state of affairs would be jeopardised if any move were made to accord preferential treatment to an 'anti-fascist association' organised by a political party even such as the L.P.I.² It would appear also that other provinces might possibly profit in this respect from Bihar's example in tightening up discipline in schools.

(G.C. Ryan).
Assistant Director (R).
26.10.43

Home Dept. (Mr Olver).
D.I.B.U.O. No. 6/Y.M./43, dated 26.10.43.

Additional Secretary may be interested to see the press cutting at serial No. 20 and the noting from page 29 *ante*. In referring the case to D.I.B., it was not my intention to suggest that preferential treatment should be given to anti-fascist student associations. We may agree with D.I.B. that the present situation as regards student activity in Bihar is admirable and should not be disturbed, and I cannot help feeling it a pity that similar action should not be taken in other provinces.

27.10.43.
(S.J.L. Olver)
Under Secretary

Signed V. Sahay
Addl. Secy.

Similar action may have been taken in other Provinces. There was a remarkable absence of student activity throughout India at the time of the Anniversary, and I doubt if we have sufficient grounds for going out to other Provinces. It might however be desirable to show the notes from P. 30 *ant*^d to E.H & L in case they have any further information on the subject or any comments to make.

R. Tottenham
29.10.43

-
1. See Doc. 15 above.
 2. Labour Party of India.
 3. Earlier note of DIB (26.10.43) above.



17: Reg. Asim Kumar Majumdar

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. W/561/43 - (Home)
[Bengal State Archives]

Intelligence Branch, C.I.D.,

13 Lord Sinha Road,
Calcutta, dated 26th, October 1943

No. 32298/561-43 (W.B) (R)

Petition dated 19-10-43 from Ashim Kumar Mazumdar (appended below)

Forwarded original to A.E. Porter Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Addl. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, H.D. for favour of disposal – If he (A.K. Majumdar), is allowed to remain in Calcutta, he is sure to revert to his former activities, and hence his petition should not be entertained at this stage. Besides, he was released on an assurance being given by his father that he should remain in his village home (copy enclosed).¹ His movements have been restricted by G.O. No. 11696 Def. dated 28-9-43.² No relaxation is, therefore, recommended. In this connection a reference is also invited to this office endorsement dated 16-9-43³ recorded on Sectt File No. D. 65-301/43.

Signed 26/10
For Dy. Inspector-General Of Police, I.B.

W/56/43

Ranaghat, Nadia
19th October

To
The D.I.G., I.B.C.I.S
13, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta

Just after my release from the Presidency jail a restriction order has been served upon me in which I have been directed to stay at Nadia District and to keep the District Magistrate, Nadia, informed of my actual residence and address.

I have passed the B.A. examination this year and want to continue my study with M.A. and Law. But the restriction order has prevented me from continuing my study.

If I don't get myself admitted in the University Classes soon, no seat will be available for me and perhaps the last date of admission in the classes will be over.

So I pray to your gracious notice that you would be kind enough to withdraw the restrain order and will give me an opportunity to prosecute my studies.

Yours obediently,
Ashim Kumar Majumdar
Security Prisoner
P.O. Ranaghat, Nadia.

Dated, the 19th October, 1943.

1. Doc. 14
2. Not Printed
3. See Doc. 13.

18: I.G. of Police submitting a report on the NSO training camp to the Diwan of Travancore

Govt. of Travancore, File No. 629/43 – Confidential Section
[Kerala State Archives]

Government of Travancore
Confidential Department

No. D. Dis. 629/43/ C.S. dated 2.11.1943

Subject: National Students Organisation Training Camp held at Kangeri, Bangalore –

Trivandrum
25th October 1943.

Submitted

Herewith copy of a letter dated 20-10-1943, received from the Superintendent of police, Special Branch in Mysore, Bangalore together with a copy of its enclosure re National Students Organisation 'Training Camp' held at Kangeri, Bangalore Taluk, between the 25th and 30th September 43, for your kind perusal.

Signed
Ag. Insp-Genl. of Police

Sachivothama
Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.C.I., K.C.I.E., L.L.P.,
Dewan of Travancore.

Letter No. P.C. 136/39-40, dated 20-10-1943 from the Superintendent of Police Special Branch in Mysore, Bangalore, to the Inspector-General of Police, Trivandrum.

I have the honour to enclose herewith a brief note on 'The National Students Organisation Training Camp', held at Kangeri, Bangalore Taluk, between 25th and 30th September 1943.

A training class for giving instructions to the members of the National Students' Organisation was held (under the guidance of Mr R.R. Keithan) from 25th September 1943 to 30th September 1943, both days inclusive at the 'Gurukulashrama' Kangeri, Bangalore Taluk. A brief note on the daily proceedings of the said Training Course, is detailed below:

On 24th September 43 the following student-representative who took part in the celebrations arrived from the places noted against each:

1. Ramachandran Congress Worker Travancore
2. K. Janardhan Pillai Social Worker, Trivandrum
3. K.M.R. Veerabhedra Setty Student, Mysore
4. B. Baralingenna
5. A. Ramachar
6. C. Siddappa
7. H. Gurulingappa
8. R. Rajagopal

9. S. Sbamanna
10. A. Hamid, Student Madras
11. K. Lakshmikanthan, Student Madura
12. G. Shankervariar, Student Trivandrum
13. R. Veerracdrum, Student Thamburam
14. S. Kandaswamy, Student Cochin
15. S. Prabhakaran Nair, Student Trivandrum
16. K.G. Subramaniam, Student Madras
17. M. Varadan, Student Madanapalli
18. V.K. Chinnadevan, Student Madura
19. T.V. Kunni Krishnan, Student Badagara
20. G. Ravindravara, Student Madras
21. K. Ramunni Menon, Student Madras
22. J. Nageswara Rao, Student Guntur
23. B. Harinarayan
24. B. Suryanarayana Murthy
25. G. Krishna Murthy
26. S.K. George, Social Worker, Trivandrum
27. S. Gurupadam, c/o Dr S. Gurupadm, Social Worker, Vellore
28. Iswar Varier, Congress Worker, Trichur
29. Dr S. Gurupadam, Social Worker, Vellore

On 25-9-43 Mr G. Ramchandran* of Travancore spoke on the principles of Satyagraha and gave illustrations from the life of Mr Gandhi, of the success of non-violent resistance vis-s-vis violence. He stressed the importance of non-violence as a way of action for men who wish to bring about a change in the present order of society.

On the 26th September 43, he spoke on 'Satyagraha and Social Change'. He observed that revolution not only meant a bloody revolution but also a bloodless change in society, by peace, love and self-suffering. He instanced the peaceful revolutions brought about by Lord Buddha and Jesus Christ. He concluded by exhorting that every Indian should devote his attention to 'Harijan Temple Entry', removal of Untouchability and emancipation of women.

On 27th also Mr G. Ramchandran spoke on 'Satyagraha and Political Change' and explained that Satyagraha should be non-violent and open; must create a truly democratic society; must be tolerant and appeal to moral sense and must oppose secret sabotage. He referred to several developments that had been worked out by Satyagraha since 1915 in India.

Addressing the class on 28-9-43 on 'Satyagraha and Economic Revolution', he referred to the Kisan Movement and the possibility of peaceful revolution by that Organisation.

On 29-9-43, the class was taken by Mr T. Ramachandra, a labour worker of Kolar Gold Fields, who spoke on 'Industrial India and New India'. He described the development of Trade Union Movement in Bombay and the present labour situation in India.

On 30-9-1943, Mr G. Ramchandran of Travancore described the Wardha Scheme of education and the development of basic education; while Mr S.K. George of Trivandrum spoke on Old Testament and explained how the prophets had already pioneered the idea of a just society based on faith in God.

Mr G. Ramchandran while closing the address pointed out the great need of non-violence and destruction of peace. He added that in the urgent conflict Messrs. Churchill, Roosevelt

and even Hitler have held back the reign of peace. He then explained how Mr Gandhi's way of '*Truth and Suffering*' was the only way to bring solid and substantial peace to the world by referring to Satyagraha as a means of building a new structure and exhorted the students to make their humble contribution.

The following programme was chalked out for the guidance of the students:

1. University Settlements should be established.
 2. Libraries should be found and study classes organised.
 3. Service should be rendered in slums.
 4. Constructive work should be undertaken by students during summer vacation in villages.
- (True Copy)

Signed
Ag. Inspector-General of Police.

19: Extracts from Official Notings – Student trouble makers in the Annamalai University (dt 5.11.1943 – 26.1.1944)

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1943 – G.O. No. 3218
[TNA]

Official Notings

Poll agitation – C.D.M. – Security prisoners – Tanjore Dt.
Replacement of Detention Orders

Six persons belonging to Tanjore District have so far been detained by Govt. under rule 26 of the D.O.I. Rules in connection with the C.D.M. started in August 1942, their cases have been circulated to H.E. Fresh detention proceedings are therefore necessary in all the cases of the above six persons.

- (1) *T.V. Satagopachari.*
- (2) *T.K. Srinivasa Ayyar.*

The reports of the D.M. and the D.S.P. about these two persons are on pages 1–4 of G.O. No. 2551, Public (General), dated 20.4.42¹ and orders in circulation on page 4 *ibid.*² For orders whether these two persons may be detained. No. 1 has been classified as 'A' by the C.I.D. and No. 2 as 'B'. the latter is not willing to give the undertaking.

- (3) *M.D. Thiagaraja Pillai.*
- (4) *Dr Gopu alias Gopalakrishnan.*

The reports of the D.M. and the D.S.P. in respect of these two persons are on pages 1–3 of G.O. No. 3160, Public (General), dated 3–10–42³ and orders in circulation on page 2 *ibid.*⁴ For orders whether they may also be detained. No. 3 is class 'A' and No. 4 in class 'B'. The latter has refused to give the undertaking.

(5) *R. Govindaswami.*

The reports of the D.M. of South Arcot in respect of this person is pages of G.O. No. 594, Public (General) dated 23-2-43⁵ and orders in circulation on page 3 *ibid.*⁶ For orders whether he may also be detained. Classified as 'C' by the C.I.D., but is not willing to be released on the required conditions.

(6) *T.R.V. Narayanaswami Naicker.*

This person has been detained after the expiry of the sentence passed on him by the S.D.M., Tanjore under rule 29 of the D.O.I. Rules. The C.I.D. report recommending the detention of this person is at Zone page 1 of G.O. No. 1850, Public (General),⁷ For orders whether he may be detained. This individual was detained after the C.I.D. compiled their lists and in consequence, has not been included. In the main file on releases, the C.I.D. are being asked to classify all those who have been detained after they compiled their lists.

Subject to orders, separate draft detention proceedings in all the above six cases are submitted for approval.⁸ A draft order cancelling the old detention orders is also submitted for approval⁹

Signed 5.11.43

Signed (C.S.)
6/11/43.

They may all be detained

C.S.

(Drafts issued)

Resubmitted with all the connected papers as directed.

Tanjore. There are only 6 persons in detention. the D.M. may be consulted re R. Govindaswami The D.M. of South Arcot may also be consulted.

A draft memo is submitted for approval.¹⁰

Signed 13.12.43

Issued as Memo No. 644 33-1 Public (General) dated 13.12.43. From the D.M. of Tanjore No. 4963-43 (M) dated 19.12.43¹¹ From the D.M. of South Arcot No. nil dated 8.1.1943.¹² Please see the memo to the D.M.s of Tanjore and South Arcot and their replies.¹³ The DMs agree to the release of the detainee, R. Govindaswami but the D.M. of South Arcot recommends that the detainee should be prohibited from entering South Arcot District. For orders whether the recommendations of the D.M.s. may be accepted.

Signed 12.1.44

What would be the C.I.D's view of an order releasing him but prohibiting him from entering the S. Arcot District.

Signed 13/1/44

A draft memo. is submitted for approval.

Issued as Memo. No. 644-33-2 dated 17.1.44¹⁴ from the Supdt. of police, S.B., C.I.D., No. 59 IC/ dated 21.1.44.

In the Memo. On P.I.C.F.,¹⁵ the D.M.s. of Tanjore and South Arcot have been asked to report whether R. Govindaswami, cannot safely be released now unconditionally. Both the D.M.s agreed to the release of this detainee, but the D.M. of South Arcot recommended that this student should be prohibited from entering the South Arcot district after release. The C.I.D. who were consulted on the recommendation of the D.M. of S. Arcot reports that this student should be prohibited from entering the S. Arcot District after release unless he gives an undertaking to abstain from politics. It may be mentioned in this connection that this student has already refused release on conditions and is not likely to give the undertaking suggested by the C.I.D. It, therefore, appears desirable to prohibit him from entering the South Arcot district in case he is to be released. Submitted for orders whether he may be prohibited from entering the South Arcot district.

C.S
16/1/44.

Suggested that he be prohibited from entering the S. Arcot District and then released.

He is a native of Tiruvarur in Tanjore & appears to have been one of the instigators of trouble in the Annemalai University.

The D.M. of S. Arcot and the C.I.D. think the prohibition necessary.

26.1.44

1 to 15 These are all references to the notings in the file. They are not printed — Ed.

20: News paper report on the first South Indian National Students Conference held on 13/14 November 1943 (*Indian Express*)

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No 1/1944
[TNA]

Youths Role in National Liberation

G. Ramachandran's Call.

Madras, November 14 – No man knows the mind of the South Indian youth better than Mr G. Ramachandran* and no man is better qualified to interpret the Gandhi-Nehru ideology to the student community than this great patriot and Congressman.

In pregnant words and prophetic phrases he told a solid gathering at the Rangaswamy Iyengar Memorial Hall, the great things that were expected of the students in freeing India from the shackles of foreign domination.

Recalling the help rendered by Rev. Keithan to the student movement in this province, Mr G. Ramachandran ended on a pathetic note: 'The Madras Governor is an Englishman' Rev. Keithahn is an American. There is a curious irony in exiling an American citizen by a British Governor, when we are told that the Americans and the British have today become the greatest friends under the sun for the purpose of saving civilization, which I suppose, includes the fundamental rights of citizenship'.

As he set out to assess the worth, the power, the genius and influence of Pandit Nehru in Free India, one could see the entire congregation swept away by feelings of indignation at the authorities that have confined this uncompromising anti-fascist to prison walls.

Congress – A Good English Word

In the course of his inaugural address Mr G. Ramachandran observed:

This is a veritable South Indian Congress session of the youth. They may have locked up the older generation of the Congressmen. *But the youth is still abroad.* Here are delegates from the Andhra country, from different districts of Tamil Nad, Kerala and Mysore. I hope the dictators, who rule this country, specially the police would not penalize National Students Organisation, for some like me has called it a Congress. I say that because all knows that the name Congress to them is what a red rag to a bull.

Curious Irony

Paying a tribute to the work done by Rev. Keithahn in connection with the movement of students in this province Mr Ramachandran said Rev. Keithan has done his part to divert the energies of the resurgent student community in a wholly constructive line. Never has he said a destructive word. He won the hearts of all students in Andhra Desa. Tamilnad, Kerala and Mysore by his burning love of India and his utter simplicity, fearlessness and his spirit of unassuming manners.

The speaker said that he would venture to prophesy that a day would come when Rev. Keithahn's name would be honoured as that of the Desh Bandhu Charlie Andrews*, through out India as a sincere friend, and servant of India.

Today is his (Nehru) birthday, (Nehru born on Nov. 14, 1889) 'Let us remember that this greatest and the most uncompromising anti-fascist is today the man who has to rot behind the bars of a British prison. A free man in a Free India would be the most tremendous force against fascism. But British imperialism goes on its stupid blundering way and Nehru has been put in prison'.

Clear Shining Road

'Let us not look behind. Let us look ahead. Behind us may be mistakes, and conflicts, but ahead of us, there is a clean shining road to a free India, whose structure will be structure of the fullest social justice. Political democracy without economic democracy will be a fraud, and the new India that your hands must shape should be a political as well as economic democracy.

That is why you must all develop a fully-Socialist outlook. No doubt India may find her own way consistent with her historic past towards such a political and economic democracy. That is why we have Mahatma Gandhi as our great path-finder.

In a world full of conflicts and unparalleled mutual human slaughter, Gandhi has not only taught but also built the pathway to win justice and peace, not through slaughter and violence, but by other very methods of peace. No lasting peace will ever be won except by the methods of peace. Violence is anti-peace and can never be a means to the ultimate happiness of mankind.

Mahatma Gandhi is the pathfinder, and Nehru is the radiant objectivist, who has a clean and unclouded vision as to the final goal to which humanity should march. Nehru represents the ideal and Gandhi the method. It is a great thing that these men are friends and collaborators. They complement each other; from their efforts will come the synthesis of socialism through non-violence.

This synthesis would be the greatest contribution of this century to the future of mankind. We should be proud that we are working under these great leaders.'

Dealing with the task lying ahead of the student community, Mr Ramachandran remarked. 'You represent the youth no doubt and more, you are the vanguard of the youth because you are the cream of that young Indian generation studying facts and acting for the rest. If yours is great privilege it is also a great responsibility. I confess I feel sometime sad when I think how unprepared students yet are, for the gigantic tasks that await them.

Work Before Them

Only the hardest study on that objectively, and the severest self-discipline and training can fit the students for their immense work that lay before them. Forgive me, if I say, that the students are sometimes inclined to be shallow, hasty and not clearly rooted in facts and convictions.

Some of you sitting here may one day become cabinet ministers or leaders in the national or provincial Governments. You will have to undertake great tasks for your people then. That is why I plead with you for taking up your tasks seriously, steadfastly and with unclouded minds. Once political freedom is achieved then our task will become harder than today. There will be no foreign Government to blame. Therefore while you pass bravely-worded resolutions and raise your brave voice on behalf of freedom and justice today, remember that reconstruction is different from agitation and that slogans are different from rebuilding, I have no quarrel with brave words and slogans. They are natural in the kingdom of youth. But they must lead to achievements.

A free India must build up a completely just social order everywhere in the world. Not Japan, not even China but India leads Asia.'

V.S.O.'s Activities

About the work before the N.S.O; Mr Ramachandran said that they should be prepared for hard constructive work in future. His exhortation to them was to build up their organisation so that every college had their branch, a study group and a student service corps. He warned them against those who spoke brave words but clung to out-worn traditions and masqueraded as social reformers.

Referring to the Communist Party in this country, Mr Ramachandran ridiculed their present plight. 'It is worse than that of the Indian Liberals 20 years ago, while the Congress has taken the Indian masses one step forward, and even the moderates have lost faith in petitioning and begging, the Communists have today revived the outworn methods of begging. This is indeed a sad reflection on the Party's politics in India. But the Communists have a message for the world. But it is quite clear that the Indian Communist Party will not be the vehicle for that message to the masses of our country. The foreign politics of Moscow has landed them in ridiculous contradiction. They have now reached the stage of begging for the release of our leaders and collecting signatures for petition.

In India, it is now clear, the Socialists in the Congress are and will continue to be the vehicle for the Communist message of economic democracy. That is why perhaps the Communists are furious with the Congress Socialists. They think that their mantle has been stolen from them. But there is none to blame, except themselves. Pandit Nehru and not P.C. Joshi will be the captain of a Free Socialist India.

He then referred to the food situation in the country and exhorted the student community to do all they could to relieve the distress.

In conclusion Mr Ramachandran said, he had no doubt in his mind that with the increasing production of the United Nations combined with the crushing blows dealt with by the Red Army on the German military machinery, victory had become nearer.

But it would be an illusion if freedom was denied to a large section of the world, that is India.

21: Report about the South Indian Students Conference — in *The Hindu*

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944

[TNA]

India's Right to Freedom

Students' Conference Demand

Madras. Nov. 14

The first South Indian National Students Conference was inaugurated in the Hindi Prachar Sabha premises in Thyagaroyanagar today by Mr G. Ramachandran of the Travancore State Congress. Mr Dinker Sakrekar of Bombay presided.

A long students procession started from the Panagal Park and travelled over some of the main roads to reach the meeting place. Varied banners were flown and nationalist slogans shouted. When the procession started, there was some objection by the police to the carrying of a national flag at its head but the objection was later waived.

The students' flag was hoisted at the meeting place by Mr Ambadi Damodaran, President of the Cochin Students National Organisation. He emphasised that the conference should give a right ideological lead to the youth of the country, based on the recognition of the need primarily for the achievement of India's Independence and secondarily for the utter destruction of Fascism. Mr T. Thomas, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the President and the gathering.

Inaugurating the Conference, Mr Ramachandran pointed out that whatever the bureaucrats said today the Indian National Congressmen were clapped in Jail, yet another and a younger generation would take up its place. Playing a warm tribute to the service rendered to the youth movement and to nationalism by Rev. Keithahn who had been asked by the Government to leave the province, he said that Rev. Keithahn had won the hearts of the students. It was queer that an American citizen of his type should have been externed at a time when they were being told that the Indian Nationalism was neither narrow nor racial and that a free India would certainly be the champion of suppressed and oppressed peoples and emphasized that Indian nationalism could not be narrow when Gandhiji had moulded it and Mr Nehru had become its noblest mouthpiece.

Mr Ramachandran criticised the Communist attitude of 'going abegging to the Government particularly for the release of the leaders' and said that it was now clear that it was the Socialists in the Congress who were and would continue to be the vehicle for the realization in India of economic democracy.

Fraternal greetings from students in different parts of South India were then conveyed to the gathering by representative delegates.

When the Conference met in the afternoon Mr Dinkar Sakrekar, Editor, *Hind Praja* Bombay, and president of the conference delivered his address. He said that the students should realise that if today there was an organisation that stood for the freedom of the peoples of the world it was the Indian National Congress. Mr Dinker emphasised the need for building up a healthy, independent student movement in the country by re-orientating their organisation. It must be free from the domination of any political party, although we owe allegiance to the Indian National Congress' he added: In the opinion of the speaker, the present educational system in this country was merely an 'Integral part of the imperialist system and as long as this imperialist educational system existed their movement should be fundamentally and basically a political movement'.

On the question of the demand for Pakistan, Mr Dinker observed that if they looked at world conditions they would realise that the trend at the present day was not towards vivisection and that it had become impossible for small powers to exist. If India was allowed to be vivisected and if small autonomous units came into existence the country would become weaker.

The Conference then adopted the Students' Unity Manifesto which mentioned that the students should be organised with a truly nationalist perspective and that the student movement in this country must become an integral part of the movement for national emancipation.

Resolutions

Resolutions were then discussed and passed. The conference resolved that, it was opposed equally to Fascism and Nazism on the one hand and to imperialism on the other and firmly believed that India as well as other subject countries should be freed from subjection to any of these forces. It expressed its preference for a united India in which all communities would enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship and all safeguards for the religion and culture consistent with the integrity of the State. Nevertheless it refused to contemplate the coercion of any element, if its decision was unequivocally expressed against entry into the future Independent India Federation. The Conference reaffirmed 'its faith in the authentic national Leadership of the country as represented by the Indian National Congress'. It thanked the enlightened foreigners like Louis Fischer, Dr Lin Yutang and Pearl Buck for standing by India.

The Conference expressed its sympathy for the thousands of our countrymen who suffered and died for want of food and adequate clothing and expressed its determination to do all that lay in its power from time to time to alleviate the distress.

By other resolutions, the Conference condemned the contemplated abolition of prohibition introduced in certain districts of this province, the ban on the teaching of Bharathi songs in the schools of this province and felt aggrieved at the order of externment passed on the Rev. R.R. Keithan. The Conference condemned the ban imposed on the holding of meetings and processions by the National Students Organisation in the Andhra districts, called upon the nationalist minded public of this province to found educational institutions wherein patriotism would be inculcated in the Students and demanded for India a status of equality with other systems of medicine.

The Conference condemned the treatment given to some political prisoners especially as evidenced in the case of Sri Jai Prakash Narain and demanded an impartial enquiry into all these cases.

Other resolutions passed by the Conference desired that the National Students Organisation

of India should start a journal to carry out its objects and requested the students to join the National Volunteer Organisation.

The Conference recorded with profound sorrow the premature death of Mr Satyamurti, Begum Azad and Mr Mahadev Desai just when the country was in sore need of their services.

The session after a short adjournment met in the evening when prizes were distributed to winners in competitions. The reports of the various units of the organisation were then presented. A Central Executive Committee for South India was then formed and the Conference concluded.

22: N.S.O. declared unlawful

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[Tamil Nadu State Archives]

Police Department.

From (Name): R. Hume Esq., O.B.E.,
Designation: Commissioner of Police,
Station: Madras City.

Confidential
To

The Chief Secretary to Government,
Public Department,
Madras

No. 5555-1 1.5.43. Dated 17th November 1943.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 5555/13/43 dated 16.11.43, I have the honour to forward for the information of Government a copy of the proceedings of the first South Indian National Students Conference and to invite the attention of Government in particular to the speech of G. Ramachandran, the President. It is evident that the National Students' Organisation had definite affiliations to the Indian National Congress and that it takes its stand on the All India Congress Committee resolution of August 1942. Special emphasis has been laid on the starting of a volunteer organisation (Rashtriya Seva Dal). The wording of the fifth resolution regarding the food crisis is highly objectionable and is calculated to create disaffection towards Government. The attacks on the Madras Student Organisation and the Communist party show that the organisation is opposed to the war efforts. Under the circumstances it is for the consideration of the Government whether the National Students Organisation should not be declared an unlawful association before its activities gather momentum.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Commissioner of Police.

*Enclosure to Doc 22***The First South Indian National Students Conference**

Under the auspices of the National Students' Organisation first South Indian National Students Conference was held in the Premises of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Thyagarayanagar, Madras, on 14-11-43, under the presidency of Dinkar Sakrekar, Editor 'Hind Praja', Bombay. About 400 persons, including a large number of non-students, attended the morning session, but the audience was about 200 in the afternoon. About 20 girl students and Mrs Krishna Nimbkar and Mrs G. Ramachandran (Mrs Soundaram) were also present. The meeting was preceded by a procession. The processionists carried a large tri-coloured Congress flag and placards bearing the following slogans 'Swaraj is our birthright', 'Hands off students' and 'We have had enough of you, get out'. The placard bearing the last named slogan also contained a rough sketch in red ink of the bust of a Britisher. The processionists, as they entered the Conference hall also raised the following slogans: 'Impeach Linlithgow', 'inquilab Zindabad', 'Down with British imperialism', 'Down with Amery & Co. Rally round the two portraits, one of Mr Gandhi and the other Mr Jawaharlal Nehru which were obtained from the Bharat Cafe, Thyagarayanagar, were prominently displayed in the hall and garlanded amidst cries of 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki. Jai' and 'Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru-ki-jai'. The proceedings began with the singing of Bharathi and socialist songs in Tamil, Hindi and Telugu after which the students flag, bearing the slogan, 'peace, freedom and progress' was unfurled by Ambadi Damodaran, President, Cochin Students National Organisation. The flag songs (Hindi) usually sung at the unfurling of Congress flag sung by a group students of the Hindu Theological High School which institution also appears to have provided about 60 volunteers for the Conference. Delegates and volunteers wore tri-coloured arm bands and the conference hall itself was decorated with numerous small tri-coloured flags.

Ambadi Damodaran after unfurling the Students flag, observed that the history of the world and that of India would depend in the coming one or two years on what the Indian students would do. There had been a complete collapse of moral forces in the world. The British Labour Party which professed sympathy for India's demand for freedom and people in India who preached revolution for the liberation of the exploited people had abandoned the people of India. He did not think that they could become independent by simply putting signatures or crying out that this is people's war (cries of Shame) that this is an anti-fascist war, while stabbing the premier India's National Organisation in the back. It was a happy augury that they were meeting on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's birthday. Pandit Nehru had taught that in politics personalities did not count, principles only count. After briefly detailing the unsettled conditions in the country on account of the war and the race for cheap employment, the speaker observed that the poor and suffering masses of the land and accredited leaders of the country were forgotten. It appeared to him that Messrs Amery and Churchill had a consistent and systematic plan to perpetuate British Imperialism. They must remember that world progressive forces were giving them hope and a reasonable solution was in sight. He expressed the hope that the National Students Organisation would give the right ideological lead, which would result in the utter extermination of fascism, a most reactionary example of international capitalism, and the establishment of new world order based on a rationalistic economic theory.

Proposed by T.S. Pattabiraman and duly seconded, Sakrekar duly occupied the chair.

T. Thomas Chairman, Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, observed, 'freedom is in peril, defend it with all your might'. Students from several parts of South India

had gathered there instilled by one common ideal. While in many countries, success had been achieved, India remained a dark prison whose freedom was kept in chains with no hope of liberation. They should prepare themselves to fight in all its forms and strike at the root of all those forces – which sought to crush the student movement, which sought to hamper their progressive aspirations, which discouraged their ambitions and thwarted their advance. The students should resist the attempts of those parties who used the students as a cat's paw. They had to fight their enemies within and without so that they could have unbreakable solidarity and work out their lofty programme in the service of the country. Answering the criticism against the split among the students, the speaker maintained that the need for the National Students Organisation arose out of the decision of the All India Students Federation to identify themselves with the Communist and the Students of the National Students Organisations were imbued with the ideals of freedom and the welfare of the people of the country. They had been loyal to their ideals, they had fought for them and suffered for them. They had decided that the ideals for which their leaders stood should be upheld. They are going ahead seeking new objectives and they are out to revolt against every kind of tyranny and exploitation.

G. Ramachandran (of the Travancore State Congress) who inaugurated the conference, in the course of his speech, said that the conference looked very much like an edition of the Youth section of the great National Congress of India. He hoped that neither the students nor himself would be penalized for saying so, for in these days it was dangerous for anyone to utter the name of the Congress. The fact, however, was that it was dangerous for the handful of bureaucrats who wished to perpetuate their domination in India. The word Congress was not a peculiar thing to India, for the word was freely used in all countries, including America. The students might not be constitutionally part of the authentic national organisation of India, enshrined in the hearts of the people. Their leaders might be kidnapped, their older generation put away permanently because the younger generation would take their place and march along more quickly, boldly and courageously. They had met under a cloud of great national events and the cloud would only bring forth a downpour of fertilizing rain – that of freedom for the people and freedom to reconstruct, not only the political structure but also the entire economic structure upon which to rebuild a great and glorious India.

The speaker next referred to the order of internment on Rev. R.R. Keithahn and remarked that an English Governor in India should exile an American while there was so much of good understanding between the two countries on account of the war. He next paid deserved tributes to the contribution made by him to the Student movement and observed that he would be remembered even as the late C.F. Andrews.

Continuing Ramachandran maintained that the resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee in August 1942 even today stood untouched and unimpaired by any single thing that happened since then. The students were aware of the events that followed the arrest of the accredited leaders of the country, whether the N.S.C. had any political affiliation to any party or not, he was of the opinion that the organisation need not and should not affiliate itself to any political party. It should be an autonomous body, but it should consider every thing from the background of that autonomy and come to its decision untouched by any external influences. They would however, take cognizance of the national situation, not as party men but as dispassionate critics, studying them impartially and objectively, asking questions in regard to the situation and finding answers for them. If they studied the situation in that dispassionate manner it would be clear beyond doubt that a national struggle was on today and that it would not cease till they had liberated the country. It was, therefore, part of

the base of any organisation that claimed to be national to do what was necessary to carry on that struggle if it believed in it. Personally, he felt that the students of South India did not want to isolate themselves from the major national current flow and re-flow across this country. On the other hand the pulse of the student community should throb for the freedom of India. We know that the National Students Organisation was the expression of the protest which had risen spontaneously from the heart of the student community against all attempts to endanger students of India into a position which they did not really and fundamentally accept. The N.S.C. was the living symbol of the autonomy of the student mind. It had clear headedness in regard to the tactics and manoeuvres of all kinds that were going on around them. It should be their task to build up in the largest measure a real tangible and workable unit.

Condemning the communists for their attempts to drag on the students, Ramachandran warned the students against being misled by the tactics and smoke screens of the Communists who talked of inter-communal unity, self determination and people's war and release of national leaders in order to further their ends. He did not think that the national leaders went to prisons to be released, they would remain there until the authorities want them to remain there. It was a grotesque insult to the students to go to them with programme for the release of the leaders. He felt that what the communists were doing was harmful to Communism itself. They must, however, reserve the central thesis of communism, viz, economic democracy.

Referring to the war, the speaker observed that the conflict was but the material form of an internal conflict which was going on in the world. The present conflict was not between the 'haves' and the 'have nots', but between fascism and imperialism, plutocracy against fascism and so on. The war is not between democracy and its counter-forces though China and Russia are there in it, and the struggle would not end when the peoples of the world allied themselves either on the side of the 'haves' or 'have nots'. Behind this war there was a clear ideological conflict. It should be noted that political democracy without economic democracy was a fraud and Russia, in future, would lead mankind in regard to the establishment of economic democracy as its basis and substance of political democracy. The underlying philosophy in social economic democracy was socialism and India too had a contribution to make to the world in this respect and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi had showed them the way. . . . This combination of Gandhi and Nehru would bring in socialism to India. Today the Congress Socialist Party represented that synthesis between Gandhi and Nehru and he knew that the time would come when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his socialist colleagues would deliver the message of economic democracy and not P.C. Joshi and his Communist Party. He would like to warn the N.S.O. against attempts to disrupt them. He would not, however, advise them to keep on quarrelling with their opponents, so that they might forget the essentials.

Referring to the slogan, 'Impeach Linlithgow, the speaker advised the students not to employ such empty words. He would like to know who would impeach Lord Linlithgow. The British public would make him a hero even as they had done of General Dyer. Somebody also said Amery must go. Even the 'Hindu' wanted Amery to go, but he would not. These things would happen only when they in India reduced brave words into brave deeds. The speaker next commended the activities of the Andhra and Kerala students and also of the Tamil Nadu students. The National Students organisation was not a secret violent organisation and it could not be captured either by P.C. Joshi or Congressmen for that matter. Their contribution as students must be as students and not as members of any political party. When they took decisions they must carry them out and not be guided by any external interference. From the

point of view of strategy and the technique of work, the good name of the N.S.O. must be maintained. They must translate brave words into brave deeds, slogans into programmes and visions into great achievements.

Fraternal greetings by delegates were then conveyed by the following students in the course of which they detailed the work that their respective organisations had been carrying on. Vasudeva Rao (Mysore), P.M. Joshi (Bombay), T.V.K. Nambiar (of Kerala), Kannappa (Andhra) Karim (Madura).

The Conference adjourned at 12.45 p.m.

The Conference reassembled at 3.45 p.m. with Dinkar Sakrekar in the chair. There was an audience of about 80.

Dinkar Sarkekar, in the course of his presidential address, observed that the honour they had conferred on him was an honour conferred on those students-boys and girls – who had fought during the last struggle., and a homage to all those who were still rotting behind the prison bars.

Proceeding, he said that the student movement had risen to a high pitch of revolutionary activity. There was a time when even the nationalist leaders ridiculed them. They would find when they came out that the students after the 9th August had demonstrated their role in national struggle and had proved by their sacrifices and suffering that they were the real vanguards in the struggle for freedom. They were meeting at a critical moment and they found that the reactionaries were on the offensive and revolutionary forces were retreating before the onward march of the reactionaries. Though they were told that this war was people's war, they found that the military-almost pro-fascist-Governments had been set up in countries which were supposed to have been free from Nazism. If, therefore, today there was any organisation which represented the people, it in the Indian National Congress and Gandhi. When the Communist again had betrayed the people it was the Congress, that led the people of this country and other Asiatic countries. The resolution of August 8th was not merely a declaration of rights of the people of India but it was a declaration for all the Asiatic people.

The people had accepted that resolution¹ and it belonged to the people and so people had shed their blood for it. That was a practical realization and it would bring them freedom and happiness. Detailing the origin and progress of the Student movement, he observed that, though the All India Students Federation represented thousands of students and had gained strength, it had degenerated as an instrument of the Communist Party.

The student community wanted real freedom and not freedom in name. Out of the mistakes and past experience, they found that the domination of one party over the students movements ultimately led to disruption among their ranks. This was the genesis of the National Students Organisation. Although they owed their allegiance to the Congress, they did not want to be led by it. The freedom they envisaged was not the freedom to be exploited. They should organise themselves politically not for the purpose of securing some trifle academic rights, but for wider and broader rights. For instance, they wanted the democratization of their Universities and Educational institutions set up by the foreign power. These institutions were not really free; they were being used for subtler political propaganda, they had distorted their history. It was also used more for the purpose for dividing their ranks than for the object of imparting education. The Educational system in India was merely an integral part of the Imperialistic system. They found that political propaganda was allowed in schools and colleges, not the propaganda that they wanted, but which the authorities in the country wanted. Students had no quarrel with the school authorities, they were only opposed to the present educational

system which denied them even small academic concessions. 'They must re-orientate the very basis of the student movement. Their demands included (1) no domination of a single political party over their movement (2) the students organisation must become a political movement also for freedom. He deprecated students organisations organized on a communal basis, as for instance the All India Muslim Students' Association. The Communists again, were trying to divide the students and they had gone to the extent of assaulting their leaders. They had powerful volunteer organisation, but the Congress had none. Today a volunteer organisation was absolutely necessary for the purpose of continuing their struggle. Referring to the demand of Pakistan, Sakrekar maintained that the Pakistan conceived by Mr Jinnah would not be a Pakistan of the Muslim peasants and workers, but of the Muslim capitalists. The real living dynamic unity of the people could be achieved only through a fight against British imperialism and against poverty and unemployment. They were working for a free and united India. They were not inclined to be dominated by any foreign power. Those who harped upon self-determination being granted to minorities did a great disservice to the interests of the country. If India were allowed to be vivisected. the small units that would come into existence would be unable to oppose a foreign power which might attack them. They would, therefore, plead for a re-interpretation and reconsideration of the principle of self-determination. What they wanted was a united India.

The conference next discussed and passed the following resolutions.

1. 'Education is a great liberating force which has been the main spring of the hopes and aspirations of the individuals to whom it is imparted. The students, therefore, naturally aspire for a better life in which they have ample scope for the speedy realization of their cherished ambitions and aspirations. But in colonial countries, they are destined to be mere clerks and middlemen. This brings in a sense of frustration and helplessness which, if properly canalized, can be turned into a mighty revolutionary force. We, therefore believe that the students should be organized on a new basis with a truly nationalist perspective.

The student movement is international in character as students all over the country are moved and inspired by the same ideals of progressive thought and action. Hence the student movement in India will always try, as in past, to align and identify with the down trodden people of the world. Our struggle of the people of the world comes to an end and an order based on social justice and equality is established.

In a slave country like ours, however, our student movement must become the integral part of the National movement for national emancipation.

The student movement will become strong and powerful if increasing attempts are made to tackle the students demands and grievance through organized struggles. . . .

Our student movement consistently and consciously in the past was in close association with some political party in the country. While maintaining our role as the vanguard of the anti-imperialist movement, we believe that the student movement could not be an appendix of any political party and any such attempts should be firmly resisted.

We are all agreed on the immediate issue of national independence and with this realization we are resolved to bring about a unity among the students, a unity that would be unbreakable internally and externally.

We, therefore, appeal to the students to leave the past where it is and set forward to lay the foundations of a glorious future. Let us resolve that hereafter, there shall be no divisions in our ranks and no rivalry with each other. We shall hold aloft the students banner as one

man. To achieve this end in view, we all coming from both the Students Federations and other sections of the students' Community pledge ourselves to work in complete co-operation and harmony amongst ourselves. It shall be the common task of us all to bring about an effective co-ordination and amalgamation of all the sections to maintain the students platform above all party politics and thus bring about the lasting unity. The indispensable need for us to come together and stand together assumes all the greater importance in view of the recent move on the part of the communal-minded persons to start student organisations on communal basis. Since communalism is the bane of Indian politics it is our duty to combat communalism and its reactionary allies.

P.S. Subbarman, who moved the resolution, criticised the part played by the Communist party in sowing seeds of dissension among the students by capturing the All India Students' Federation and directing its activities.

T. Thomas formally seconded the resolution, after which the resolution was declared to have been carried unanimously.

2. 'This Conference is opposed equally to Fascism and Nazism on the one hand and to Imperialism on the other and firmly believes that India as well as other subject countries should be freed from subjection to any of these forces. The independence of India would be at once the means and measure of the success of the progressive forces engaged in the war. An independent India will help all subject nations to gain their freedom and will co-operate on a footing of absolute equality with other peoples to establish the future peace and security based on justice and the ordered progress of the world. It will be a progressive member of the future world federation of free nations.

Ambadi Damodaran, who moved the resolution said that the resolution represented the urge and the impulse of the Students' National Organisation. The National students abhor fascism, Nazism and imperialism. The economic imperialism which they saw in India was but one of the main manifestations of the international impulse of the reactionary capitalist classes to cling on to their vested interests against the onrushing forces of freedom and progress. What they wanted was a real economic democracy in which every member of the community would be given a rightful share in the produce of the country.

P.S. Subbaraman seconded the resolution.

3. This conference deplores and condemns the inhuman treatment given to political prisoners as evidenced in the case of Jai Prakash Narain. An adjournment was moved in the Central Assembly but unfortunately ruled out. We demand an impartial enquiry into all these cases. Moved from the chair and carried.

4. This Conference expresses its preference for a united India in which all communities will enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship and all safeguards for their religions, cultures consistent with the integrity of the State. Nevertheless it refuses to contemplate the coercion of any element if its decision is unequivocally expressed against the entry into the future Independent Indian Federation.

Ramunni Menon, in moving the resolution, said that if the Muslims desired to constitute themselves into a separate sovereign State, no power could prevent them from doing so, but they reserved for themselves the right to morally appeal to the Muslims not to insist on separate state for the achievement of unity.

Miss Sudarsan seconded the resolution

Resolution carried unanimously.

5. This conference expressed its sympathy for the millions of this country who suffer and die from want of food and adequate clothing and expresses its determination to do all that lies in its power from time to time to alleviate the distress. Nevertheless, it believes that private initiative and charity do little to improve conditions. The primary responsibility lies with the British Govt. which will not release the leaders of the people and part to them with power for administering the land. It views with particular abhorrence the callous and cynical conduct of Mr Amery, the Secy. of State of for India whose one concern has been to exploit the situation to the political advantage of British Imperialism that has been responsible for the food crisis and the economic crisis as a whole.

Bhagyanthan, in moving the resolution, observed that the problem could not be solved until and unless Abul Kalam Azad, Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru were released. It could not be solved until they were free to use their flag in every house and on every occasion without being banned. The release of Mahatma Gandhi would be the one key which would open the granary which would give them grain. If a situation like the one in Bengal had arisen in England ships and aeroplanes would have been employed in plenty. He hoped that the time would come when they would be able to release their leaders.

T.V.K. Nambiar, in seconding the resolution, claimed that the National Students Organisation had done its share in collecting money for the relief of Bengal sufferers. He maintained that the immediate solution of the food problem lay in the release of the national leaders.

Resolution carried

b. (a) This conference condemns the contemplated abolition of prohibition introduced into certain districts of this province by the late Congress Govt. The reason advanced for this step viz, that the present Govt. is unable to secure local enthusiasm and co-operation for prohibition is a proof of the lack of contact between the Govt and the people and is a strong argument for handing over power to a popular administration.

(b) The ban recently imposed on the teaching of Bharathi's national songs in the schools of this province gives the lie direct to the profession of Govt that it does not desire to suppress the nationalist sentiment of the people. It is an aggression committed by them against the people on the cultural and literary front must be opposed by all means, particularly by the private educational bodies.

(c) This conference is particularly aggrieved at the order of externment passed on the Rev. R.R. Keithahn² whom the Students of South India have come to look upon as a fellow Indian and an inspiring and ennobling leader guiding them into the ways of constructive nationalism and self-sacrificing public spirit.

Moved by Gopalaratnam and seconded by Bhawani Prasad, the resolution were carried unanimously.

7. This conference records its profound sorrow on the premature demise of S. Satyamurti, Mahadeva Desai and Mrs Abul Kalam Azad.

Moved from the chair and carried.

8. (a) This conference condemns the ban imposed on the holding of meetings and processions by the National Students' Organisation in Andhra Dts.

(b) This conference is convinced that an insidious campaign of persecution of the nationally minded students has been carried on in many of the Colleges on the pretext of maintaining academic discipline against which principle the students have never rebelled. This campaign has been most provocatively waged in the Loyola College and to an almost equal degree in the Medical, the Christian, Pachaiappas and the Law Colleges and the School of Technology.

the Colleges cannot hope to secure the loyalty of their students unless they acknowledge that their first duty is to the students and not to the Govt.

(c) This conference calls upon the nationally-minded public of this Province to found Education institutions wherein Patriotism will be inculcated upon the students instead of being punished as a crime. It believes that there is need in particular for full-fledged National College in the City.

(d) The conference demands for the Indian Medicine a status of equality with other systems of medicine and recognition for the L.I.M. Diplomas on the same terms as the diplomas granted by the Govt.

(e) This conference protests against the injustice done to the residents of the Province in the selection of students for Engineering, Medical College and demands allotment on population basis.

Krishnaswami who moved the resolution briefly gave an account of the disciplinary action taken by head of institutions against offending students and particularly referred to the case of one Ahmed of the Medical College.

T.S. Pattabiraman, in seconding the resolution, indicated that he contemplated issuing a white paper containing the charges against the principals of Colleges, especially in the city of Madras.

Carried unanimously.

9. (a) This conference requests the University authorities of this province not to change textbook for the duration of war in view of the high cost of books and the difficulty of procuring them. It requests that books published abroad and those unavailable in the market may not be prescribed at all.

(b) This conference requests the Universities to revert to the system of one examination a day, as two examinations is heavy, nervous strain on the Candidates.

(c) This conference requests the Governmental and Education Authorities to provide for the supply to the students of educational accessories, such as paper, pencils, kerosene etc, at the cheapest possible prices being a heavy burden parents and pupils.

Moved and seconded by Deva Thamburan and Sanyasi Raju respectively, the resolution was carried.

10. This conference resolves that youths, especially students, unite themselves and should start a journal and organise a Rashtriya Seva Dal (National Volunteer organisation).

T.V. Venkatesan who moved the resolution stressed the importance of an organisation conceived above, for carrying out the programme of the Students Organisation.

Ramachandran, seconding the resolution, emphasized the importance of physical culture for students and youths.

Resolution carried.

11. This conference of the National students' Organisation reaffirm its faith in the authentic national leadership of the country as represented by the Indian National Congress and believes that at this unfortunate juncture in our political situation, students' organisations have inevitably inherited the duty of carrying on the constructive programme of our national revolution.

Ravindra Varma, who moved the resolution, said that the first part referred to the authentic leadership of the Congress which stands four square against the criticism, not only of the world, but also against the criticisms of people who chose to stab it in the back, Comrades in the Subject Committee opposed the resolution by saying that the Students Organisation should not reduce itself to a branch of the Indian National Congress. They did not want to

be branches either of the Communist Party or the Congress, for they were strong enough to voice their feelings. He next refuted allegation that the Indian National Congress was a fifth column organisation and maintained that, according to the correct meaning of the fifth column, the Communists were the Fifth Columnists. However much Mr Amery might say that the Congress ceased to be the representative of the Indian people, it surely had its undoubted hold on the masses of the people.

Ramunni Menon formally seconded the resolution.

Resolution carried.

12. (a) This conference pays its homage to the memory of a student of Mysore who had been beaten to death in the jail and to innumerable martyrs who had shed their blood for the glory of Mother India.

(b) This Conference thanks enlightened foreigners like Louis Fischer, Dr Lin Yutang and Pearl Buck for advocating the immediate recognition of India's place as an equal partner in the Commonwealth of Nations.

T.S. Pattabiraman formally moved the resolution.

Resolution carried.

The conference also adopted a resolution suggesting the move for starting a journal carrying out the objects of the N.S.O.

The Conference next adjourned for Tea at about 5 p.m. and reassembled at 7 p.m.

T.S. Pattabiraman announced that Mrs Krishnabai Nimbkar wished to invite the President and delegates for tea in her house the next morning. Some of the delegates wished to know who their hostess was and Mrs Nimbkar who was present was requested to extend a personal invitation.

Mrs Nimbkar said that having been a worker in her youth, she felt she had a right to say a few words on what they had done. It was generally stated that the youths were the pioneers of tomorrow. From what she had seen of the proceedings, she felt that there was an amount of unreality. She did not see in any of the resolutions anything about what they were going to do. She, however, hoped that they would carry back from the conference was a great triumph. It was really surprising that young students exhibited a fund of knowledge and information. They had to fall in line with the general programme of the country. She was not taking part in politics, but she was a sympathetic onlooker of all movements, especially the Youth movement. It was not enough if they said something, but they must do something substantial.

T.S. Pattabiraman next moved that a Provincial Committee of 15 members representing, Madras, Andhra, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Kannada represented by three members each, be formed and that the General Secretary be elected by the delegates, the quorum for the meeting of the Executive Committee shall be 5.

K. Ramunni Menon was elected General Secretary unanimously.

The delegates were told to choose three members for each regional unit send up the names to the General Secretary before they left Madras.

Ramunni Menon thanked the delegates for electing him Secretary & expressed the hope that they would extend their co-operation to enable him to discharge his duties.

The President in his concluding remarks, congratulated the conference on the unanimity with which they had passed the resolutions and elected their General Secretary. Now that they had adopted the Unity manifesto of the Bombay Students unity Committee, he hoped that it would link up the Bombay Students' movement with South India. The unity achieved

would be a powerful weapon with which to fight the reactionaries and the Imperialist elements. The resolution relating to faith in the national leadership of the Congress was timely, as all the parties, including the British Govt. were deliberately spreading slanders and lies declaring that the Congress had no following and that it did not represent the people of India. In this connection, he would like to recall the triumph of the Congress in the Provincial election, in spite of Lord Willingdon's boast that he had crushed the Congress. In the same way, the Congress would again emerge as a strong and mighty organisation, more powerful and more representative of the Indian people. He next refuted the claim of communist, S.A. Dange who made a declaration that students were behind the Communist party. The speaker next advised students not to indulge in criticizing their opponents, but to concentrate on a positive and concrete programme.

Proceeding, the President emphasized the importance of organizing a volunteer corps of students to carry out their programme of work, on the same lines as the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League. Such an organisation was very necessary just now when power was going to be transferred to the people. The communalists wanted to snatch that power from the British Govt; the vested interests in the country were organized in the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League. Savarkar and Jinnah did not want the Congress to interfere in the States. They do not want that rights should be conferred on the subjects of the states. The Indian Princes were so many Ulsters in India maintained and kept as the props of the foreign power. These vested interests had decided to give a last battle to the progressive forces in the country. It was no doubt true that there were some capitalists in the Congress, but they were more progressive than the feudalists. The feudal elements were preventing the industrialization of the country and their attacks were directed against the Congress and not against the Govt. Thus, they were more anti-Congress than anti-Govt.

Concluding, he appealed to the Conference to take up seriously the question of building up a powerful nationalist Volunteer Youth organisation and to bring students of High Schools also under the banner of the National Students' Organisation. They should not get demoralized by repression. On the other hand, it should steel their hearts and make their determination stronger to continue the fight for freedom. They must hold aloft the banner of freedom.

T.S. Pattabiraman proposed a vote of thanks to all those who attended the conference.

1. Resolution of August 1942

2. See chapter XVII - Doc 25, 28, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43

23: Official Notings on N.S.O. (dt 19.11.43–24.11.43) (extracts)

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[TNA]

Political Agitation – National Students Organisation – Activities.

C.N. 59447 from the Commissioner of police No. 5555/15/43, dated 16-11-43.¹

C.N. 59561 from the Commissioner of Police No. 5555 dated 7-1-43.²

Please see the Police Commissioner's report on pages 3-9 cf.,³ on the first South Indian National Student Conference under the auspices of the National Students Organisation, Madras on 13th and 14th November and the subsequent letter of the Commissioner on pages 15-25 forwarding a copy of the detailed proceedings of the Conference,⁴ and the speech of the President Sri G. Ramachandran. Newspaper reports of the Conference will be found on page 11-13 CF.⁵

2. In the last sentence on page 15, cf., the Commissioner suggests for the consideration of Government whether the National Students Association should not be declared an unlawful association before its activities gather momentum.⁶ Under section 16(1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908 the Provincial Government may declare an association unlawful if they are of the opinion that the association interferes or has for its object interference with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order or that constitutes a danger to public peace. It is for consideration whether for the reasons given by the Commissioner of Police – (15 cf) – the Organisation can be declared an unlawful Association.

3. If it is decided to declare the National Student Association an unlawful association, its office, if it has one, and the buildings which it occupies may be notified under Section 17 A(i) of the Act. The funds of the organisation may also be confiscated under section 17 (E) Act. Before the funds are declared forfeit notices will have to be given under Sub-Sections (3) and of Section 17(E) of the Act, to the person who has got custody of the monies, securities etc. The Commissioner of Police has not reported whether National Students Organisations has its own office or any building in which its office is housed or any funds its own. These details may be ascertained after a decision has been taken on the main question of declaring the Association unlawful.

4. The remarks of Legal may be obtained before circulation.

Signed
19.11.43

The organisation has started with a good deal of eclat and appears to be strongly Pro-Congress. But it may expect opposition from the Communist Madras Students Federation and one cannot be sure whether it will turn out to be really as 'dangerous' as it now threatens. Banning it may, if so, do more harm than good.

-B- It is for orders and the [C.I.D] may also be asked their opinion first.

-A- There must have been a prohibitory order under Rule 56 in force in the city. The

Commissioner may be asked about this and whether it could not have been applied to the procession or meeting referred to.

Signed, 19/11/43.

A on p2 ante — Under Section 41 of the Madras City Police Act, 1888, a licence was applied for the meeting and was granted.

B on p2 ante — The C.I.D.'s definite recommendation promised may be awaited. . . .

'A'. The Commissioner says no prohibitory order is in force in the City now. The one issued was only from 1st October to 10 October 'in connection with Gandhi's fast'. A licence was also granted readily — evidently the Police were not aware how objectionable the proceedings were going to be.

Pending the question of ban of these organisations (and it is not definite they will be banned) it is for orders if the Commr may not be told of the advisability of having a prohibitory order under Rule 56 in force. It is observed from F.R.'s that orders to the effect are still in force in a number of districts. In Kistna and Guntur e.g. the D.M's stopped meetings of the National Student Organisations & Youth Leagues under this Provision. If such an order is in force it may prevent proceedings of the nature of the processions and meetings described on pp. 8-10 Cf.⁷ Except for the differences in name, there seems nothing to distinguish these from a meeting of the Congress in furtherance of the rebellion. Please see e.g. 'Z' on p. 29⁸ in this C.I.D. note that G. Ramachandran who inaugurated the sessions supported the August resolution.

If the above is approved the file may be sent to Home Legal. From p. 26⁹ it looks as if the Commissioner is of the impression that no order under Rule — 56 can be passed which can preven. these in view of the instructions on pp. 3-4 of flag (L).¹⁰ But an order framed as prohibiting meetings etc., 'In furtherance of the aims of the Indian National Congress and their programme of Civil Disobedience' may suffice. The orders in other Dts. must be to this effect. Home who have the original papers relating to flag 'h' of Legal may advise.

Signed 26.11.43

G.W.P.

27/11/43

Home — Legal.

Home Deptt.

Submitted. This file now relates to the issue of an order under D.I. Rule 56 in respect of the National Students organisation in City preventing the organisation from holding meetings, procession etc. The activities of the organisation are said to be similar to those of the Congress. See A on p. 4 ante (above noting — dt. 26.11.43) Attention is invited to the Commissioner's letters at pp. 11 and 26 and to the C.I.D. report at pp. 28-29 Cf.¹² The instruction issued in the Home Dept. about the application of D.I. Rule 56(1) is at L/3; the original is at E/47. Govt. of India's letter on the subject is at E/45.¹³ For orders.

Signed

Please see Z in p. 29 B, A & C (Previous references in the note) The conference supported the August Resolution and the president's speech amounts to praise of those who took part in last year's riotings and encouragement to others to do likewise. It would therefore appear

that an order as suggested by Public at *P* on p. 4 above (earlier noting – 26-11-43) would justify the police in the matter of banning the N.S.O.

Signed 30/11/43.

An order in these terms seems alright. Presumably it can remain in force indefinitely. Legal will no doubt advise on this point.

Signed

I agree that an order on this line suggested by Public at 'P' on page – 4 will enable the police to stop meetings, processions etc. of the N.S. Organisation. The order can remain in force for any length of time desired. . . .

Signed 30/11/43

1. Not printed.
2. Doc 22.
3. Not printed.
4. Enclosure to Doc 22
5. Docs 20 and 21.
6. Doc 22.
7. See enclosure to Doc 22.
8. See enclosure to Doc 22.
- 9-10 Not printed
- 11, 12 Doc 22

24 Student Unity Manifesto

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[TNA]

Confidential

From the special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Chief Secretary. No. 7490/C.
Dated 17th November 1943.

Activities of the N.S.O., Madras

Attached is a copy of the 'Students' Unity Manifesto' issued by the Bombay Students Unity Committee. This was adopted by the N.S.O., Madras, at its conference held on 14-11-43.

(W.F.A. Hamilton)

Supdt. of Police, S.B., C.I.D.

B.D.R. 17.11.43.

Students Unity Manifesto

'The Students' Unity Committee have great pleasure in forwarding the following draft manifesto to the Students of India which will be placed before the Bombay Students' Unity Conference to be held in August 1943. This manifesto is the basis on which the Committee hopes to bring together the different students organisations and groups. The Committee earnestly appeals all the student comrades to attend the forthcoming Conference and accord their approval to the manifesto.

'Education is a great liberating force which has been the main spring to the hopes and aspirations of the individuals to whom it is imparted. The students, therefore, naturally aspire for a better life in which they have ample scope for the speedy realization of their cherished ambitions and aspirations. But in colonial countries they are destined to be mere clerks and middlemen. This brings in a sense of frustration and helplessness which if properly canalized can be turned into a mighty force. We, therefore, believe that students should be organised with a truly nationalist perspective.

The student-movement is international in character as students all over the country are moved and inspired by the same ideals of progressive thought and action. Hence the student-movement in India will always try, as in the past to align and identify with the down-trodden people of the world. Our struggle therefore shall go on with the same vigour and vitality till this struggle of the people of the world comes to an end and order based on social justice and equality is established.

In a slave country like ours however, our student-movement, must become the integral part of the national movement.

The student movement will become strong and powerful if increasing attempts are made to tackle the student demands and grievances through organised struggles. So far such attempts have not been made on a wider scale. If the student-movement has not gathered sufficient momentum, its political and social significance is still not fully realized.

Our student-movement in the past had close association with some political Party in the country. Naturally it had its repercussions on the movement which ultimately led to disruption and division in our own ranks. We cannot tolerate any further this disgusting state of disruption amongst ourselves. While, therefore, maintaining our role as the vanguard of the anti-imperialist movement, we believe that the student movement should not be an appendix of political party and any such attempts should be firmly resisted.

We are all agreed on the immediate issue of national independence and with this realization we are resolved to bring about unity among the students, a unity that would be unbreakable internally and externally

We, therefore appeal to the students to leave the past where it is and Step forward to lay the foundation of a glorious future. Let us resolve that hereafter there shall be no divisions in our ranks and no rivalry with each other we shall hood aloft the students' banner as one man. To achieve this end in view, we all coming from both the Students' Federation and other sections of the student community pledge ourselves. It shall be the common task of us all to bring about an effective co-ordination and amalgamation of all the sections to maintain the student platform above all party politics and thus bring about lasting unity. The indispensable need for us is to come together and stand together assumes all the grater Importance in view of the recent effort on the part of the communal minded persons to start student organisations on communal basis. Since communalism is the bane of Indian politics it is our duty to combat communalism and its reactionary allies.

We the students who are signatories to this manifesto solemnly declare resolve to carry the message laid down here to the student masses and work unceasingly for the achievement of our objectives.'

P.M. Joshi
Secretary, S.U.C.

25: Extracts from Official Notings on NSO (dt 20.11.43)

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[TNA]

Memo. No. 58156-1. dated 20.11.43.

Political agitation-National Students' Organisation-Conference in Madras.

Ref: Letter from the Commr. of Police Nos 5555/1/43 dated 16th & 17th November 1943.¹

The Commr's letter cited above are herewith forwarded to the Supdt. of police, S.B., C.I.D. He is requested to offer his remarks urgently on the suggestion that the National Students Organisation may be declared an unlawful association.

20.11.43.

G.S.B.

Public (General) Department

Confidential.

Dated 20/11/43.

Political agitation – National Students' Organisation Conference in Madras. Ref: Correspondence ending with his letter 5555-1/1.S5.43. J/17/11/43.

The Commr. of Police is requested to state whether the South Indian National Students' Conference held on the 13th & 14th Nov. 1943 and the procession on the 14th Nov. could not have been prohibited under the Commissioners prohibitory order issued under section 56(1) of the D.O.I. Rules, and whether permission to hold the meeting was applied for and granted.

20.11.43

To
The Commissioner of police,
Madras



26: Circular, All India Hindu Students Federation

Jayakar Collection - File No. 724

[NAI]

Office of the Chairman Reception Committee
All-India Hindu Students' Federation Conference.

Amritsar 1943

Respected Sir,

As you know that the annual Session of the Federation is going to be held at Amritsar on 25th, 26, 27th of December 1943 together with the Silver Jubilee Session of the Hindu Maha Sabha. Mr N.C. Chatterjee of Bengal has consented to preside and Seth Lakshman Das of Lahore will inaugurate it.

Every Hindu knows that some dangers are threatening the Hindu Solidarity very seriously, our national honour and integrity are both at stake. The Hindu Youths, who are being led astray by some most powerful anti-national forces, if brought about to rally round the Hindu platform, can fight and face these dangers boldly and bravely to the end.

So you are requested to participate in the conference whole heartedly to cheer up the Hindu Youngmen, by your forceful personality, if by some how or the other you are unable to attend the Session kindly send your message.

Note: Please intimate us by the return post the date and train by which you are coming, so that adequate arrangements of your reception, may be made.

Mr Tek Chand B.A.

Mr Krishan Lal Grover

Mr Kahan Chand Khanna

Mr Maharaj Krishan Rasgotra

Mr Surendra Nath, M.A.

Mr Joginder Nath Joshi, M.A.

Mr Krishan Chander, M.Sc.

Miss Surendra Bala Verma B.A., Girls Secretary

Mr Suraj K. Kaul

Mr Hardial Devgun

Mr Roshan Lal Kamboz.

Yours sincerely,

Harban Singh.

Chairman

Reception Committee.



27: Commissioner of Police, to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras – (NSO)

Govt of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944

[TNA]

Public (General) Department
Police Department.

From (Name): R. Hume., O.B.E.,
Designation: Commissioner of Police,
Section: Madras city.

Confidential.

To the Chief Secretary to Government,
Public (General) Department,
Fort St. George, *Madras.*
Dated 22nd November, 1943.

No. 5658/1.5.43.

Sir,

sub: Political agitation-National Students' Organisation Conference in Madras.

Ref: Public (General) Dept. Memorandum No. 58156-2 dated 20.11.43.¹

With reference to the Government Memorandum quoted above, I have the honour to state that the prohibitory order under Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules which was in force in the City applied only to certain congress Committees which had been declared unlawful associations by Government. In the light of the instructions of Government conveyed with Memorandum No. 21472 F-1 confdi. dated 23.9.43² that the form in which the order was issued was not legal and the order was cancelled. A prohibitory order under Rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules was issued prohibiting all demonstrations in connections with a specific purpose i.e., Mr Gandhi's birthday and for a specified period-from the 1st to 10th October 1943.

An order under Sec. 41 of the City Police Act issued in the interests of the public safety and for the preservation of the public tranquillity prohibiting without a licence is in force in the City and license under this order was applied for and granted. The scope of the order is restricted and it is primarily designed to ensure that no meetings are held without notice and that adequate police arrangements are made for the control of processions in public streets. An order declaring the National Students' Organisation an unlawful association will not only enable all public demonstration to be prohibited but also enable us to deal with private and underground propaganda on i behalf.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
Commissioner of Police.

1. Doc. 25.

2. Not printed.

28: S.P., C.I.D. to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras (enclosing a note NSO)

Govt of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/44

[TNA]

Public (General) Department.

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department. No. 7669/C. dated 23rd November, 1943.

Reference Public (General) Department Memorandum no. 58156-1 dated the 20th November 1943¹ regarding the National Students Organization.

2. I enclose an *ad interim* note. At the beginning of October I had under consideration the question of recommending to Government that this organisation and the National Youth League should be declared unlawful associations but before doing so I asked the police concerned to study the situation for a certain amount of time and to let me have their views. These views are now due to come in and on receiving them I will make further definite recommendation to Government.

3. The enclosures are returned.

(W.F.A. Hamilton)

Superintendent of Police,
Special Branch, C.I.D.

CWC. 23.11.43.

Note on the National Students' Organisation

The National Students' Organisation owes its inception to a difference of opinion in the Madras Students' Organisation on account of the latter's pro-war policy, which was a result of communist influence. The Congress elements in the N.S.O. disapproved of supporting the war effort, and hence conceived the idea, of starting their own organisation as a screen under which to carry on subversive pro-Congress activities and so defeat the ban imposed on various Congress Committees. The organisation was not formally inaugurated however, till 29th July 1943, in Madras.

Most of its members are Congress or Congress Socialist Students; those students who have returned from jail are working very actively on its behalf. Other members are communist renegades who were inspired by Congress emissaries from Bombay and subsidised by funds obtained, presumably from underground Congress headquarters there. One such emissary, C R. Kulkarni, who was deputed by congress headquarters to organise the youths in Andhra, came to Bezwada in January 1943 for this purpose.

There are branches of this organisation at Madura, Trichy, Nellore, Guntur, Vizagapatam, Bezwada, Calicut and a few other place. The activities of the branches in Kistna and Guntur were so objectionable that their conferences had to be banned in November 1943 under 56 D.O.I Rules.

Rev. R.R. Keithan the American Missionary who has come to adverse notice and who was externed from this Presidency, took a leading part in a meeting held in Guntur in August under student auspices, and exhorted the students to emulate Mr Gandhi and follow his methods. In September 1943 he organised a training camp in Mysore State for members of the N.S.C. which was attended by student representatives from Tamil Nad, Andhra and Kerala. G. Ramachandran of the Travancore State Congress, who was the Chief lecturer at this camp, spoke briefly on Gandhi and satyagraha and accused Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt of holding back the reign of peace.²

The Calicut branch, at a meetings on 31.7.43, resolved to observe a hartal and stage demonstrations on 9.8.43, the Congress Rebellion anniversary.

At its first S.I. National Students' conference held in Madras on the 13th and 14th November attended by delegates from Andhra, Tamil Nad, Kerala and Karnataka a resolution was passed reaffirming the faith in the National leadership of the country as represented by the Indian National Congress.

G. Ramachandran, who inaugurated the conference firmly supported the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in August 1942, and said that resolution stood untouched and unimpaired even now in spite of all subsequent happenings. He said that their ambitions would not be realized till brave words turned into brave deeds. The President, Dinkar Sakrekar, in the course of his address, expressed pro-Congress sentiments and supported the Congress stand.

One of the resolutions condemned 'the careless and cynical conduct of Mr Amery . . . whose one concern has been to exploit the (food) situation to the political advantage of the British Imperialism.

The conference resolved to start a national volunteer organisation, known as the Rashtriya Seva Dal which has potential capabilities of mischief

1 Doc 25

2. Doc. 18

29: News item in *Janmabhumi* (Gujarati Newspaper)

Indulal Yagnik Papers – File No. 94
[NMML]

The successful holding of the students conference amidst the tense atmosphere in Kathiawar.

Conference not allowed to be held in Anand Vatika, Dr Suman Mehta not allowed to speak on political matters: Tribute to Gandhiji by Indulal Yagnik.

Kathiawar students Congress was held in Bhavnagar on 22nd Nov. 1943. It was presided over by Indulal Yagnik who was received at the station by an enthusiastic crowd. The Conference was originally to be held at Anand Vatika but at the last minute the Dewan of Bhavnagar suggested that it should be held elsewhere so it met in the grounds of the friends club.

The conference was inaugurated by Dr Suman Mehta, who gave a brief history of students

movement in the world. As she was about to speak on the freedom struggle on the independence Day the Police authorities prevented her from doing so.

Indulal Yagnik in this Presidential address spoke about the condition of the peasants and the hardships they were enduring under the Government. Further, he confessed that he had written and spoken against Mahatma Gandhi on many occasions and criticised him on many issues. But he was now convinced that no one could fight Gandhiji. He was prepared to garland Gandhiji and put his head on his feet.

After that he spoke to them about students organisations and how they should be run on proper lines. The Conference passed resolutions on political prisoners, Russia, China, and other problems relating to students. It recommended for setting up a separate university for Gujarat.

The Dewan Shri Patani attended the conference for one hour.

30: Noting of the Commissioner of Police on NSO

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[TNA]

Public (General) Department

Memo. No. S/3190 – 1/43.

Dated, 10/12/43.

Political Agitation – N.S.O. – Conference in Madras

Ref: C. of P's letter No. 5658/1.5.43. dated 22/11/43.¹

The Reports received of the activities of the N.S.O. indicate that except for the difference in name, there is nothing to distinguish its activities from those of the Congress in furtherance of the rebellion. The Govt. have been advised that an order under rule 56 of the D.O.I. Rules framed so as to prohibit all meetings, procession, etc., in furtherance of the Civil Disobedience would enable the police to control the meetings, procession, etc., of the N.S.O. The C. of P. is therefore requested to take action in these lines and to pass the order as soon as possible. Such an order can remain in force any length of time.

The question of declaring the N.S.O. an unlawful association is under consideration.

The Commissioner of Police,
Madras

¹ Doc No 27



31: Another note on Students Organisation

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[TNA]

Secret

From
The Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department.

To
The Chief Secretary.

No. 3563/C.

Dated 23rd December 1943.

The National Students' Organisation

Reference my note No. 7669/C dated 23-11-43¹ and public Department secret memorandum No. S/ 3190-1/43 dated the 10th² instant.

A detailed note on the National Students' Organisation is enclosed.

(W.F.A. Hamilton)
Supdt. of Police, S.B.C.I.D.

No. 8564/C.

Copy forwarded for information to:

1. Central Intelligence Office, Madras.
2. Asst. Director (R), Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi.

Enclosure

Students' Organisation

The origin of the National Students' Organisation is apparently the outcome of disagreement by Congress minded students among the ranks of the Communist controlled student organisations in respect to their altered pro-war policy. It is primarily regarded as being in furtherance of a general move on the part of Congressmen and their sympathizers to create cover organisation of Congress to carry on its revolutionary activities thereby defeating the ban imposed on it in connection with the recent rebellions. The members of this students organisation comprise Congress, Congress-socialist and other pro-Congress elements among students including communist renegades.

The National Students' Organisation in Andhra is functioning among the students as a counter part of the National Youth League which has been responsible for revolutionary and violent activities. The proceedings of a meeting of the Provincial Directorate consisting of Congress workers, who took part either directly or indirectly in the Congress sabotage programme held at Bezwada in February 1943 envisaged a programme of work to organise a network of National Students' organisations and carry revolutionary propaganda, both open

and secret, among the student population. Emissaries from the shadow A.I.C.C. Committee in Bombay visited this province in this connection, subsidized by funds obtained therefrom. One of them was S.R. Kulkarni who came to Kistna district in January 1943 and lived under the *nom-de-guerre* 'Rangarao' until he was arrested in April 1943 along with his local associate.

The activities of this organisation have extended throughout the three linguistic areas in the province, though a branch of it was formally inaugurated in Madras only in 29th July 1943. A provincial body has been formed in Andhra, its headquarters being at Guntur, with P.V.M. Bhimasankaram of Cocanada and C. Venkateswarl of Guntur as the General and Joint Secretaries respectively.

The open activities of this organisation have been systematically directed by known Congressmen, who have endeavored throughout to inculcate in the students, revolutionary ideas propounded by Gandhi. One such, Rev. R.R. Keithan, the American Missionary and an admirer of Gandhi and his tactics, who was externed from the presidency for his objectionable activities, was the guiding spirit behind this organisation. In a National Students' conference at Guntur in August 1943 he exhorted the students to emulate Gandhi and his methods. In September 1943 he organised a training camp in Mysore State for members of the National students' organisation, which was attended by student representative from Tamilnad, Andhra and Kerala. The Chief lecturer in the camp, G. Ramachandran of the Travancore State Congress, who was expelled from the state, dwelt mainly on Gandhi's Satyagraha and accused Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt of holding back the reign of peace. R.R. Keithan urged the National students at Madanapalle in November 1943 to form New India cells everywhere and to consecrate themselves to the Nation, as Congress leaders have their own testimony in prison, not allowing anything to discourage them. The Walluvanad Taluk Conference of the organisation held at Pooraperamba in Malabar on 21.11.43 was attended by A. Rama Ayyar, a staunch Congressman of Ottapalam-Speeches were made characterizing the war as due to the British War Cabinet. The President indirectly incited the labourers to strike. The Congress tri-coloured flag was flown at the meeting.

The proceedings of the South Indian National Students' Conference held in Madras in November 1943, attended by delegates from all parts of the province including Mysore State, are an indication of the identity of this organisation with Congress. At this conference a resolution was passed reaffirming faith in the national leadership of the country as represented by the Indian National Congress. G. Ramachandran of the Travancore State Congress supported the resolution passed by A.I.C.C. in August 1942 on the eve of the rebellion, adding that it still stood untouched and unimpaired in spite of all subsequent happenings. An emissary from Bombay, Dinkar Sakrekar, who presided over the conference, expressed pro-congress sentiments and supported the Congress state. Finally the conference resolved to start a national volunteer organisation known as the Rashtriya Seva Dal, in the nature of shock troops, with potential capabilities for mischief. The following extract from an official report of a communist observer at this conference sent to his party headquarters, gives in a nutshell, an idea of what a menace this organisation will become in the future, and a *fortiori* confirms the strongly held view that it is only a cover organisation of the Congress to further Congress sabotage activities:

We (National students) identify ourselves with the Congress and the real struggle it launched and may launch. 'We will become great revolutionaries and issue a challenge to the British Government and we shall not rest till we drive them out'. Congress has given us a call. It has been necessary to resort to a certain amount of destructive work. Our aim is construction through destruction'.

In its secret programme, the members of the National Students organisation have been in contact with absconding Congress saboteurs. The General Secretary of the Andhra Provincial National Students' organisation, Bhimasankaram of Cocanada, harbored the fugitive Congressman, Nalam Ramachandra Rao in October last while he was in possession of a country pistol and revolver cartridges. Evidence of the real intentions of this organisation is furnished by a woman member (a student of Q.M.C.) in her letter dated 19.11.43 to her parents at Vellore, writing about the South Indian National Students' Conference held at Madras; relevant extracts from it are given below:

A revolution, which is well organised can overthrow the Government, should occasion arise in the future, (it was agreed) 'to start an underground illegal organisation which will have to oppose the Government when a crisis like the one we had in August last arised.

The conferences in Guntur and Kistna districts were banned by the respective District Magistrates. Dist Godavari, has issued similar orders with regard to the conference of west and East Godavari districts to be held at Razole on 25th and 26th December 1943. . . .

In as much as the National students organisation is clearly a cover organisation of the Congress, devised to circumvent the ban imposed on Congress committees and furthering the Congress sabotage and revolutionary activities, it is in this Branch's view imperative that it be declared an unlawful association under the Cr. Law Amendment Act, before it can do any further harm

1. Doc. No. 28.

2. Doc. No. 30.

32: Student organisation notified unlawful

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files - File No. 1/1944
[TNA]

Government of Madras

Abstract: Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 - Section 16 - Notification - Issued.

Public (General) Department.

Dated 13th January 1944

G.O. No. 136

Order: The following notification will be published in the Fort St George Gazette:

Notification

Whereas in the opinion of the Provincial Government the association known as the National students Organisation in the Province of Madras has for its object interference with the maintenance of law and order and constitutes a danger to the public peace:

Now Therefore the Provincial Government are hereby pleased in exercise of the powers

conferred on them by section 16 of the Indian Criminal law Amendment Act, 1908 (XIV of 1908) to declare the said National students organisation to be unlawful.

(By order of His Excellency the Governor)

G.W. Priestly

Chief Secretary to Government,

To the Superintendent, Government Press for publication of the notification.

To the Commissioner of Police, Madras.

To the Inspector General of Police, Madras.

To the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Railways and C.I.D., Madras.

The All District Magistrates.

33. Editorial in the *Indian Express* – on NSO dt 21.1.1944

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944

[TNA]

The Ban on the NSO

The Government of Madras have declared unlawful the National Students' Organisation in the province without assigning any reasons. In the absence of any rational explanation this must be considered uncalled for and unjustifiable. The National Students' Organisation came into prominence as a counter-blast to the attempts of the Communist Party of India to capture the loyalty of the students for their own purposes. We understand the N.S.O. has a membership of over, 40,000 throughout South India and has branches even outside the Province. It has held several conferences and collected funds for famine and flood relief. The resolutions passed at the various conferences of the N.S.O. leave no room for doubt that it has absolutely no connection with any secret or subversive activity, and that, on the contrary, it has tried to direct the energies of the students along constructive channels. One resolution passed at the Conference of the N.S.O. held in Madras stated that in the present circumstances in the country, the students had inherited the constructive programme of the Congress. There is no doubt that the National students' Organisation has more sympathy with the Congress than with any other political organisation in India, and so far as we know, it has made no secret of it. Perhaps this is a crime in the eyes of the Madras Government. We feel that the Madras Government should lose no time in making known to the public the reasons for their action, so that the N.S.O. may have an opportunity to defend itself, and the public to judge the case on its merits. Otherwise, the present ban will only indicate how determined the Government is to tolerate nothing which would even remotely add to the prestige or influence of the Congress among any section of the people.

34: Editorial in *Thanthi* (Tamil Newspaper) dt 21.1.1944

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[T.N.A.]

Thanthi dated 21.1.1944. Characterizing as 'perverse' the Government's order declaring as unlawful the National students' Organisation, the *Thanthi* observe.

We should know why the bureaucracy has issued this order. Why should the Government declare the National students' Organisation as unlawful? Did this organisation plan to destroy the ruling class which is in power in this country today? Did it conspire to hamper the war effort or did it plan for sabotage secretly? Can the Government prove that it did all this? If they can, let them publish the information they possess. Let them say that they have issued the order on the strength of that evidence. If they are unable to publish the charges against the students' Organisation, we ask on what grounds they have taken action against it. Did they take action because the organisation is called 'National'? If so, is it unlawful for people to call themselves nationalists (patriots)? Is that an unpardonable offence? Has an Indian student no right to say that he loves his country – that he is devoted to it? Is it right to deprive him even this right? We ask whether the bureaucracy is arrogant because there is none to question it if the people are deprived of their rights. How is it wise to try the patience of the people by issuing such prohibitory orders? The Government should therefore publish immediately the legitimate grounds on which they have taken action. If not, they should withdraw their order.

35: News Item from the *Indian Express* dt 21.1.1944

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[TNA]

'Student World Deeply Resents Govt. Order'

N.S.O. Secretary's Statement

MADRAS. January 20 Mr A.S. Sadasivan. General Secretary of the Madras City Branch of the National Students' Organisation, now declared unlawful by Government, writes: The Madras Government's order declaring unlawful the National Students' Organisation in the whole of the Madras Province, has descended upon the 40,000 and odd members of the Organisation as a bolt from the blue. While we heard of the banning of meetings and processions in some places of Andhra and the whole of Kerala, we were under the impression that they were just the result of a freakish turn of mind of the local police. But the latest order of the Government shows that the Government is bent upon stifling the growth of any national student movement. Let us remember that even in the case of the India's National Congress, the organisation as such had never been declared unlawful. Let me make it absolutely clear

that the student world in South India will deeply resent this order. The National Students' Organisation was formed to rescue the student community from the machinations of non-student and self-interested parties and to direct the energies of the students towards the working of the constructive programme.

Can the Government provide one single shred of evidence which can connect the National Students' Organisation with any illegal or subversive activity?

The way in which the search of the City office was conducted was extremely indecent if not scandalous. The Government, at least owe the student community an explanation for their high-handed action, so that, the National Students' Organisation might know why it is declared illegal and answer it to the satisfaction of the public and if possible of the Government.

Better times would soon come when we shall work side by side with the national forces for the emancipation of the country, with redoubled vigour. I appeal to the students to preserve their solidarity and fight all reactionary and eruptive forces.

36: Official Noting on students' Organisation dt 22.1.1944

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[TNA]

The National Youth League & the National Students Organisation have been declared unlawful associations under Sec. 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. G.O. No. 135 Public (General) dated 13.1.44 GO. No. 136¹ Public (General) dated 13/1/44.

2. Under sec. 17 A of the Act the Govt. may now notify any place used for the purposes of these associations and under sc. 17 E any monies, securities or credits used or intended to be so used may be declared forfeit. The C.I.D. at whose instance the associations were declared unlawful may be consulted whether there are any places or monies etc used for the purposes of these association.

¹ Doc 32

37: Chief Secretary (Madras) to the Supdt of Police, Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[TNA]

Public (General) Department

D.O. S/161-1/44

Dated 22/1/44

Unlawful Associations – National Youth League & National Students Organisation. G.O. No. 135-6 Public (General) dated 13.1.44.¹

I am directed to invite your attention to sections 17 A & 17 E of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 and to enquire whether there is any place used for these associations which requires to be notified in the Gazette and whether any monies securities or credits are used, or are intended to be so used, which need to be declared forfeit.

To
(W.F.A. Hamilton)
Supdt. of Police, M.S.B., C.I.D.
22/1/44

1. Doc 32

38. Ramunni Menon Gen. Secretary, South Indian N.S.O. to the Chief Secretary, Govt of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Pub (General) Dept – 132/44

To
The Chief Secretary,
The Government of Madras,
Fort St George,
Madras

Madras
Dated 8th February, 1944

Sir,

With reference to the declaring the National Students' Organisation illegal and the later notification in the Gazette purporting to furnish an explanation of this sudden change in the attitude of the Government, we submit for your careful consideration that 1. it is not only not convincing but 2. does not in some places even correspond to facts so far as our own information goes. Under the circumstances therefore bare justice demands that an opportunity should be vouchsafed to us to present our case. If the reasons stated are the real data upon which the Government chose to take action against us and if regard for truth and justice can do anything in the matter, we are confident that an interview can yet prevent a gratuitously provocative prohibition of constructive national endeavor and a grave infringement of civil liberties and student rights from being perpetuated. We earnestly solicit therefore permission for deputation of the representative spokesmen of the National Students' organisation to meet you at your earliest convenience of which we hope to be notified soon.

Yours truly,

K. Ramunni Menon*

1. General Secretary, South Indian N.S.O.
2. General Secretary, Madras City Branch, N.S.O. – A.S. Sadasivan L.I.M. Hostel, Kilpauk, Madras.

39: Supdt of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt. of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 1/1944
[TNA]

Confidential
Special Branch, C.I.D.
Mylapore,
Madras, 24th Feb. 1944.

No 1539/C.

My dear Crawley,

Please refer to your D.O. No. S/161-2/44 Public Department, dated the 18th February 1944¹ regarding the places used by the banned National Students Organisation, National Youth League etc.

The banned associations have neither any places which required notification in the Fort St George Gazette, nor any monies, securities or credits, which need to be declared forfeit.

Yours sincerely,
(W.F.A. Hamilton),
Supdt. of Police, S.B., C.I.

DJ.C. Crawley Esq; I.C.S.,
Under Secretary to Government,
Public Department,
Madras.

¹ See Doc. 37 (Letter dt 18.2.44 is a reminder)

40: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Students' Activities

The Surat Vidyarthi Sangh arranged on the 9th April an exhibition of pictures in a private building at Surat. One of the pictures shown was of Mr Gandhi in the Aga Khan's palace and another was a map of India showing the cities which had participated in the civil disobedience movement of 1942. The Executive Committee of the Sangh decided to start a 'Martyrs' Memorial Library' to commemorate the Surat 'martyrs' who died during the 'Quit India' movement.

41: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The arrest of Mrs Purnima Bannerji*, referred to in my last report, is likely to have a good effect in Allahabad where she was exercising an undesirable influence amongst the students.

42: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Assam for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Political - There has been extremely little activity, the only workers who come to notice being the Communists. Members of the Students' Federation have formed a cultural squad which toured the Assam Valley showing a repertory of dramas with the object of collecting funds for the relief of distress in Bengal and the Kasturbhai Gandhi memorial fund. Their activities appear to have obtained popular favour.

43: Commissioner of Police, Madras to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Madras, enclosing a report about the Indian Students Congress

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files - File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Police Department

From
R. Hume Esq., O.B.,
Commissioner of Police, Madras.

To
The Chief Secretary to Government,
Public Department.
No. 3213/1.S/44.

Dated 23rd June 1944.

Sir,
Indian Students Congress - Activities - Reporting of

I have the honour to enclose for the information of Government a copy of report of an officer of the City Intelligence Section dated 3rd June 1944 on the activities of the Madras Branch of the Indian students Congress.

A provincial committee for the City of Madras was set up with Mr M.V. Appa Rao,* an active member of the banned National Student Organisation as convener at a meeting of the students held on 26th May 1944 to organise a branch of the Indian students Congress in Madras and an office has been temporarily opened at 14/80, Pondy Bazaar, Thyagarayanagar, for the purpose. The provincial Committee is the outcome of a corporation of student workers of Madras Bombay, Bhopal and Central provinces held at Nagpur on the 29th and 30th April 1944 which affirmed its faith in the policy of the Indian National Congress and the leadership of Mr Gandhi. In this connection a pamphlet 'Indian Students Congress Explained'† which appeared in the 'Hind Praja' a pro-congress student organ and of Bombay, has been adapted by the Indian students Congress, Madras and is being circulated among students. A copy of the pamphlet is enclosed.

It will be seen that the aim and object of the National Students Organisation declared an unlawful organisation in G.O. No. 136, public (General) Department dated 13-1-1944,‡ and the Indian Students Congress, Madras, are identical and both acknowledge the leadership of the Congress subscribe to its policy and programme.

I consider that the formation of Indian students Congress, Madras, is only an attempt to revive the activities on the banned National students Organisation under a different name. The movement is likely to gather momentum after the colleges reopen and when a favorable opportunity arises. It is for the consideration of the Government whether action should not be taken against the sponsors of the Indian Students Congress under the existing ban on the National Students Organisation or whether it is necessary to declare it afresh as an unlawful association.

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your out obedient servant,
Commissioner of Police.

Enclosure

Confidential

Copy of a report of an officer of the City intelligence Section, Madras, dated 3rd June 1944.

Revival of the National students' Organisation activities under the name of the Indian students congress, Madras Branch.

The Office bearers of the National students organisation (since Banned) were:

General Secretary	A.S. Sadasivam.
Associate Secretary	P.S. Subbaraman (now in jail).
Hony. Treasurer	Mrs Rukmani Lakshmipathi.*
Provincial Secretary	K. Ramunni Menon*

The Committee members and the Chief persons who were taking active part in the organisation were:

1. M.S. Appa Rao.*
2. G. Rajagopalan.

3. N. Krishnasamy.
4. T. Thomas.
5. G. Ravindra Varma.*
6. Mohomed Ismail.
7. Pattabhiraman.

The aims and objects of the National students' Organisation were (i) to build up a militant student movement based on and supporting the policy of the Indian National Congress and (ii) to carry on vigorous propaganda against the Madras students organisation and the All India Students' Federation and expose the hollowness of the 'People's War Policy' and their alliance with the communists.

These aims and objects were fully given expression to and put in operation in their various meetings, conference and statements issued on behalf of the National Students Organisation. It received its inspiration and guidance from prominent congressmen and particularly from G. Ramachandran of the 'Indian Express' who acted as their adviser and directed their activities. Ramachandran inaugurated their first conference and his speech and the resolutions passed at the conference clearly show the nature of affiliation and relationship between the Congress and the National Students' Organisation.

That the National Students' Organisation is Pro-Congress in outlook is also evident from the fact that it adopted the manifesto of the Students' Unity Committee (a rival body to the All India Students' Federation) at its conference held in November 1943. 'Hind Praja' published in Bombay was the official organ of the Students' Unity Committee.

Now endeavours are being made to revive the National Students Organisation under the name of the Indian Students' Congress, Madras Branch.

On May 31st '44 M.S. Appa Rao in his capacity as the Governor of the provisional Committee that has been formed to organise the Madras Branch of the Indian students' Congress, issued a statement in which he referred to the meeting of the student representatives of various provinces opposed to the All India Students' Federation at Nagpur and the decision to organise an Indian Students' Congress to build up a militant student movement on progressive Nationalistic lines and owing allegiance to the Congress and Mr Gandhi.

Twelve students from Madras attended the Nagpur meeting. Six of them (Viz., M.S. Appa Rao, K. Ramunni Menon, G. Rajagopalan, N. Krishnaswamy, T. Thomas, G. Ravindra Varma) were leading members of the National Students Organisation. The Madras Provisional Committee has adopted in to to the decision arrived at Nagpur about which a statement had been issued in the press by K. Ramunni Menon and another as conveners of the Provisional Organizing Committee. In the note to the statement it is stated that interested workers are requested to correspond for particulars with the Editor, 'Hind Praja', Bombay.

Since the statement have been issued, it is learnt that the sponsors have had frequent consultations with G. Ramachandran and have chalked out a programme of vigorous campaign for enrolling members as soon as the colleges reopen. An office has been opened temporarily at 14/80 Pondy Bazaar. It is also learnt that a manifesto of the Indian Students' Congress and the membership forms are under print.

1. Doc. 46
2. Doc. 32



44: Report from S.P., S.B., C.I.D. on the formation of All India Students Congress

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, Chief Secretary.

No. 4872/C.

Dated 26th June, 1944.

'All India Students' Congress,' Formation of

At a meeting of the student workers of Madras, Bombay Bengal and the Central Provinces held at Nagpur on the 29th and 30th April 1944, under the presidentship of R. Achuthan* of Palghat, it was decided that all Congress minded students should form an organisation called the 'All India Students' Congress', with headquarters at Bombay. It was also resolved to do the following organizational work:

- (a) To open branches of the 'All India Students Congress at all important centres of education and to carry on intensive propaganda to attract students as soon as the schools and colleges are reopened;
- (b) To start a volunteer organisation for training in drill and physical exercises such as 'Rashtra Seva Dal' of Bombay and C.P;
- (c) To organise Kisans,
- (d) To raise funds to help the families of detenus and those convicted for participation in the congress rebellion;
- (e) To study the labour situations and assist the mill workers;
- (f) To organise small camps in the cities for training volunteers for work in the interior, and
- (g) To organise study circles where articles from the *Harijan*, books written by Jawaharlal Nehru and M.K. Gandhi should be studied.

2. The Chief organ of this organisation is *Hind Praja* Bombay, the Editor of which is Dinkar Sakrekar* who presided over the South Indian National Students Conference held in Madras in November 1943, to whom interested workers have been requested to correspond for particulars of this organisation. Its aim is reported to be to build up a militant student movement supporting the policy of the Indian National Congress and its programme.

3. In pursuance of the resolutions passed at the Nagpur meeting branches have been formed in the following places:

- (a) 'Indian Students' Congress', Madras Branch: Its office is at 14/80 Pondy Bazaar, Thyagarayanagar, Madras. Twelve Students from Madras attended the Nagpur meeting. Prominent among these are M.S. Appa Rao, K. Ramunni Menon, G. Rajagopalan, N. Krishnaswamy, T. Thomas, and G. Ravindra Varma, who were the leading members of the banned National Students Organisation. After their return to Madras, a provisional committee has been formed at the instance of K. Ramunni Menon and it has been decided to launch a campaign to enrol members as soon as the colleges open.
- (b) 'Andhra Provincial Students' Congress': Its headquarters is at Kanumuru, Kistna District,

Chilakula Venkateswarulu, Joint Secretary of the banned National Students Organisation attended the Nagpur meeting. On his return a meeting of the Andhra Provincial Students Congress Workers was held at Bezwada on the 3rd May 1944, when a branch of this organisation was formed and Kolli Ramakumara Varma of Manumuru was elected as organizer for the whole of Andhra. Organizers for various districts in Andhra were also elected.

- (c) 'Malabar Students' Congress': Its headquarters is at Calicut. K.P. Muhammad and R. Achuthan from Malabar attended the Nagpur meeting. On 24-5-44 under instructions from the latter, K.P. Muhammad convened a meeting of congress minded students at Calicut, when this organisation was formed with the following office-bearers:

- (1) V.M. Korothe, Chairman.
- (2) K.P. Muhammad*, General Secretary.
- (3) M. Rashid, Joint Secretary.

At this meeting it was also decided to organise a volunteer organisation called 'Rashtriya Seva Dal'.

4. From the above it is clear that most of the sponsors and supporters of this new organisation are the former leading members of the banned National Students Organisation, and that the 'All India Students' Congress', Like the National Students' Organisation, supports the August 1942 resolution of the Congress. In the 'Indian Express' dated 23-6-44 it has been reported that Gandhi had asked the National Students' Organisation to send him a report of their activities, after which they might be interviewed. However, as it is still in its embryonic stage the activities of its members are under close watch and timely action will be taken should they resort to or attempt, direct action.

(W.F.A. Hamilton),
Suptd, of Police, SB., CID

45: All India Students Conference

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Indian Students' Congress Explained

Nagpur was the place where the All India Trade Union Congress had floundered on the rock of internal disruption. Nagpur was also the place where the second great left movement, the student movement, was also disrupted when in 1940 the All India Student Federation broke into two hostile camps. The Left Consolidation Committee which made a single heroic but tragic attempt to unite all the left forces in the Congress found its grave at Nagpur. Therefore, from the left view-point Nagpur had rather an unhappy past-it was associated with the degradation, disruption and destruction of the revolutionary left forces in the country. The youth of Nagpur, inspired by the ideals of Indian revolution was burning with a desire to wipe out the 'black past' of their historic city. After the arrest of Mahatmaji and other National

leaders the students and the youth of Nagpur fought heroically for the national honour. When they met together in their first provincial conference on the 9th of December they had pledged themselves to work for forging a united student movement in the country-a powerful anti-imperialist movement which will remain loyal to the Indian people.

The student and the youths of Nagpur have now a positive reason to be proud of their great movement which was the venue of the first and historic conference of nationalist student workers of India. Nagpur has at last succeeded in being the seat of unity instead of disruption. Instead of resulting in a set-back it has given a push to the left movement. Instead of the screech of reaction from Nagpur this time it has issued a clarion call for the students and youth of India.

Break from the Past

This is the first and greatest achievement of the Nagpur Convention. After the 9th August this was the first occasion when the student workers of India met together. When they met together at Nagpur session of the A.I.S.F. and during the subsequent period till the fateful 8th August, they were surrounded in an atmosphere of distrust, party-rivalries, internecine quarrels, and a continuous and soul-sickening bargaining of seats. The students politics had become a mere power-politics and had lost all its youthful idealistic fervour, nobility and freshness. It had a deadening effect on the minds of the student masses who were progressively estranged from their organisation till a stage was reached when there was absolutely no contact left between the organisation and the masses. The skeleton of the organisation was in the process of being dismantled. The August days had completed this process and the student masses who went into action spontaneously had to set-up new organisations which being new and having been hurriedly set-up could not cope with the situation.

I.S.C. - Historical Necessity.

This brought the realization that the new conditions demand a new type of organization-new only in this sense that it will be capable of dealing with entirely new situation but at the same time an organisation which will contain in its fold the old forces which remained loyal to the anti-imperialist struggle as well as the vast new resurgent student masses brought into action by the same struggle. It was obvious that the August upsurge had widened the basis of the student movement. All the new elements that have joined the movement are eagerly struggling to find an expression to their revolutionary consciousness. The student organisation must throb with the rising powerful passion of the masses and must embody their undying will. It has great historic task to fulfil. These new tasks demand that we should change the old organizational form so as to make it suitable for the role we have to play. And out of a common realization of the historic necessity of a new form of organisation was born the idea of an Indian Students Congress. This is proved by the very fact that all those who met at Nagpur, in spite of their differences in outlook and past organisation affiliations unanimously decided to merge themselves in one common great National Organisation of the students.

New Slogans of Work

The unity that was achieved at Nagpur was not based on successful bargaining or clever intrigues as it used to be in the past. The new links that Nagpur convention has forged are unassailable bonds of comradeship existing among those who have accepted a common ideal and have together suffered and fought for its achievement. These are bloodties and thicker

that water. In spite of continuous wranglings over words which only expressed an urgent desire for correct formulation, during the discussion on the manifesto and the political statement, we realized that there existed among us a fundamental unity. It was for example unanimously held that the 8th August resolution embodies the only correct policy for the Indian people and Congress should not withdraw from that position. Having reached this complete unanimity on the basic political line there was no difficulty in harmonizing our views regarding other issues, like war or Hindu-Muslim unity. As almost everyone had a full realization of the ghastly effects of party-politics on the student movement, everyone was convinced of the necessity of maintaining the independent character of the students movement. It was also unanimously agreed that not waste time in futile verbal warfare but to concentrate on training more active workers. Wherever there is a school, there must be students union also. 'The students' organisation must become an inevitable counter part of the educational system which it aspires to revolutionize. The direction of our activities is to be altered. In the past the emphasis was more on demonstration and discussion. Now this emphasis has to be shifted. More organizational work and less demonstration'. The I.S.C. must be built on very solid foundation. The foundational work must be completed ere we meet in an open All India session, for we do not want any letter-head organisation as we have not inherited from the past the degrading quarrels over seats and representations. We have made this point perfectly clear in our manifesto and also in the resolution on the I.S.C. We do not discard the past entirely as worthless. We are proud of the past in as much as it has laid the traditions of an anti-imperialist student movement. We will be always proud of the Great Annamalai Strike, the black-hole Memorial Struggle, the anti-Gwyer Demonstrations, the Tale-episode and many such brilliant struggles which our student comrades have fought heroically. This is the glorious past which the I.S.C. aspire to carry on in the present. But inasmuch as the past deviates from the anti-imperialist line, or it remains inconsistent and disgraceful to our revolutionary aim that past we refuse to acknowledge; we reject it. We want to carry further the best traditions of the past and blend them with the revolutionary present.

Change in Organizational Structure

This object demands certain vital changes even in the structure of our organisation. In the past our organisation was a highly centralized body. The all powerful centre issued instructions which the local units merely obeyed. All the demonstrations and programmes were fixed by the centre and it was left to the local units to execute them.

This method of functioning was an imitation of the present administrative system. It is a good bureaucratic system and ideally suited for a conservative authority. It is not so well suited for our tasks, the fulfilment of which demands greater initiative from the local units. The primary units of our organisation must wield more responsibility. They must be able to function independently but in a co-ordinated manner so as to link up with all other units. They must be able to plan for themselves and at the same time harmonize their plan with the general programme. The uniformity of the basic political line can evolve a uniform programme but this uniformity should not be imposed from the top. There should be less 'direction' and 'integration' of a common programme. In short, we must change the highly centralized character of the organisation and make it more decentralised. We must adapt our organizational structure to the new objective needs which this organisation has to fulfil. The programme of work chalked out at Nagpur is thus more a uniform and a broad outline of a picture the details of which are to be filled by each unit according to the local situation. But even this

broad outline because of new spirit which is behind this plan is sufficient to galvanise into action vast masses of students.

Threefold Unity

Thus the Nagpur convention has succeeded in uniting all the students and this unity is based on three important factors (1) unity resulting out of homogeneity of political outlook, (2) organizational unity achieved by the voluntary merging of all-varied elements into one common organisation (3) and lastly the unity of action consequent upon the agreed programme. I am quite confident that this threefold unity achieved by the Nagpur Convention has immensely strengthened the student movement in the country. Now we can confidently march forward with the consciousness of our undivided strength and confident of the great historic victory that awaits us. Nothing on earth, neither the alien imperialism, nor the Indian reaction can stop the Great Indian Student Movement from joining its forces with the liberatory struggle of the colonial people. No disruptive force is powerful enough to divide us; no repressive force is strong enough to crush us. We remain unbeaten, unvanquished and the day is not far off when we shall write with flaming letters of red the word 'victory' on the pages of our history.

(Adapted from an article by D. Sakrikar in the *Hind-Praja*).

46: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of June 1944

File No. 186/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Muslim league, fortified by Jinnah's promise to return to Lahore next month and to hold a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council there at which he will explain his future policy towards Punjab political developments, has organised several propaganda tours in the North-west and South-East of the Province. The meetings held have, however, not been marked by any great enthusiasm, and audiences have been comparatively small. The most important League meeting of the fortnight, organised by the Muslim Students' Federation, took place at Rawalpindi and did not attract more than 1500 people in spite of the fact that prominent league representatives from the N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and Sind were present. The main feature of the speeches was the objectionable attacks, made by Ministers of other Provinces on H.E. the Governor and Ministers of the Punjab. Speakers at this conference and at other meetings held in the province have been careful to emphasize that the League's activities are entirely constitutional and that the League has no intention of interfering with the war effort. Demands for Pakistan and assertions that no justice can be expected from a Hindu majority at the centre have not accorded well with suggestions made by some Muslim League speakers for a Congress-League settlement.

47: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

There are signs that student activity may be resumed on a large scale in the near future when the colleges and schools reopen. A branch of the All-India Students Congress, which was recently formed in Nagpur has been started in this presidency. Most of the organizers were the leaders of the 'National' Organisation' which had been declared unlawful by the Government a few months ago and the objects appear to be almost identical. The most prominent of the leaders R. Achuthan, who has a bad political record, was recently detained by the Government. He was the president of the students Congress held in Nagpur recently. There have been no signs yet of any overt activity by this organisation, but with the reopening of the colleges and schools, a large scale propaganda campaign may be expected. The Government are considering what action should be taken in the matter.

48: Govt. of Madras to Police Officers reg. All India Students Conference

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Public Department,

Dated 12.7.44

To

R. Hume Esq., OBE, I.P. & C of P, Madras

W.F.A. Hamilton Esq., OBE, I.P.S., C.I.D of Madras

My dear Hume

My dear Hamilton,

The All India Student Congress

The Govt. have considered the question of declaring the above organisation as unlawful, but have decided not to do so at present. I am, however, to request you to maintain a close watch on its activities and report to Govt. should anything eventuate which would require action.

Yours sincerely,



49: M.S. Appa Rao to the Commissioner of Police

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44

[TNA]

Indian Students' Congress.
Madras Branch.

Triplicane, 28th July 1944.

From
Sjt. M.S. Appa Rao,
Convener, I.S.C.,
Madras Branch

To
The Commissioner of Police,
Madras

Sir,

As the death anniversary of Tilak falls on 1st August 1944, we want to have a meeting on that day in Gokhale Hall, Armenian Street at 5-30 P.M, with Kasa Subba Rao, Editor, *Free Press* as the main speaker. We give this as an application for your permission. Hope you will consider this

Yours,

G. Rajagopalan
For M.S. Appa Rao.

Reply to be sent to:
G. Rajagopalan,
261, T.P. Koil Street,
Triplicane, *Madras*.

50: Students Manifesto – Report in *Indian Express* – dt 28.7.1944

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44

[TNA]

Struggle for National Liberation Call to Students to Organise Madras I.S.C's Manifesto

Madras July, 28

The world is in the throes of a revolution. In the fierce interplay of forces, the only way to ensure the ending of the present war of exploitation is for the forces of revolution to realise

the significance of their role and organise themselves for effective action. In an enslaved and exploited country like India the task is much more difficult and important. We believe that the student community with the Kisans and the Mazdoors constitute the spearhead of resurgent nationalism, says a manifesto issued by the Madras Branch of the Indian Students' Congress.

The Failure of the A.I.S.F.

If we are to take our rightful place in the rank of the revolution, our unity of purpose and readiness to act must be harnessed by an organisation worthy of the great purpose. Their unwillingness to divest themselves of alien affiliations and the strange invitation for national suicide that they sought to extend to all after August 42 have only strengthened our conviction that the All-India Students Federation is incapable of giving the correct lead.

When the real nature of the A.I.S.F. thus became clear, its authority was questioned everywhere and a new independent organisation sprang up to represent the real will of the student masses. The urgency for immediate local action everywhere delayed their coming together to constitute an all India Organisation which could centralize these products of the revolution for a common policy and programme. Ceaseless efforts in this direction culminated in the historic convention at Nagpur during April 1944. The convention reviewed the circumstances that had led to the organisation and decided to co-ordinate these units to the I.S.C. an All-India Organisation with a common policy and programme.

Our Creed

The I.S.C. believes that the evils of society are all ultimately traceable to the political and hence the economic inequality that exists between individuals, classes and nations. It believes that the new world order should inevitably be based on the principles of economic, political and cultural equality and the fullest possible scope for development should be ensured for every individual and every cultural minority.

Our Policy; Attitude to Fascism

The I.S.C. reiterates its uncompromising opposition to Fascism, Nazism, Imperialism and all other forms of international capitalism but is of opinion that the only way to ensure the freedom of humanity from the perpetual threat of potential Fascism is to enable India to play an effective role as a partner of the United Nations by declaring her immediate and complete independence.

The I.S.C. has given the earnest consideration to the events that have happened in the country after the arrest of national leaders on the 9th of August 1942. The response of the Nation and the reaction of the Government to our perfectly legitimate demand have only strengthened our conviction that the Congress Policy is the only course to be adopted, and implemented by every self-respecting Indian. To suggest the withdrawal of the August resolution or to detract in any way from the revolutionary policy of the Congress is a gross betrayal of the struggle for freedom.

Self-determination

The I.S.C. has decided for a preference for a United India but cannot think in terms of compelling any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against its declared and established will. It believes that the irreducible modicum of unity necessary for an anti-imperialist struggle is already in existence and warns the student community against the fallacious contention that an undefined Congress-League unity can become the substitute for the fight for freedom.

The I.S.C. is deeply distressed at the continued incarceration of our national leaders but feels that the real issue before the country is not the release of leaders but independence of India, which inevitably involves not only the release of leaders, but the release of India herself from bondage.

Feed the People

The I.S.C. is deeply moved by the unparalleled famine and starvation which have overtaken the unhappy people of Bengal and other places and is of opinion that the ultimate responsibility of the man-made famine must rest entirely with this Government. Though we recognise the value of immediate relief work in the distressed areas, we are firmly convinced that all such efforts can only tinker with the problem. The real solution of the problem can come only with the establishment of a People's Government that is primarily pledged to feed the people.

The I.S.C. believes that the Swaraj must come from within and not from without and therefore feels that the entry of Japanese troops into India has made the organisation of the popular defence of the country an urgent necessity. Thus it feels that the validity of the August demand has become inescapable.

The I.S.C. reaffirms its faith in the authentic national leadership of the country as represented by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress.

The I.S.C. therefore believes that the immediate task is to rebuild the student movement by creating an effective organisation to strengthen the forces of revolution which by the application of conscious mass pressure will ultimately secure the emancipation of the Motherland.

The immediate programme of the I.S.C. therefore is to (1) create an effective organisation that really represents the student community by enrolling members and creating centres of activity; (2) carry out a planned constructive programme to establish contact with the rank and file of the students and to create in them the necessary consciousness through study classes, camp and the like (3) strengthening the bonds of common nationality by promoting the national arts, culture, national language etc., (4) preserve the rights of the student community from all possible incursions and (5) organise ameliorative measures even while realising that they can touch the fringe of the problem. We therefore appeal to the student community to join the I.S.C. strengthen the organisation against the disrupters . . . and forge ahead under banner of the I.S.C. to play our part in the great struggle for national liberation.

51: Press cutting from *Free Press* dt 28.7.1944 — Indian Student Manifesto

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Govt. of Madras
Pub. (Press) Dept.

Students and Communism

The memorandum of the Indian Students' Congress, printed on this page,¹ gives form and solution to a characteristic dilemma of the students mind these days. Most students are

universalists. The rebound towards the self as a centre of acquisitiveness, with its watchword of prudence, care in spending and love of savings, comes later. The young on the threshold of life are humanitarians first and foremost. They see in Communism a creed next door to human brotherhood, which explains why it is that the seeds of Communism are easiest sown in the carefree hearts of students. Of late, however, some of the policies of so called Communists, when, from erstwhile revolutionism they turned to seeming reaction with glorifications of communalists like Mr Jinnah, and slogans like 'People's War', acted like a veritable apple of discord and caused much disquiet in Student ranks. How to preserve intact the soul's pure allegiance to Communism as a great and noble creed and avoid the false turns being given to it by wrong leaders, in the manner of degenerate priests or sacred shrines, was the problem to be met. An attempt to meet it is made by the leaders of the Indian Students Congress in the manifesto they have now published.

1. Doc. 50

52: Commissioner of Police to the Chief Secretary (Madras)

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files - File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Office of the Commissioner of Police,
Egmore, Madras, 29th July 1944.

Confidential

My dear Brown,

Ref: Public (General) Department D.C. No. 27073/44-1 dated 14-6-44¹.

I enclose copy of an application² for permission to hold a meeting sent to me on behalf of the Indian students Congress. In my letter to Government No. 3213/1.S./44 dated 23-6-44³ I reported at length on the activities of the Indian Students Congress and pointed out that it is the banned National students organisation under a different name.

The meeting though organised in connection with Tilak's death anniversary is really to discuss the present political situation. Khasa Subba Rao, a released detenu and Editor of the *Free Press*, is to preside over the meeting. I understand that the Indian Students Congress is organizing this and other meetings to commemorate the Quit India resolution day which falls on the 8th of August each year. I propose to refuse permission for this and similar meetings by the Indian students Congress for which I request the approval of Government.

Yours sincerely,

J.B. Brown Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

1. Not printed.
2. Doc 49.
3. Doc 43.

53: Govt. of Madras to the Commissioner of Police

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files - File No. 132/44
[TNA]

31.7.44.

Indian Students Congress proposed meeting on 1.8.44.

I am to ask you to permit the Indian students Congress have their proposed meeting on the 1st August. The Government would like to have from you in course a full report of its proceedings.

for Chief Secy

31-7-44

54: Report of the meeting of Indian Students Congress

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files - File No. 132/44
[TNA]

To
The Chief Secretary to Government
Public Department,
Madras

From
(Name); R.R. Hume Esq., I.C.S.,
Designation: Commissioner of Police,
Station: Madras City.

No. 396.1/1.5.44

Dated 3rd August 1944.

Sir,

Ref: Public Department D.O. No. S/1642.1.44 dated 31.7.44¹.

I have the honour to enclose copy of report of a meeting held under the auspices of the Indian students Congress on 1-8-44 to observe the 'Tilak Day' together with a copy of the printed manifesto² outlining the aims of the organisation distributed at the meeting. It will be noticed that the manifesto does not contain the name of the printer and place of printing. The references to the Indian War of Independence at the opening and the concluding portion of Khasa Subbha Rao's speech is to the Sepoy Mutiny. The audience was small, no doubt to

the fact that a few yards away Mr C. Rajagopalachari was addressing another meeting which owing to the presence of Hindu Mahasabites promised to be more exciting.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
Commissioner of Police.

Report

Confidential.

Under the auspices of the Indian students' Congress, Madras, a public meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall, Armenian St., on the evening of 1-8-44 between 6-30 and 7-30 p.m. to observe the Tilak Day. About 75 students, including half a dozen women, attended the meeting.

N. Krishnaswami (ex-student, Pachaippa's College), who presided over the meeting, introduced Khasa Subbha Rao, the principal speaker, and recalled the sound advice that he gave to students when the Madras students' organisation was inaugurated in 1942.

Khasa Subba Rao, in the course of his speech, said that they had gathered there to do honour to the memory of the late Lokamanya Tilak who taught them that 'swaraj is our birthright'. Before his advent, there were many people who concerned themselves with their own affairs. This was the result of the historical position in which they found themselves then. After the great war of independence,¹ the people of this country were cowed down for some time, paralyzed and they began to accept the existence of the British Govt. as an inevitable fact. And once this happened, they began to make the best of the situation. So, there was a sort of competition for jobs under the Govt. At that time there were not so many candidates for Govt. service, the demand was great and the supply limited. Therefore, the attractiveness for govt. service was correspondingly high. In this position, the best men in the country looked forward to service in the Govt. and however humble the post might be, they accepted it in the hope that they could be better in the end. People entered service as clerks and at the end of their career, they became collectors. Nowadays, such a thing was not possible. Tilak was one of those who were against entering Govt. Service.

He introduced a new spirit among the people of his times and taught them that it would not do for people merely to look after themselves. He insisted on saving the people from the morass and demoralisation into which a foreign rule led them. He did not care for the usual remunerative methods. He started a new tradition of public service: he renounced all opportunities of enriching himself. He was the pioneer in the spirit of renunciation which later on found very many outstanding examples-Mahatma Gandhi, C.R., T. Prakasam, Pandit Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, etc. who had since become famous in public life. This sort of dedicative Swaraj was one of his greatest achievements. That might be common nowadays, but in those days it was a novelty.

Because of the inspiring example he gave, more and more people joined him and began to apply their talents to public service, without devoting themselves to the thought of self. In those days there was one idea among the people who were inspired by Tilak, how to get Swaraj for the country? The dominant idea was that they must establish a Govt. of the people for the sake of the people and eliminate foreign rule. But, how was the fight for Swaraj to be

carried on? Swaraj was not an abstract thing. They could go on preaching to the people, but could they thereby achieve the realization of the goal of Swaraj. This desire for Swaraj had to be harnessed for some kind of practical programme. Tilak developed the sort of power out of the minds of the people. Tilak had to canalize the spirit of Swaraj into various thoughts and activities and started a number of activities, as for instance, national education and the welfare of agricultural labour. He preached that special attention should be paid to education and physical culture and in this way, he created a sort of inter-connection between his leadership and the responsive spirit of Public opinion and both together formed a most vitalized and effective power, out of which he hoped that a right direction would be given for Swaraj. This was, in fact, the real function of leadership and every leader tried to find followers who would believe in his leadership in the same fundamental way. Tilak started a number of activities in which the main idea was that people should get close to each other and consider their social problems and vitalize themselves. There was difference between spirit of those days and that in the present day. At that time the concern was the elimination of the foreign rule. There was no detailed examination of what exactly Swaraj meant, but later on and to some extent, it was a contribution of Mahatma Gandhi, not only of Mahatma Gandhi, but also of other great thinkers of the world. Today, they did not think of Swaraj merely in terms of substitution of indigenous power for foreign power, They wanted Swaraj not only because it was their birthright, as Tilak taught them but also of the fact that the utmost prosperity and dignity of the human being were capable of being realized only under Swaraj. That Swaraj must be broad-based and it would not do if a particular section were to be benefited by it. That was not what they should fight for and that could not be worth fighting for. They should have Swaraj for the masses of the people. When they insisted on the transference of power from foreign to Indian hands, they must know what the character of that transference should be. That was really the problem that socialism posed on public thinkers.

Continuing, the speaker laid emphasis on the fact that the main essence of the situation was not so much political as economic; the economic aspect of Swaraj at the present day came into manifestation in the relationship of money to practically every activity that was being carried on in the country. A Government could not carry on without the help of money. Money was not merely a sort of metallic token. It was now closely related to the printing machine. In this war the entire organisation of Government was being carried on through their executive machinery, not through the possession of the precious metal, but it is carried on primarily through the power of the printing machine in the form of bank notes, through those notes, the Government kept the entire price system in their hands. If the agriculturist was left to himself, he would sell it and buy what he wanted. Now he was not allowed to do so. The Government issued the notes and said that the notes must be compulsorily accepted. In addition to the issue of notes, they had introduced a number of controls involving compulsory selling of commodity. Through this power that the Government wielded, they compelled people to part with their commodities and products of labour for prices of their own imposition, so that the entire labour machinery of the country is taken into their grip and ordered in the manner in which Government wished it. If they had a Government, a small Government interested in a small section of people, the power would be used for a small section of people. With the power of currency in their hands, the Government distributed the resources of the country in a manner which was conducive to them. If Government was in the hands of a small clique, the resources would be useful only for a small clique. Therefore, the Swaraj that they thought of would not be worth getting only if the Swaraj or power was to be in the hands

of people who could be depended upon to distribute equitably among the whole population. That was really the secret of socialism. Under socialism the resources of the state would be allowed to be aggrandized for the benefit of a particular section. Such a consummation could come out in the form of a revolution in social and economic values. Some of the values they found at the present day were unjust and atrocious. Taking the case of an advocate who argued a case for an hour or two, they found that he made lakhs of rupees, whereas a teacher who worked hard day in and day out got but a pittance at the end of the month. No intelligent man could say that the social value of a teacher was less than that of the advocate. The advocate was rich, fabulously rich and the whole of his existence was disgraceful, clutching all the money from people who could ill afford to pay. This situation was possible under the present system of currency and he would say that the Bengal famine was a direct result of the currency system. The sort of Government which they should like to have must not be the sort of Government which would conduce to the benefit of small class of people. Money made people mean and, therefore, in his desire for money man crushed other people. In this position, they must have a proper orientation of the value of money in social and political life. They could do it in two ways. Individually, they must neutralize the wicked value of money by being indifferent to it and socially they must neutralize it by trying to get control over it. Collective control and individual indifference are the directions in which they could make efforts for proper adjustment. They must also eliminate all forms of exploitation of the illiterate by the learned man, exploitation by the religious man or priest. In order to achieve Swaraj, they must have the right type of leadership. People might come and say to the students, 'do not get beaten, do not go to jails, you have got your duty to your own people, you must have a career and at the advance of your life, you can enter into public life. They will be put before you by people who will shine in public eye' But students must differentiate the right kind from the wrong kind of leadership. Today the newspapers were giving a wrong leadership in India. He had always regarded the English press as probably the best press in the world before Lord Northcliffe came. Today the great leaders in the English press were Massingham, Scott and others. Though they lived long way from this country, yet they bowed to them, because they put their ideas in a beautiful form. He searched in vain in India for one journalist who would class them. Therefore, we would like to tell them that, if any body came to them with a wrong idea and his money power in order to create subservience, they must stand intensely against him. The development of the right kind of leadership was the greatest need of the day.

The speaker next referred to the Muslim community and observed that today it consisted of unpatriotic men. At the time of the Indian war of independence,³ the Muslim took a greater part in it than the Hindus. Such a community which had displayed great heroism in the struggle for independence was being pulled down by wrong leadership. This wrong leadership was not only a selfish one but a wicked thing. Those who were really patriotic must stand up against wrong leadership. They must develop right ideas, whatever sacrifice might be involved.

Sundara Rao (Andhra Student Congress), speaking in Telugu wanted students to draw inspiration from the life of the late Tilak and emulate his example in the service of the motherland. By implication he criticised the Madras students organisation and their affiliation to the communists and called upon the student communist to affirm their faith in the leadership of Gandhi and the Congress. The speaker also appealed to the Muslims to join hands with the Congress, wrest independence from the foreigner and then fight for their self-determination. *M. Kanniappan*. (ex-detenu-congressman) also pleaded for loyalty to the Congress and

to Gandhi. Referring to the growth of communist influence both in the Congress organisation and labour movement, the speaker pleaded for intensive propaganda among the working class in order to wean them away from communist leadership.

The chairman, in winding up the proceedings of the meeting, said that Tilak had given a programme for them to work out. When they looked around today, they found that another great man who gave such a programme for being translated into action, it was Gandhi. Whatever other people might say they must implement the programme of Gandhi. The speaker next criticised the M.S.O. and claimed that the organisation to which he belonged had also done their bit for the relief of Kerala and Bengal without advertising their contributions as the M.S.O. had done. The Indian Students Congress believed in the constructive programme and they would do it. Their work lay in ending economic imperialism and they would achieve their object by carrying out the constructive programme.

Miss Senthamaraisi (Medical student) pleaded for loyalty to the Congress and expressed the hope that under the leadership of the I.S.C. the students would constitute a national unit.

The speeches did not evoke much interest.

1. Doc 53
2. Doc. 50
3. Refers to Rebellion of 1857

55: Report of Indian students meeting held on 8.8.44

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Police Department

From (Name): R. Hume Esq., O.B.E.,
Designation: Commissioner of Police,
Station: Madras City.
No. 3960-2/95/44

Confidential.

To The Chief Secretary to Government,
Police Department,
Fort St George,
Masdras.

Dated 10th August 1944

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 3960-1/1.S./44 dated 3.8.44¹ I have the honour to enclose copy of report of another meeting held under the auspices of the Indian students Congress Madras on 8.8.44 to observe 'Tagore Day' and to invite the attention of Government to the speech of K. Draviam² which I consider objectionable. He is the individual against whom

an order under rule 26 of the Defence of Indian rule was issued in G.O. No. Ms. 654 Public (General) dated 31.3.44 and G.O. No. Ms. 94-S Public (General) dated 31.3.44 and G.O. No. Ms. 94-S Public (General) dated 18.6.41. He is now a sub-editor in the 'Dhinamani'.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Commissioner of Police.

Confidential

Report

Under the auspices of the Indian Students' Congress, Madras a public meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall, Armenian St., Madras, on the evening of 8-8-44, to observe 'Tagore Day'. About 200 people, a majority of whom were students, attended the meeting.

Mrs Ammu Swaminathan, Who presided over the meeting, gave an account of her personal reminiscences about Sir Rabindranath Tagore, and said that it was Tagore who showed them the way to preserve their ancient art and culture and that it was their duty to follow the advice given by the poet in developing their own art and culture and not copy the west blindly.

T. Chengal Voroyan, B.A., L.L.B., said that Tagore was a great Indian poet who gave expression to the glories of Indian through his dramas and songs. The best way of perpetuating Tagore's memory was to retain the Indian spirit and thought and Indian culture and civilization.

A. Ramesh. Read out English poem composed by him on the greatness of Tagore.

T.N. Janardhanan and *N. Krishnaswami* also paid tributes to the memory of Tagore. The former said that Tagore was a great internationalist and the latter observed that Tagore was a great admirer of Gandhi.

K. Dravayan. In the course of his speech, said they had gathered there on the eve of the momentous meeting between the revered leaders of India, to consecrate the memory of one of the most beloved embodiments of patriotism. On that auspicious occasion, he, on behalf of the Indian students' Congress, wished to associate himself with the momentous move that Indian's greatest leader Gandhi was undertaking towards reaching an amicable communal settlement. It would not be out of place, if they offered their prayers that Gandhi's attempts might be fruitful. It was not a coincidence that, two years ago, on the same day, the leaders of India were bamboozled behind the prison bars by the white force of the Government. It was not even a mere coincidence that two years had passed and yet today, notwithstanding the 'lapse or collapse' of the resolution, it would stand until independence was achieved. The August resolution was a misnomer; it was revolution. If they had not achieved their aim and had not attained their freedom in the upheaval of the Indian masses, it was not a negation of the spirit which found embodiment in that 'Quit India' resolution. It was only a reminder to the masses of India that they would have to be more conscious, revere their poets and love the country. Gandhi wanted independence built on Indian unity. Then there was a raging propaganda all over the country that unity must first be achieved and that struggle was unfortunate, because there was no unity. That feeling had been revived, but nobody had a right to accuse Gandhi and say, 'I said so'. The political landscape had changed within these two years. Once C.R. was controlling the Indian minds. He crashed down and today C.R. said that he had been working for unity, but the country could not understand him. How Gandhi pledged his support to C.R., Gandhi wanted unity in action and in struggle. These

revolutionary ideas could not be imported from Britain, Japan, Germany or even Russia. Unity could only be cultivated in the country. Gandhi launched his struggle, but within the orbit of that struggle, the Muslims were not within it. How unity could be cultivated had now been shown by Gandhi. He had shown the way which would draw the Muslims into the orbit of the struggle. It was not the 'peace of the grave' or 'surrender'. He had stated that the Congress should give Muslims the right they had been asking for, if the Congress could inspire confidence in the Muslims and if the Muslims could join the Congress, that was the unity that was wanted. That unity was upheld in the seeming partition. Today, they revered Tagore, but how many unknown Tagores had died who could not find eloquent tongues and who had given up their lives on account of patriotism. They might have been called traitors or fifth columnists. Today, if Mr Jinnah had come down or had come to his own, it was not because of any propaganda for unity preached from public platforms by politicians, it was not because of the unity flag which they and other 'revolutionary comrades' used, it was not because the use of the Muslim flag with the Congress flag, but it was because there was an upheaval of political consciousness in the country which affected the flow of latent forces of patriotism that had been lurking. If 1944 could see a meeting between Gandhi and Jinnah, it could not have occurred in 1942. They ought to remember that they had waded their way through the blood of their countrymen and their sacrifices and the multitudes of monuments that they should build for them was not to hold them up as fifth columnists or traitors, but to feel that they were patriots. Those who had ideologically differed from Gandhi had now become the custodians of Gandhism. Let them be given their place, let them be recognised as martyrs of the struggle that had reached its logical evolution in the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting which would lead to Indian unity. Until then, the 1942 resolution would stand and would not lapse or collapse.

Mrs Krishna Bai Nimbkar said that Tagore stood for freedom, but today, Indians were slaves. Naturally they talked of freedom. Two years ago, great changes took place, they were not able to associate themselves with those changes, because they felt that to express them was profanity. She, however, thought that it would be quite in place if they said that the message that came to them should be carried every where and that they should not fail in their efforts to carry it forward.

The audience next stood in silence for two minutes as a mark of respect for the late Sir Rabindranath Tagore.

Mrs Ammu Swaminathan. In winding up the meeting read a poem from one of the works of the late Tagore and wanted the people to pray for the success of Gandhi-Jinnah meeting and a settlement of the communal problem, so that India might be free. She was sure that, Tagore would be the first in spirit to pray for the success of the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting. The best we could do to honour the memory of the great man was to work towards that freedom which would not only be the freedom for India, but freedom for the benefit of the whole world.

Impression. The speeches were well received.



56: Report of Indian students meeting held on 15.5.44

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Confidential.

To
The Chief Secretary to Government,
Public (General) Department,
Fort St George,
Madras

Police Department.

From
(Name): R. Hume Esq., O.B.E.,
Designation: Commissioner of Police,
Staion Madras City.

No. 3960–3/I.S./44

Dated 17th August 1944.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 3960–2 I.S./44 dated 10.8.44,¹ I have the honour to enclose a copy of report of the proceedings of a meeting held under the auspices of the Indian students' Congress on 15.8.44 in Madras to observe 'Mahadev Desai Day'.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Commissioner of Police.

Confidential

The Indian Students' Congress

Under the auspices of the Indian students' Congress, Madras, a public meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall, Armenian St., George Town, on the evening of 15.8.44 to observe 'Maha Dev Desai Day' at which speeches were made eulogizing the services rendered by Desai to the country and his loyalty to Gandhi and appealing to the students to follow the foot steps of Desai. About 300 people attended the meeting and C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar² presided.

A.S. Raman Explained the object of the meeting and said that they had gathered there to perpetuate the memory of the late Desai who lived for India and sacrificed for the sake of the country.

C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, In the course of his speech gave an account of the life of the late Mahadev Desai and his loyalty to Gandhi and observed that if he had not been kept as

a prisoner, he would have lived longer. Proceeding, the speaker observed that it was a privilege for them to be contemporaries of Gandhi who had served and was still serving India and the world. That was why Gandhi was being recognised as the greatest man of the world. It would not do for them if they simply assembled once in a year and spoke of the greatness of Mahadev Desai. He did not expect every one to serve the country in the way in which Desai served, but they could emulate Desai and serve the country by following his foot steps.

Referring to the forthcoming Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Muthuranga Mudaliar said that he did not expect that much would come out of the talks. He had his own suspicions. If anybody could, at all, achieve success with Jinnah, it was only Gandhi. No doubt on four previous occasions Gandhi failed to reach a settlement with Jinnah on the communal question, but let them hope that on this occasion, agreement would be reached. Even if a settlement was reached, he was not sure that the powers that be in England would agree to make a declaration of independence. The *'London Times'* and the Conservatives had given expression to their views and giving prominence to the problems concerning the princes and the Harijans. The fact was that the Hindu-Muslim problem did not stand in the way. If that were so, Mr Churchill would have made a declaration, as soon as Gandhi moved in the matter. The moment Gandhi & Jinnah agreed, perhaps the Viceroy or the Secretary of state would bring in the question of princes or the Harijans or something also which had not yet come to light might crop up. It was really the unwillingness of the British Government to part with power: they had decided not to part with power and they would not part with power. They know that England would be a very little England without India and they wanted India for their exploitation for making England greater. Any amount of formula would not achieve what they wanted, but they could only hope that the greatest man of the world who was moving in the matter would be blessed by Providence in his efforts. Gandhi had declared that the A.I.C.C. resolution stood and it could not be withdrawn and that it was an innocuous resolution. He had, however, in order to make a gesture to the British Government, agreed that for the duration of the war, he would not start civil disobedience. That was enough for the British Government if they were really anxious to come to a settlement. It would have been better if the members of the working committee had been released. Gandhi had declared that sabotage was not done by congressmen and that he would not advise civil disobedience. These things should have been enough for Government to have released the detainees, but Government thought that if the detainees and the working committee members were freed, Gandhi and they would come into contact and that some further action would be taken. Neither the withdrawal of civil disobedience, nor the acceptance of the formula of C.R. by the Muslim League would be of any avail from the point of view of freedom's struggle. Their struggle would have to go on. The war might be over someday, but they would have to struggle for their independence, they would have to fight the British Government, of course with Gandhi's non-violence. It was to the young men that had gathered there, the I.S.C. that the country looked. They should organise themselves for such a struggle. If the Britishers told them that, after the war, they would give independence, he had no faith in those words. They had been deceived, they had been given so many promises, which were not fulfilled. They had gone to the winds. A struggle for the freedom movement would have to be undertaken and for that, they must all be prepared. And for that, the life of Mahadev Desai would stand in good stead. They must all read his writings and follow him by preparing for the coming struggle.

K. Ramunni Menon said that one of the remarkable features of the people's war that broke out on 9.8.42 was that each one of them began to develop a personal concern for the national

leaders. Funny remarks had been made by their opponents against the leaders and their followers. For instance when the communists learnt that the speaker had met Gandhi in Bombay, they were horrified that the speaker had seen Gandhi. Once Mahadev Desai said of the communists, 'they have regained their liberty, but I want to know whether they have done anything for the liberty of this country'. That statement had been realized in the days of August and afterwards also. Under some specious slogans and masquerading in the name of the Congress, they had practised to perfection 'killing with kindness'. The speaker next observed that the treatment accorded to Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was ridiculous. They refuse to arrest him: they exasperated the 'frontier Gandhi'. A leader of his standing was subjected to humiliation which it was not possible for the speaker to describe. Kastur Bai Gandhi was on death bed and she was refused ordinary facilities and Desai died in prison. Paying a tribute to Desai for his great intellectual gifts and attainments, the speaker said that he was more than a writer and journalist. Desai immolated his life for Gandhi. The death of persons like Desai would not go in vain. They would also die if necessary with cheerfulness. They must desire and be prepared to surrender their lives in order that their cause might thrive. He would like to remind them what Gandhi had told them once. He wanted the people to go on with the constructive programme which would be a preparation for the next onslaught against British imperialism. He added that if the position became intolerable, they might start civil disobedience. If they were loyal to Gandhi, let them be honest like Muthuranga Mudaliar who had their days. On behalf of the I.S.C., he would like to give the assurance that they would act like soldiers in the battle. They would not be found wanting when the call came.

M. Satyanarayana narrated several anecdotes from the life of Mahadev Desai to show that he had dedicated his life in the service of his master-Gandhi — and his country. He availed himself of the opportunity to appeal to the people to learn Hindi, as learning Hindi constituted one of the planks in the constructive programme of the congress which was so dear to Gandhi.

Mrs Ammu Swaminathan said that it was the duty of youngmen to follow the foot steps of eminent men like Desai to help India to hold up her head and become a great nation among the nations of the world. It ought to be the privilege of students to see that Mother India lifted her head again. They could not achieve this goal unless young men made up their minds to draw inspiration from the life of men like Desai. If they felt that freedom was necessary, they must work for it. It would not be enough if they merely desired freedom. Desai had shown them the way. They could not sit quiet and relax and they could not afford it. In real warfare with weapons, they might perhaps think of rest. But they who were fighting for their freedom non-violently, could not think of rest. They had to serve their country which was suffering damage and agony and she would suffer more and more if they sat quiet. They should all make up their minds that they would not sit quiet till they attained their freedom.

M. Ali Ibrahim also paid his tributes to Desai and observed that one great man in whom Gandhi had great confidence was Desai who had left his task unfulfilled. His one object was to see unfortunate India free from the bondage of British Imperialism. If they wanted to honour Desai, it was the duty of every Indian, be he a Muslim, or Hindu or Christian, to follow Desai's footsteps. If Desai lived today, he would have whole-heartedly supported his Guru in his great task to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. Referring to the demand of Pakistan Ibrahim wanted the people not to be afraid of it, as it would not materialize, even if Gandhi conceded the demand.

Mr Churchill once stated that he did not become the first premier to liquidate British Empire. Even if Gandhi and Jinnah come to a settlement, Britain would not part with power.

She would raise some lame excuse or other and Gandhi-Jinnah would be forced to launch a fight to wrest freedom for this unfortunate country. It should be understood that freedom was not given, it must be taken. When they launched a fight against British imperialism, as they had done in the Khilafat days-Hindus and Muslims together-and Hindus and Muslims stood shoulder to shoulder, there would be concord. The differences that existed today were not differences, they were not based on good grounds. Britain was responsible for these differences – He would like to remind them of the cunning policy of divide and rule'. One of the British Viceroys was responsible for the establishment of the Muslim league in 1906 when they saw that the Congress was gaining power. His appeal to the people was that they must establish Hindu-Muslim unity. If they did that no power on earth could resist their demand. When they put their demand before British Imperialism, they must yield, otherwise there is no way. He wished to remind them that 'freedom is not given, but it is taken'. If Gandhi had taken the ten crores of Muslims with him when he launched the fight in August 1942, by this time, he could have gained freedom. C.R. was as good a Hindu and a patriot like Dr Moonje and he would not betray the country or the Hindus. They must all see to it that Gandhi succeeded in his mission. Repeating his belief that Pakistan would not come, the speaker observed that in the coming fight which would be launched by both Gandhi and Jinnah, they would forget their differences and enmity even as England, America and Russia had forgotten their differences.

Mrs Kuttimalu Amma Wanted the Youth not to be content with hearing and making speeches but to try and follow the lead given by those whom they honoured.

The chairman, in concluding the meeting, endorsed the appeal made by Satyanarayana that they should all learn Hindi. Referring to communists, Muthuranga Mudaliar said that he had sympathy for them, but after 1941, he was disillusioned. After his experiences in Alipuram Jail for three months, he had changed his opinion about the communists. They said 'down with fascism and Nazism'. He could also cry with them till he got hoarse and he would even say 'down with imperialism'. There was no greater anti-imperialist or anti-Nazi than Pandit Nehru. They were not afraid of these slogans. They must be loyal to their Motherland; they must fight for the freedom of their motherland, before they thought of other fatherlands. Let no notice be taken of them and let them seek salvation in their own way and 'let us carry on in our own way'. They should carry on in the way the Congress had shown, they should follow the footsteps of Gandhi and Pandit Nehru who were their great preceptors and leaders for the freedom of India.

G.N. Chittaranjan proposed a vote of thanks.

Impression. The speeches were well received.

1. Doc. 55.



57: S.P., S.B., CID to the Chief Secretary, Madras about the activities of the All India Students' Congress

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Confidential

No. 6316/C.

Dated 17th August 1944.

‘All Indian Students’ Congress’ Activities of

Please refer to my note No. 4872/C of the 26th June 1944¹ and d.o. No. S/1642-1/44. Public Department, dated 12-7-1944² from the Under secretary, Public Department, regarding the above organisation.

2. I enclose a copy of a letter dated 5-8-1944 from M.S. Appa Rao, ‘Convenor, Madras Indian students’ congress, Sarath Kala, Cenotaph Road, Teynampet, Madras, to P.Y. Deshpande, ‘Bhavitavya Office, Nagpur, which clearly indicates that within six months time the organizers hope to be able to start a volunteer organisation called ‘Rashtriya Seva Dal’ with Dr (Mrs) Krishna Bai Nimbkar, last referred to in Public (General) Department Memorandum No. 34854/44-2 dated 26-7-44³, behind the scenes guiding its activities. I also enclose a statement showing the present position of the organisation in this province and a note on Appo Rao.

3. If the scheme of this organisation to form a volunteer organisation known as the ‘Rashtriya Seva Dal’ is to be foiled, I suggest that this is an opportune moment to ban the Indian Students Congress in this province.

4. I also invite attention to letter No. 3900-1/IS/44 dated 3.8.44⁴ from the Commissioner of police Madras, and enclose a copy of the printed leaflet issued by the provincial Committee of the Indian Students’ Congress, Madras.

(W.F.A. Hamilton),
Supdt. of Police, S.B., C.I.D.

No. 6317/C.

Copy to the Commissioner of police, Madras, with a copy of letter from Appa Rao referred to above.

Enclosure 1

(1) Copy of a letter dated 5.8.44 from M.S. Appa Rao, Convenor Madras I.S.C., Sarath Kala, Cenotaph Road, Teynampet, Madras, to Shree P.Y. Deshpande, Bhavitavya Office, Dhantoli, Nagpur.

You may remember that I was at Nagpur for the student Convention. We are organizing the Indian students’ Congress in pursuance of the policy and programme adopted at Nagpur.

We intend starting the Rashtriya Seva Dal. I have been corresponding with Bombay to send two instructors to Madras, so that we can make a beginning. But they want two of our own students or workers should go there for Training. But we find that not suitable. . . . It will mean postponement to three months hence. And also, we do not find readily two people, who can spend three months in Bombay. It will be best if two instructors are sent here. There is also the impression that one gets, if the outside people come here and begin organizing. R.S.S. (Hindu Mahasabha) has been organised in South India, largely on that score.

I had a talk with Dr Nimbkar and she told me that you can help us, sending these instructors. their boarding and lodging will be arranged. They can stay in the students settlement which we are going to start in a few days. Please inform me, if we have to incur any further expenses. Please inform also, whether I have to make any initial arrangements.

About the organisation here, we are going ahead inspite of many difficulties. The local public are completely indifferent and there is repression from outside. We hope to be allowed to work, at least for six months. I am including in this, our pamphlet, issued for preliminary work. The matter in it, has been taken from the Manifesto,⁴ political statement and programme, adopted at Nagpur.

Perhaps you are aware that not much headway is being made in regard to the central organisation. It is mainly due to the intention of the old A.I.S.F. (Nationalist) to stick on, without starting any I.S.C., irrespective of the general condition. This is no place to explain everything. There is little reason and commonsense in these things. Power politics plays a major role in these issues. Anything you can do to get over these things will be very helpful. All these things are centred round Bombay only.

I prefer to remain silent over the things around us. If you like, I can say in another letter. One definite thing is that congress has come out of these two years, cleaner, strengthened and resolute. I will be eagerly awaiting a reply.

With our best wishes. Thanking you.

Enclosure 2

1. Indian Students' Congress — Madras Branch

(a) *Place or Places used by this Organisation:* It has at present no permanent office but the following places are used for meeting of the workers:

1. M.S. Appa Rao's residence, Sarath Vilas, Cenotaph Road, Teynampet
2. T. Thomas's room at No. 24 Ebranj Sahib Street, G.T., Madras.
3. N. Krishnaswamy's house at No. 29 Muthiah Chetty Street, Purasa walkam, Madras.

It is learnt that now and then the Chief Executive of this organisation goes to G. Ramachandran's residence at Adyar to take instructions etc.

(b) *The Financial Condition:* No funds at present. For those who attended the Nagpur conference at the end of April 1943, Messrs. C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, Venkataswamy Naidu and B. Gopal Reddy have contributed Rs 50 each, while M.S. Appa Rao contributed about Rs 200 Initial expenditure in connection with the printing of membership forms, leaflets etc., is being met by the Convenor (Appa Rao).

(c) *Present Strength:* About 20 students.

2. Andhra Provincial Students' Congress

Provincial Organizer: Kolli Ramakumaravarma of Kanumura, Kistna Dt. Provincial Office. Chaparala Upstairs, Agraharam, Guntur.

Kistna District

- (a) *District Organizer:* G.L. Narasimha Rao.
(b) *Financial condition:* Rs 200 by collection.
(c) *Present strength:*
- | | |
|------------------------------|------|
| 1. Hindu College, Bandar | 800 |
| 2. High Schools, Pamaru | 100 |
| 3. High Schools, Tadanki | 300 |
| 4. High Schools, Gudivada | 1200 |
| 5. High Schools, Challapalli | 300 |
| 6. High Schools, Avanigadda | 300 |
| 7. High Schools, Nuzvid | 300 |
| Total | 3600 |

Enlistment of members still continues.

Guntur District

- (a) *District Organizer:* Chivukyla Venkateswarlu of Bapatla.
(b) *Place used by this Organisation:* Chaparala Upstairs, Agraharam Guntur.
(c) *Financial Condition :* Rs 150 by collection and subscription.
(d) *Present Strength:* About 500; enlistment of members still continues.

3. Malabar Students' Congress

- (a) *Office Bearers:*
V.M. Korothe, Chairman.
K.P. Mohammad,* General Secretary.
C.P. Narayanankutty, Treasurer.
- (b) *Place used by this Organisation:* It has no office of its own but it is at present using the office of the Political Sufferers' League in Calicut for meetings.
- (c) *Financial Condition:* No funds at present. Subscription of annas two per head is being collected from the members.
- (d) *Present Strength:* 491; enlistment still continues.

Note: Branches of this organisation have been formed in the following places. Calicut, Ponnani Cherpulacheri, Perintalmanna, Kumaranellur, Tirur, Badagara, Tellicherry, and Cannanore.

Attempts are being made to form branches of this organisation at Trichinopoly and Madura districts.

Enclosure 3

Note on M.S. Appa Rao

He is the second son of the Raja of Nuzvid and Vayyur, Kistna District, is a student of the

Law College. He is one of the organizers of the N.S.O. and was the joint secretary at the time when it was banned. It is learnt that he was financing the organisation now and then. He was suspected to have taken part in the students' demonstration in connection with Mr Gandhi's fast. He was mainly responsible for organizing a meeting in the Law College compound and passing resolution on the 'Independence Day' and reading out the 'Independence pledge' on 26th January 1944. He contributed Rs 200 for the students to Nagpur and accompanied them. He is the convenor of the proposed new organisation (A.I.S.C., Madras Branch) and is entrusted with the work of printing the manifesto, enrolment form etc. He resides at 'Sarath Villas', Centopth Road, Teynampet.

- | | |
|-----------------|------------|
| 1. Not printed. | 2. Doc 48. |
| 3. Not printed. | 4. Doc 54. |

58: Suptd of Police to the Chief Secretary, Govt of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

No. 6539/C.

Dated 26th August, 1944.

All India Students Congress – Activities of

Please refer to my note No. 6316/C of the 17th/18th August 1944¹ forwarding a statement showing the present position of this organisation, etc.

I enclose a copy of a report dated 23-8-1944 from the Commissioner of Police, Madras, regarding the Madras Branch of the Indian Students' Congress, which indicates that there are now 2,500 members in this organisation and that its members have so far collected Rs 5000 towards the Kasturi Bai Memorial fund. The particulars regarding this branch sent to you with my note No. 6316/C dated 17/18th August 1944 was received from the Commissioner of Police on the 17th July 1944. It is apparent therefore that within a period of just over a month there has been a large increase in membership and that the organizers of the Madras branch have been carrying out their plans to enrol members from the various educational institutions in the City.

No. 6540/C.

(W.F.A. Hamilton),
Suptd., of Police S.B, C.I.D.

Copy to the Commissioner of Police, Madras.

Enclosure

Copy of Report

Prominent members of the organisation are now engaged in collecting money for the Kasturba Memorial fund. The Indian Students Congress has so far collected about Rs 5000 selling tickets mostly among students.

There is a steady increase in the membership of the organisation. There are at present about 2500 members. The Executive Committee has not yet been formed. They have invited Mr Nagindas Master, the Bombay Mayor to speak at a meeting under the auspices of the Indian students' congress. The meeting will take place about the end of this month.

There is a growing consciousness among the leaders of the Indian students' Congress that their activities are being watched by Government in order to suppress it at the earliest opportunity. They do not therefore intend to come into open hostility with the Government either through demonstrations or speeches in public platforms. Their object is to recruit and train suitable members to remain inconspicuous, but silently carry on the programme decided upon by the Congress from time to time. It is proposed to hold special study classes to such members in secret to get them ready for action. They (the Indian Students Congress members) are in close touch with the Congress leaders and receive instructions from them in regard to their activities. Four of the prominent members attended the informal discussion held under the Chairmanship of Muthuranga Mudaliar.

1. Doc. 57.

59: Chief Secretary to the Commissioner of Police about K. Draviyam

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Public Department

D.O. No. S/1642-3/44.

Dated, 28/8/44.

My dear Hume,
Political Agitation – Indian Students Congress – K. Draviyam Ref. Your letter No. 3960-2/I.S/44 dated 10th August 1944¹.

I am directed to say that the Government have decided not to take any action against K. Draviyam at present. I am, however, to request you to keep close watch both on him and on the matter published in the 'Dhinamani' of which he is the sub-editor.

Yours sincerely,

R. Hume, Esq., OBE., IP.,
Commr. of Police, Madras.

Mr K. Draviyam, Sub-Editor of the newspaper, 'Dhinamani' has come to objectionable notice in a speech he made. It has been decided however not to proceed against him at present but to maintain a close watch on the matter published in the 'Dhinamani'.

To: The S.P.A.
For information & necessary action.

1. Doc. 55.

60: Commissioner of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

No 1543/IS/44.

Secret
Office of the Commissioner of Police,
Egmore, Madras.
Dated 31st August '44
2143

My dear Govindan Nair,

Sub: Political Agitation-Indian Students Congress – K. Draviam.

Ref: Your D.O. No. S. 1642-3/44 dated 28-8-44.¹

A close watch is being maintained on K. Draviam.

As the scrutiny of periodicals is being done by the Special Press Adviser, I suggest that a copy of the D.O. may be sent to him so that a watch may be kept on the matter published in the 'Dhinamani'.

This has been done
Signed

Yours sincerely,
Hume

P. Govindan Nair Esq., I.C.S., Under Secretary to Government, Public Department, Madras.

1. Doc. 59.

61: Public Department to the S.P. of Police

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

D.O. No. S/1642-5/44

Dated 1/9/44.

My dear Hamilton

The All Indian Students' Congress – Activities of Ref. Your note No. 6316/C dated 17/18th August 1944.¹

I am directed to enquire whether you have any information about the activities of the

Rashtriya Seva Dal in the C.P. & Bombay & what measures if any the Govt. of those provinces have taken, or are taking, to counteract their activities.

30/8/44.

To

W.F.A. Hamilton Esq., OBE., I.P.,

SS. of P., S.B., C.I.D.,

Madras.

1. Doc 57.

62: D.I.G. of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44

[TNA]

Public Department

Confidential

Special Branch, C.I.D.,

Mylapore,

6th Sept. 1944

No. 6884/C

My dear Govindan Nair,

Please refer to your d.o. No. S/1642-5/44 of the 1st September 1944¹ regarding the All India Students' Congress.

I have called for the required information regarding the Rashtriya Seva Dal from the concerned Special Branches and will let you know on receipt.

Yours sincerely,

(W.H. Wright)

Dy Insp. Genl. of Police., i/c.,

S.B., C.I.D.

P. Govindan Nair Esq., I.C.S.,
Under Secretary to Government,
Public Department,
Madras.

1. Doc. 61.



63: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Students' Activities

The second session of the All Bombay City students' Conference Nationalist section was held on the 2nd and 3rd September, Mr S.K. Patil presiding. About 3,000 persons inclusive of 700 delegates attended the conference. Mr Patil, in the course of his speech, accused Government of doing everything in its power to thwart their efforts to obtain freedom and described the 'Quit India' resolution as the 'greatest document in the history of India's political struggle'. He also referred to India's exclusion from the Atlantic Charter and repudiated the charge that the Congress had sanctioned subversive activities. The Conference endorsed Congress activities past and present, condemned Government's policy of repression and called upon students to take the lead in the struggle for independence.

64: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Students' Activities

At a meeting held on the 9th September at Ahmedabad under the joint auspices of the Ahmedabad Students' Union and the all Ahmedabad Muslim Students' Union speeches were made expressing hope that the Gandhi-Jinnah talks would bear fruitful results.

Mr N.V. Gadgil, President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, addressed about 400 members of the Students' Federation, Ahmednagar, on 15th September. In the course of his speech he supported Mr Rajagopalachari's formula for a communal settlement and advised the students to propagate pro-Pakistan views among the public.



65: Suptd of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

No. 7534/C.

Special Branch, C.I.D.,
Mylapore,
Madras, 3rd October 1944.

My dear Govindan Nai,

Please refer to my d.o. No. 6864/C of the 6th Sept. 1944¹ in reply to your d.o. No. S/1642-5/44 Public Department dated 1-9-1944,² regarding the activities of the Rashtriya Seva Dal in C.P. and Bombay.

I enclose copies of the notes on this organisation received from the Special Branches, Nagpur and Poona. Neither the C.P. Government nor the Bombay Government have so far taken any steps to counteract the activities of this organisation.

Yours sincerely,

(W.F.A. Hamilton).
Supdt. of Police, S.B, C.I.D.

P. Govindan Nair Esq., I.C.S.,
Under Secy. to Govt.,
Public Department., Madras.

Rashtriya Sewa Dal, C.P. & Berar

In the middle of 1942 it was feared that Congress and its allied bodies would automatically be banned and W.G. Gawande, Volunteer organizer, therefore, made an application to the Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee to change the name of Congress Sainik Dal to Rashtriya Sewa Dal in order to avoid legal action and to attract students to it. Nothing further could however be done immediately, probably due to the arrest of the above person.

In July 1943 four members of the Rashtriya Sewa Dal, Poona visited Nagpur and Amraoti with the object of forming branches in this province by incorporating other nationalist volunteer organisations already in existence. A meeting of representatives of various 'akhadas' and sanghs under the presidentship of Suleman Pathan, a captain of the Congress Sainik Dal, who was recently released from jail, was convened at Nagpur on 13.7.1943 but nothing happened as the representatives refused to be merged in the Dal for fear of action being taken against it by Government. A branch was however formally established at Nagpur consisting of former members of the Congress Sainik Dal and at a meeting held in camera on the 14th July it was decided to send batches of volunteers to Poona to participate in the demonstration on the 9th August for Gandhi's release.

In October branches were formed at Shegaon, Bhadravati and Chanda and later at Armori (Chanda). The original Congress Sainik Dal or Bharat Seva Dal and the Hanuman Vyayamshala were incorporated in the Chanda Branch, the opening ceremony of which was performed by

R.K. Patil,* ex-I.C.S. At this function he was provided with a guard of honour of members carrying lathis and there was a demonstration of physical exercises. Addressing the 4,000 spectators present, Patil advocated unity for the achievement of Independence and cited the example of the Japanese who preferred death to captivity. Unsuccessful efforts were made to establish branches in Wardha and Amraoti.

The arrest in November 1943 and detention under the D.I.R. of Suleman Pathan, the chief organizer while attempting to form branches in the Bhandara District seriously affected activities and there were no further developments. In January 1944 the Chanda branch staged two dramas in aid of the Distress Relief Committee organized by the Secretary, Harijan Sewak Sangh, Delhi, and raised a sum of Rs 550. The tickets and passes have the imprint of Gandhi's photograph. On the 27th February 1944 it was intended to celebrate the 9th anniversary of the Dal at Nagpur under the presidentship of P.Y. Deshpande, Editor of the *Bhavitavya* but permission to hold a meeting was refused as the Dal was a political organisation. The total membership is reported to be 569 but the Dal has contacts with the Congress Socialist Party and Rashtriya Yuwak Sangh, members of which were implicated in the Telenkhedi (Nagpur) bomb Case.

Branches of the Rashtriya Sewika Samita (Women's Section) exist at Wardha and Akola only. The Wardha branch was started by the inmates of the Mahila Ashram with avowed object of imparting intellectual, physical and industrial training to women so as to prepare them to carry on the non-violent struggle for the attainment of independence. Three training classes, of a month's duration each were held at Wardha from February to May 1944. About 70 Sewikas including some from Bombay Province attended these classes. Mrs Durgabai Jog* of Bombay inaugurated the first of these classes and lecture consisted of workers of the Maharashtra Charkha Sangh and Khadi Bhandars. R.K. Patil a former member of the I.C.S. speaking at the first class advised Karmikhas to qualify themselves.

The National Students Union is interesting itself in the organisation of branches and it is possible new branches will be started in the Province.

A Note on the Rashtriya Seva Dal in the Bombay Province

History

The Rashtriya Seva Dal is the offspring of the Maharashtra Provincial Seva Dal – a body, which was founded in 1936 on a Provincial basis and which was more or less akin to the Hindustan Seva Dal.

The Maharashtra Provincial Seva Dal ceased functioning in 1940 partly owing to Government orders banning uniforms and drill of a military character and partly on account of the launching of the individual civil disobedience movement. It was, however, reconstituted, in June 1941, and its constitution framed by a Committee consisting of a members and a Managing Board consisting of 5 members was appointed to control its working. At present V.M. Hardikar is carrying on the work as the chief organizer, since some of the sponsors of the Dal were arrested and detained during the subversive movement.

Constitution of the Rashtriya Seva Dal

Object: To organise a healthy and disciplined body of youths, by fostering in them the ideal of freedom for India and a spirit of nationalism free from caste prejudices.

Membership: Only those persons, who are prepared to subject themselves to discipline and to take the Dal pledge, are enrolled. Others may enrol themselves as sympathizers.

Training: Members are trained in squad drill, lathi and physical exercises and Indian games such as Lezim Hututu and Kho-Kho-Parades are held on private grounds to avoid any breach of Government orders and the promoters and organizers of the Dal appear particularly anxious at the moment to eschew direct action. Occasionally instructional and study classes are held, at which subjects like National History. Geography. Politics, Social Science, including Village Uplift, are taught.

Uniform: No specific uniform is prescribed, but a khadi shirt, shorts, a cap, a belt and shoes or chappals form the usual outfit, with a lathi for physical exercises.

Pledge: 'I will try my best to attain national independence by all constitutional and peaceful means and will exert myself to foster fraternity, equality and a spirit of nationalism among Indians irrespective of their caste and creed'.

Organisation: A Dal is formed if 10 or more members enlist at any one place. Each Dal has a Dasta Nayak and an Asst. Nayak. A District Dal Samiti is formed in a District having 10 centres. The District Dal consists of a President, a Secy, and a Treasurer, all of whom are appointed by, and under the control of, Provincial Committee.

Members of the Dal are recruited in the following groups:

Below the ages of 7; 7-10; 10-12; 12-16 and above 16.

There are separate branches for women. No regular muster roll is kept, but a list of members is maintained at each branch. It is noticed that great secrecy is maintained regarding the internal management of District Dals and the study circles held by them.

Funds: There is no monthly subscription for volunteers and once a year, at the Dal's general rally, collections are made in sealed boxes. No figures of funds in possession of the Dal are available, but it does not appear to be in any want of funds.

Symbols Used: The National Flag is the Dal's symbol and the *Vande Mataram* is sung after meeting and functions.

Hours of Work: Parades are held every day usually in the evening along with other games. A flag salutation ceremony is held once a week on Sundays.

Songs: Community singing is the vogue, the more popular songs being: 'Yare Yare Navajawan' 'Yare Yare Yeth Jama' 'Swatantryache Amhi Sipahi' 'Bharatiyana Azad', 'Ave Pyare Bhaio', 'Ghumje Azadika Nad' and 'Azad Karenga Hind Tuze Azad'.

The Dal's Literature: Books such as 'The Sainik Geet', 'The Dal Prakash Kiran' and 'The Sainik Kavayat' are prescribed and read.

Seva Dal Day: The annual rally of all Dal members is held every year on the 28th of December when the programme consists of a flag salutation, a march past and a guard of honour for the principal guest; Indian songs, speeches and collection of subscriptions.

Activities: In April 1941, an Officers' Camp was opened at Poona where 36 persons were trained as instructors in Lathi drill, Squad drill, Indian games and in the conduct of study circles. These instructors were then used to organize other branches in Maharashtra.

During 1943 several meetings were held in the Districts of Maharashtra and instructional classes for volunteers and instructors at other places conducted in the Province.

Membership: Bombay City has 63 branches and 2,269 members.

The Bombay Province has 400 branches and 18,277 members.

The membership of the Dal increased by about 10,000 members during the last quarter, of 1943. This increase can be ascribed to the zeal and drive of the Dal's organizers who are working strenuously to ensure that all branches function actively while keeping within the law.

Recruitment to this body is chiefly from the middle class intelligentsia many of whom are drawn to it largely owing to the prospect it gives them of adorning a safe volunteer corps without personal risk. The policy of the Dal's organizers of not coming up 'against the Government' by direct action ensures the immunity of members from imprisonment, while uniforms, parades and the flag salutation ceremonies of a national body lend the organisation the necessary glamour.

The Rashtriya Seva Dal also affords scope to Congressmen in their enforced idleness to organise Dal branches which could be diverted into political channels when needed. This is an added reason for the growth of the Seva Dal.

As District authorities are aware that the R.S. Dal is likely to be used in furtherance of political ends, its activities are being watched.

1. Doc. 62

2. Doc. 61.

66: Under Secretary, Govt of Madras to the Superintendent of Police (I.S.C.)

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files - File No. 132/44

[TNA]

Public Department

D.O. No. S/1642-7/44

Dated: 13/10/44

My dear Hamilton,

The Indian Students Congress - Banning of Ref. Your note No. 6316/C dated 17/8/44.¹

I am to say that the Government do not consider it necessary to ban Indian Students Congress at present. As already suggested in D.O. No. S/1642-7/44 dated 12.7.44,² a close watch shall, however, be maintained on its activities.

2. As regards the Rashtriya Seva Dal, if started in this province, I am to request you to report to Government should its activities assume proportions necessitating action under the Camps & Parades (Control) Order, 1944, in which case, the Government can make out a Certificate, if necessary under clause 5 of the order.

11/10/44.

W.E.A. Hamilton Esq., O.B.C.,
S. of P., S.B., C.I.D., Madras.

Yours sincerely,

1. Doc 57

2. Doc 48

67: Commissioner of Police to the Chief Secretary Govt. of Madras – I.S.C.

Govt. of Madras Public (General) Department, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Secret.

Police Department

To The Chief Secretary to Government,
Public (General) Department,
Fort St George, Madras.

From (Name) R. Hume Esq., O.B.E.,
Designation: Commissioner of Police.,
Station: Madras City.

No. 5225/I.S./44

Dated 2nd November 1944.

Ref: Public Dept. Memorandum Nos S/2334-1/44 dated 6.10. '44¹ S/2334-2/44 dated 17.10.'44.²

With reference to the Government Memoranda quoted above, I have the honour to invite the attention of Government to my report No. 3213/I.S./44 dated 23.6.44³ and the note of the Superintendent of police, Special Branch, C.I.D., Madras, No. 6316/C dated 17/18th August 1944⁴ about the activities of the provincial Committee of the Indian Students Congress. The formation of a volunteer corps to be named Rashtriya Seva Dal is an important part of the programme of the provincial committee and attempts are being made to get instructors for the purpose from Northern India. As it will be necessary to control the activities of the Indian Students' Congress and its volunteer corps under the Camps and parades (control) Order 1944, I suggest that a certificate should be issued under 5 of the said order in respect of the Indian Students' Congress.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Commissioner of Police.

1 and 2. Not printed.

3. Doc. 43.

4. Doc. 57.



68: Suptd of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44

[TNA]

Special Branch, C.I.D.,

Mylapore,

Madras, 9th November 1944.

No. 8507/C.

My dear Govindan Nair,

Please refer to your d.o. No. S/2650-1/44 Police Department, dated the 7th November 1944.¹

Branches of the Indian Students' Congress have so far been formed in the following districts:

Chittoor, west Godawari, Guntur, South Kanara, Kistna, Madura North, Malabar, Nellore, Trichinopoly, Vizagapatam and Madras City.

Some of the active members of this Congress have been striving hard to organise the Volunteer organisation known as the 'Rashtriya Seva Dal' and it is fairly certain that they will do so at a very early date, particularly in Madras City and in certain Andhra Districts in the first instance, and elsewhere in due course. I consider that it would be better to prevent this Volunteer Organisation forming at all by issuing a certificate under paragraph 5 of the Camps and Parades (Control) order, 1944, in respect of the Indian students Congress, than to await its formation and then take action against it.

Yours sincerely,

(W.F.A. Hamilton),

Supdt. of police, S.B., C.I.D.

P Govindan Nair Esq., I.C.S.,

Under Secretary to Govt.,

Public Department,

Madras.

¹ Not printed



69. Suptd of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Confidential.

Special Branch, C.I.D.,
Mylapore,

Madras, 11th November 1944.

No. 8582/C.

My dear Govindan Nair,

According to a report received in S.B. from the Commr. of Police, Madras, on 10-11-44, the Indian Students' Congress has since formed a Volunteer Corps, in which there are 15 members at present, the aims and objects of which are to assist this organisation in arranging, regulating and keeping order at meetings. The sponsors of this Volunteer Corps have already sent circulars to the representatives in the various colleges in the City to enlist members.

M.S. Appa Rao of the Indian Students' Congress, Madras has written a letter on 9-11-44 to K.P. Muhammad, Calicut, regarding the opening of an instructors' camp in Madras City on 15-11-44, in connection with the formation of the Rashtriya Seva Dal, a relevant extract from which is enclosed. As has already been pointed out in my d.o. No. 8507/C of the 9th November 1944, I suggest that a certificate under paragraph 5 of the Camps and Parades (Control) order 1944 be issued in respect of the Indian Students' Congress, before 15-11-44, so that the opening of the instructors' training camps by this organisation may not take place.

Yours sincerely,

(W.F.A. Hamilton)

Supdt. of Police, S.B., C.I.D.

P. Govindan Nair, Esq., I.C.S.,
Under Secretary to Government.,
Public Department Madras.

Enclosure

We intend starting Rashtriya Seva Dal (National Volunteer Corps) in the City and to train some people, two instructors are coming from Bombay. It is suggested that we should organise this instructor's camp on a provincial basis, inviting people from Andhra and Kerala and other parts. So that after getting the necessary training, they can go back and start centres in their respective areas. I have already addressed letters to their places on the same day I wrote to you. But even from them till now, I received no reply. We will arrange the boarding and lodging but you must be able to bear the expenses. The exact amount of expenses needed and other details I will let you know a few days later. The exact period of training will be for about a month, at least. The camp may start at the latest, by about 15th. The instructors should be able to take up this work till at least alternative instructors are found. They should be as far as possible non-students, because the R.S.D. will have no organizational connection or

affiliation with the student movement. You must be knowing the details of the R.S.D. and its exact work, So I want you, kindly, write immediately, whether you can send any men you for training, how many you can send and when you can send them. You should organise the R.S.D. at least in some important towns where we have a good following. If the newly formed Congress Shanghai (or whatever its name be) itself takes up this very essential work, it will be best. You must have been aware that Bombay has developed this very well organised. Here in Madras, the Congress Shanghai may take up this work, as in Bombay. So I expect an early reply from you about this R.S.D. I am sure you realise the urgency for it. We should have started it long ago.

70 Chief Secretary, Govt of Madras to the Commissioner of Police

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44
[TNA]

Public Department.

Memorandum No. S/2650-2/44

Dated, 14th November, 1944.

Indian Students' Congress – Activities of Ref. letter from the commissioner of Police, No 5225/I.S/44 dated 2nd November, 1944¹.

A certificate under Clause 5 of the Camps and parades (Control) Order, 1944, has been issued in respect of the Indian Students' Congress. The organizers of the Indian Students' Congress may be told that the permission of the Commissioner of Police or the District Magistrate concerned, as the case may be, will have to be obtained under clause 2 of the Order for the holding of any camp or parade.

Chief Secretary to Government.

To: The Commissioner of Police, Madras.

Copy to all District Magistrates.

Copy to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,
Railways & C.I.D., Madras.

Copy to the Inspector General of Police, Madras.

¹ Doc 67.

71: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political

Congressmen are busy making preparations to revive their 'constructive programme and to oust communist elements from the Congress. In Madras, following the inauguration of the Congressmen' Shanghai-Sangam- referred to in my last report, an informal meeting of prominent congressmen was held on the 12th under the presidency of Mrs Ammu Swaminathan at which resolutions were passed urging Congress workers to stand by the August Resolution of the A.I.C.C., carry on their 'constructive' programme and form a Volunteer Corps on the lines of the Bombay Rashtriya Seva Dal. The appeal was reinforced by the suggestion that unless they do something to demonstrate the strength of the Congress, Mr Gandhi may be forced to undertake another fast which will lead to his death. At this meeting, a militant group of Congress supporters led by Mrs Krishnabai Nimbkar moved resolutions condemning the Communist Party, repudiating the settlement of the communal question on the basis of Mr Rajagopalachari's formula, and urging that the 'Quit India' resolution and after a heated discussion, the President left the meeting, no decision being reached on these resolutions. The Indian Students Congress, which was represented at the meeting is organizing a Volunteer Corps to implement the constructive programme of the congress. To control such activities, the Government have recently issued a Certificate under the Camps and Parades Control Order in respect of the students Congress so that permission will have to be obtained from the District Magistrate or the Commissioner of Police before it holds any training camps for these volunteers.

72: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political activities of some sections of students have been on the increase. The designation of the National students' Union has been changed to 'Students Congress'. This congress held a conference at Nagpur under the presidentship of Mr P.M. Bapat of Poona. About 700 students attended. The Forward Bloc slogan 'power to Indian People' was conspicuous and the proceedings were marked by intemperate speeches. The president Mr Bapat, glorified the August 1942 movement and said that it would have to be repeated several times before freedom was won. He also expressed approval of Japan's aggressiveness as it undermined British rule and threatened to uproot it. A Nagpur student spoke in the same strain and said that Nationalist students were proud of the congress resolution of August 1942 and that the

movement which followed was fully justified. The whole of the proceedings of this conference is under the examination of Government with a view to taking action against individuals and the association itself.

73: Suptd of Police to the Under Secretary, Govt of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files - File No. 132/44

No. 8893/C.

Special Branch, C.I.D.,
Mylapore.
Madras, 21st November 1944.

My dear Govindan Nair,

Please refer to paragraph 1 of your D.O. No. S/1642-7/44, Public Department, dated the 13th October 1944¹ regarding the Indian Students Congress.

Reports so far received show that there are at present more than 10,000 members in the various branches of this organisation in this province, apart from Malabar, where the exact membership figures are not yet known, as the sponsors of the organisation there are actively engaged in the enlistment of members. This figure is likely to increase as the drive for membership has been going on vigorously in many districts. A close watch is being maintained on its activities by the local Police concerned and by us.

Yours sincerely,
(W.F.A. Hamilton),
Supdt. of Police, S.B., C.I.D.

P. Govindan Nair, Esq., I.C.S.,
Under Secretary to Government,
Public Department, Madras.

¹ Doc 66

74 Membership figure of the Students Congress

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 132/44

[TNA]

No. 9229./C

Special Branch, C.I.D.,
Mylapore,
Madras, 2nd December 1944.

My dear Govindan Nair,

Please refer to paragraph 2 of my D.O. No. 8893/C of the 21st November 1944¹ regarding the membership of the Indian students' Congress.

The following is the present membership of the Kerala students' Congress:

Malabar	2799
Cochin State	107
Neeleshwar (South Canara)	75

Yours sincerely

(W.F.A. Hamilton)
Supdt. of Police, S.B., C.I.D.

P. Govindan Nair, Esq., I.C.S.,
Under Secretary to Government,
Public Department, Madras.

1. Doc 73.

XII Role of Business Community

The crisis of being involved in a total war, with the Home front disturbed by civil unrest and famine conditions in parts of the country brought out contradictory responses from different social classes to the Colonial government. Different classes were concerned to protect their interests from encroachment by others and use such instruments of redress that the government provided them, even in war-time, to the best of their ability. In the documents relating to the business community and the movement for freedom from foreign rule, many of these contradictions are apparent, and we have documented them to show the contrast between a over-simplified picture of the entire business community being in the forefront of the freedom struggle and the complex realities of the situation.

Evidence to support the nationalist commitment of the business community are to be seen in reports about this class providing financial support to the 'Quit India' movement in Bengal (No. 10), Governor Sir John Herbert's complaints to Linlithgow in January 1943 in a similar vein and, of course, the celebrated 'Plan for the economic Development of India, – also known as the 'Bombay Plan', a set of proposals put forward by Indian industrialists for post-war reconstruction. (Doc. 43). The opinion of expatriate trading interests in India and their spokesman is to be found in Doc. 46, which was not over-enthusiastic about the plan, especially about its concentration on industrial development, which the British spokesman considered to be the policy of the Congress right wing, and contrasted that with the 'agricultural policy (plus social uplift) of the bulk of the Congress workers. Some corroboration of this opinion come from documents composed by Indians; we have a whole set of left wing critiques of the Bombay Plan, written by Congress Socialists (20, 27), Radical Democrats (Ch. VI, 23-26), and radical newspapers (Docs 28, 30, 35). Another point of view on the future economic policy of free India written by a Congress Socialist in gaol (R.M. Lohia) is to be seen in Doc. 27.

The business classes were making money out of war-time contracts, and taking advantage of the scarcity of essential commodities. Although many of them were sympathetic to the nationalist cause, these two roles resulted in contradictory evaluations of their utility to the Raj. These are illustrated in the following documents. Documents nos. 1, 2, 7-9, 16 show the official reactions to the action of an Ahmedabad businessman who had complained against police brutalities. The whole question of whether businessmen sympathetic to the Congress should be given licences are to be seen in Docs 11, 14, 17, 21 and 22. In this context the following documents from Ch. I (B) should also be studied; Ch-I(B) no. 5, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18, 20, 36, 41, 44, 47, 48, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 68, 69, 75, 76, 79, 81, 84, 88, 89, 91, 92, 94-96.

Evidence about profiteering by businessmen and the inadequacy of the punishment meted out to them is in chapter VIII – No. 52. The much-criticised pro-Muslim League businessman Ispahani was a friend of the pro-Congress G.D. Birla (Doc. 51). The ambivalent relationship of the government to the people who profiteered during the famine are to be seen in Docs 5, 6, 24, 49, 51, 55, 59.

Other Documents Relevant for this Chapter:

1. All documents with source reference as 'File No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I)' – NAI in Chapter I – Sect. B.
2. Doc. 36 in Chapter I – Sec. B.
3. Doc. 96 in Chapter I – Sec. B.
4. Doc. 9 in Chapter IV.
5. Docs 21, 26, 31 in Chapter VI.
6. Doc. 52 in Chapter VIII.
7. Doc. 83 in Chapter VIII.
8. Docs 27 & 29 in Chapter XIV.

1. Circular letter from V.L. Mehta* protesting against police brutalities in Ahmedabad

File No. 3/10/43 Home – Poll (I) 1943
[NAI]

Ram Nivas, Ellis Bridges,
Ahmedabad
20th September 1942

Vadilal Lalubhai

Dear Friend,

I am writing to you this letter with a view to bring to our notice the average feeling a Britisher in India has towards this country and of which I had experience in the last five weeks.

I waited to see if the British people in this country, who have been serving to the various Indian concerns and who have been doing business with this country and in this country, and various others, whether they feel any response towards Indian aspirations and whether they feel any feeling of horror and shame in the doings of various British officers and the British Government in this country within the last five weeks. Not one Englishman in Ahmedabad has raised his protest against the brutal shootings of a College student in the City or the shootings of innocent boys at the station of Adas and various other happenings that have taken place all over this country. This means that these Englishmen endorse the policy of the Government.

I had two Englishmen in my employment and I discharged them. One of them saw me later on, and I discussed with him and in my presence he agreed that: 'Yes, I am also convinced that these things have happened and should not have been perpetrated.' I told him that, if he believed in these things as he said, he should get together the Englishmen in Ahmedabad and raise a protest against the brutalities by issuing statements, by seeing the Collector, the Commissioner or even the Governor if need be, that they cannot tolerate such shootings which are nothing but brutal murders, and he can still be with me. He said he will be seeing some friend and will let me know in a couple of days. But he did not return to report to me as to what talks he had with the other Englishmen, neither has he himself issued any statement nor taken any action in his conviction that these brutal shootings should not have taken place.

The painful conclusion is that Englishman in India, although he wants to serve us and he wants to do business with us, is not prepared to see or do anything substantial to see that

justice is done to India and that the Indians are not killed like flies. When such is the attitude of Englishmen in India, I feel it is our duty to tell them that 'You cannot serve us as our masters and as people against our aspirations; neither can you do any business with us under these circumstances and with these views of yours'.

It has been a shock to me to find that Englishman in India, who know what is passing in this country, cannot have a sense of horror or sorrow that his countrymen are doing all these brutal things, and not to protest against the same.

The latest instance is of the use of tear gas in big quantities in Ahmedabad over the ladies procession in which Mrs Vikram Ambalal Sarabhai* was seriously hurt, although not in the procession, and the D.S.P., when approached by Dr Banerji (a very great eye specialist from Bombay who was called to treat her) refused to inform as to what kind of container was used for the tear gas so that he may be able to treat the eye properly as the eye is in very bad condition and may even be lost.

Can you, as self-respecting Indian, when convinced of these facts, keep Englishmen in your service, or can have any business connections with them? They are thriving on our money, honour goodwill, and on our business, and it is up to us as a self-respecting people to show them their rightful place in this country.

Hope you will not hesitate to act in this matter in such manner your conscience dictates to you.

Yours sincerely,

Signed Vadilal Lallubhai

2: Government of Bombay to Government of India

File No. 3/10/43 Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

No. S.D. VI/3290

Home Department (Political)

Bombay Castle,

11th December, 1942

From H.V.R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay
Home Department

To The Additional Secretary to the Government of India
Home Department

Sir,

I am directed to state that a few weeks ago Government received reports of the wide circulation of Ahmedabad, Bombay and Calcutta of a circular letter¹ of which a copy is enclosed. In view of the very objectionable nature of the letter, Government considered that strong action

was necessary, although enquiries showed that in this Province at any rate, the letter had no perceptible effect on the employment of Europeans.

2. The author of the letter, one Vadilal Lallubhai Mehta, had in the meanwhile been arrested and detained by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules . . . idea of prosecuting him has been dropped. Government then considered whether any punitive action should be taken against the firms in which he is interested. Besides being the agent for the Rohit Mills at Ahmedabad, he is stated to be the organizer of the firm known as C. Doctor and Company of Ahmedabad and Bombay, which has an extensive business in mill stores and, before the war, dealt mainly in textile machinery imported from Germany. This firm is known to be strongly anti-British and, besides Vadilal Lallubhai Mehta, another of its members is at present under detention.

3. Information as to what export licences have been granted is not available, but it appears that an import licence for mill stores has been issued to the firm on the recommendation of the Cotton Textiles Directorate, Bombay. A statement showing the details of the licence is enclosed.² This Government has considered whether the stoppage of the import licence should be urged, but feels that, since the firm is doing a good deal of work for the supply Department, this is a question which cannot be decided without reference to that Department. I am to state therefore, that this Government would be grateful for considered view of the Government of India on this question after consultation with the supply department.

Yours obedient servant

H.V.R. Iengar

Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay
Home Department

1. Doc. 1.

2. Not printed.

3. Extracts from Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 113 dated 18.12.42

File No. 3/19/42 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

We Warn the War-Contractors

Till August, 1939, British industrialists sold armaments to Hitler. He was a good buyer. Till December, 1941 American Kins of Industry sold war materials to Japan. So was Japan a good buyer. What harvest of misery the British and the American people have since reaped is commonplace of history. But man will not learn the lessons of history. The same sordid drama of profiteering, of cashing-in dividends while you can, needless of whose pockets you pick so long as you make your pile, needless of the fact that you sell the vital necessities of life and of war to your very enemy, so long as you make a handsome profit, is being enacted in our own country. Since the 9th of August, the Indian people are at war with the British Government in India. That Indian who profits by working in cooperation with this Government

commits an act of high treason against his country; that Indian who profits through this Government and at the expense of those men and women who form endless queues in towns and who starve in villages, commits the most heinous crimes against mankind. And what else do those who profit by war contracts do? While Indians starve in their houses, because there is not enough to go round, ships laden with rich food-stuffs, the produce of Indian soil, leave our ports daily. Who loads their ships but Indian contractors? While homes are plunged in darkness and misery because of scarcity of kerosene, Indian contractors amass huge fortunes by gearing and oiling the war machines of this robber Government. The British Government doubtless, is also a good buyer.

What is going to be your fate in the India of tomorrow you war-contractors; you, who amass great fortunes today; you, who are paid and protected for an alien tyranny, to forge the chains of slavery to bind your own people; you, who have grown rich by picking perquisites from the pockets of the poor. When the currency situation collapses even under British rule your paper fortunes will be reduced to a book entry. But what is going to be your place in free India? Turn eastward and feel the new dawn. When the mighty sun of Indian Freedom rises, your great fortunes will melt like snow before the majesty of the sun.

Repeatedly have we stated that India is not fighting merely for the assertion of her own nationalism. Ours is the third camp. We do not war against this or that nation. We fight one race and one race alone – this race of gangsters – be they Hitler and his Nazi Party, Tojo and his militarists, or Churchill and his capitalists. Churchill fights Hitler to make the world safe for British monopoly and domination. Ever since the North-African victories he has made this clear to the world. He will not liquidate the British empire. Well, we will have to do it for him but in the meanwhile all those who support Churchill's war machine in India are the allies of this race of gangsters and the enemies of the common man. You, war contractors, are the agents of British Fascism in India. You live by it and profit by it. So against you as much as against fascism, we wage a relentless war. We repeat our charges against you. You plunder the poor. Protected by the foreign bayonets, you plunder Indian mines and factories and fields, and barter away this richest produce for, not the gold any longer, but the paper money of the usurper Raj. You profit by a system which smiles on private loot, which protects the plunder of the poor, which makes the many poor poorer and the few richer, which means the perpetuation of war and destruction and misery. So once again we argue. We reason. We warn. This is not a mere nationalist movement. It is the beginning of the world revolution of the common man. It is a crusade against all those who live by the grab-and-snatch method, a crusade for permanent lasting peace.

4. Extracts from Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 121 dated 28.12.42

File No. 3/19/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Food Tension Grows Serious

Day after day the queues of hungry people at the Government Grain shops grow longer and longer and exasperated to the extreme. Men, women and children, with their paltry annas

and pies and their pots or pans, line themselves in front of shops, trembling in the chilly morning and sweating in mid-day heat. They have to wait there for long hours leaving their day's work, and thus sacrificing the day's wages. Waiting, waiting and waiting and still often times they have to return home empty-handed, because the stocks in the shops are scarce. The same trials and tribulations again the next day, and the day after. Difficulty in obtaining work and sufficient wages, high prices, grain scarcity, waiting at the grain shops and returning home empty-handed — No wonder, if all this make the minds of these poor and starving people upset and their nerves shattered. Day after day you are witnessing these scenes of exasperation. At Bhilwandi, the other day a woman got crushed in the rush and trampling of the waiting crowd and fell unconscious, so much so that she could survive for another couple of days. At Panaswadi, 6 women became unconscious. At Princes Street, a woman is reported to have given birth to a child, right in the midst of the crowd! At one place the police obtained the permit-passes from the customers and sold them at 5 annas each. These may be extreme and exceptional cases, but they show the direction in which the wind is blowing. People's patience is sorely tried, their hungry stomachs may not tolerate these long waiting much longer. And the situation of grain supply as bound to go from bad to worse, as the days pass, and as the Japanese bombardment increases. War abroad, and revolution here, are leading us towards the crisis, the crisis when the usurper authority will have to be crushed, once and for all, and a free state established in its stead.

Resisting Fine Collections

At Hirebagwadi, in Belgaum district, the Patils and the Kulkarnis refused to cooperate with Deputy Collectors in the matter of collecting fines. The village officers of the surrounding villages disobeyed the summons to come and help. All the officers of Hirebagwadi have been suspended and the Kulkarnis arrested. Most of the villagers have locked their houses and left the villages. At Nippani, only Rs 1000 out of Rs 12,000 has been collected so far. At Bole village in Ankola Taluka moveables were attached but no cart could be found to carry the loot.

Out from the Jails

Some more cases of escapes from jails are reported. Prabhudeo, an under trial prisoner and a labour leader escaped from the Bangalore jail. D.R. Ramarao escaped from a lock up in Mysore. Another under trial, Boratyam, escaped from Hassan lock up in Mysore. Naturally the jail authorities get furious. Some 20 comrades have so far escaped from the Yeravada jail. Unable to do any thing the jail authorities took out their impotent rage on prisoners in the jail. They were brutally lathi charged in which about 14 of our comrades, including Shri Gadgil* the president of the MPCC received serious injuries. The female prisoners too were subjected to lathi charge. Yerwada jail has been declared a notified area.

Nehru Week Demonstrations

The flame of defiance is being kept alive in the city and suburbs, Christmas is witnessing different scenes than before. As a counter blast to Christmas revelries and senseless greetings, we have the 'Nehru Week' celebrations, 23rd and 24th were observed as "BPCC Day" and Prof Bhansali 'Day' respectively. On both the days processions were taken out and National Flag saluted. Clashes occurred with the Police and several volunteers either made good their escape from the clutches of the kidnappers, or the crowds forcibly snatched the arrested

persons from the Police. That is the spirit which grows stronger and stronger day by day. Disobey, defy and strike! that should be the guiding stars of all our dealings with the usurper.

Nehru Week Programme

28th Monday 'Sardar Day', Dadar area at 10 a.m. procession. 29th Tuesday 'Traitors Day' Raids on war contractors Offices and factories. 30th Wednesday - Labour Day' torch light processions in all wards. Burning of Union Jacks and hoisting of National Flags. 1st Jan, 43. Friday - Students' Day' selling national poppies, street corner meetings and procession at 4-30 p.m.

5. Memorandum dated 31st December 1942 by Mr L.G. Pinnell on the fixation of prices for requisitioned and impounded rice stock

Nanavati Papers - Vol. III

[NAI]

We have have had discussions on three days, first with all rice dealers of Calcutta who had responded to the published invitation, secondly with the largest among them and thirdly with the existing Government agents on the Denial policy.

The immediate question for settlement is the price to be paid for impounded stocks which will now be delivered to essential utilities and public markets under control. Having regard to the course of rice price since October and to allay apprehensions of virtual confiscation or long delay in payment that would completely shake confidence in trade for the future, I took the responsibility on the first day of informing the rice dealers that compensation would be paid for impounded stock as soon as they were delivered at a rate based on the October price *plus* eight annas a maund. Whether anything beyond that would be paid would be for Government to determine; the facts regarding the October price would be discussed with a smaller body of them.

At the close of the discussions on 30th instant with the Government agents who are themselves stockers, I stated the figure thus arrived at and asked their views as to what would be a moderate price at which the trade would not suffer heavy losses.

The two figures are shown side by side (wholesale rates).

	<i>Rate based on October prices plus 8 annas</i>			<i>Traders minimum figure</i>		
	<i>Rs</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Rs</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>p</i>
Coarse	8	12	0	10	0	0
Medium	9	12	0	11	8	0
Fine	11	12	0	15	0	0

Actually on our October figures plus eight annas fine rice would come out at Rs 10/12/0 but the 'gap' of Re. 1 is too small and October fine rice prices were low. We should ourselves have lost money on trying to sell our fine rice and paddy stocks early in October.

The most urgent question to settle is the price at which these stocks should be retailed. In so doing we must automatically settle the price to be paid by the small retailer (irrespective of future settlement of the final price, which may be possible in the case of large recipients, but will not be possible in the case of the smaller retailers). If, therefore, Government were finally to decide to allow more to the traders than the rates now fixed for small retailers, it would have to bear this loss itself so far as retail sales go.

The rate which I wish to publish at once results in prices to be received by wholesalers from small retailers as follows (excluding bags).

	<i>R</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>P</i>
Coarse	9	8	0
Medium	10	8	0
Fine	12	8	0

They are higher than my minimum basis and lower than the trader's minimum. They are compared with the relevant figures in the attached statement.¹

They have to be regarded from four points of view:

1) The Consumer:

They are much lower than he is paying at present but higher than the default 'controlled' prices at which small quantities of rice are on sale on the 'queue' shops.

2) The Trader:

Speculative holders will lose as will also some genuine traders. On recent forced purchases, the rates, however, are not confiscatory though lower than the trade's average figure. On the other hand, the trader will be saved from panic losses or from a market fall which we would probably have produced by 'dumping' North Bengal Paddy.

3) Future Effect on Prices:

The prices now proposed are higher than the price for new crop ought to be cut lower than present speculative prices.

There is a risk of loss to Government only if Government make a further concession to the trades. There need be no loss on supplies to large consumers as they could, if necessary, be called on to pay up the balance, if any, of the rate finally fixed.

The rates are analysed in the statement below² and I wish to publish the attached press note³ positively on December 31st.

Signed
L.G. Pinnell. 3-12-42

1, 2 & 3. Not printed.



6: Copy of notes dated 3rd January 1943 by Mr Pinnell, Director of Civil Supplies, Bengal

Nanavati Papers - Vol. III

[NAI]

It is urgent to tell the trade the figure at which we will finally pay for impounded stocks, so that traders and other buyers will know where they stand in making fresh purchases of old crop.

Once this figure is fixed it will be automatically taken as an assurance that Government will not requisition old crop in Calcutta, below these rates.

The trades minimum view and the main considerations are set forth in my memorandum dated 31st December. I repeat the final result here:

	<i>My basic offer figure</i>			<i>Trades minimum figure pay</i>			<i>Prices fixed for small retailers to pay</i>		
	<i>Rs</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Rs</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Rs</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>p</i>
Coarse	8	12	0	10	0	0	9	10	0
Medium	9	12	0	11	8	0	10	10	0
Fine	11	12	0	13	0	0	12	10	0

It is a heavy responsibility to fix final prices. On the one hand it may involve some losses to some or many traders. On the other hand our information is that some contracts are lower than this rate - though some are higher. We can see no better source of advice than what we have had. There is no really disinterested advice.

Dy. Director and myself have come to the conclusion that the best course in this difficulty is to fix for all impounded stocks the same rate as we have fixed for small retailers. It is a compromise and is higher than we are paying in Rajshahi, but so long as we make it clear that we do not regard these prices as proper for new crops we may avoid committing ourselves to too high a level in the future.

The draft press note¹ below is for H.M.'s approval; it embodies the above results, and I recommend its acceptance.

It also announces the withdrawal of orders requiring previous permission before delivery is taken of rice, dal and mustard oil. These orders were, possibly, a mistake because they hold up trade too much and we have not the organisation to cope with them and decide the merits of each individual case. The sooner we can get out of them gracefully the better.

They are moreover of little value because:

- 1) they do not touch bullock cart or boat-borne rice.
- 2) dal imports are small and our own agents (temporarily Shaw Wallace) are handling the whole import from Bihar in order to simplify relations with the Bihar Government.
- 3) the real source of mustard oil is the Calcutta Mills. It is the seed that is imported.

Signed L.G. Pinnell.

3-1-43

1. Not printed.

7. Official Notings regarding V.L. Mehta's case (dt 7.1.43–20.1.43) (extracts)

File No. 3/10/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

. . . I am opposed to any unity of action of the kind proposed.¹ If Mr Mehta by his actions brings himself within the purview of the ordinary law of the land or the Defence of India Rules, he should be dealt with under them. Victimization by the backdoor does not appear to be a desirable policy.

Mottely
Signed
7/1/1943

Addl. D.G. (S)

The case may be submitted for H.M.'s orders on his return from tour. On a point of principle, I agree with Mr Boothalingam.

Signed
7/1

Secy. (Mr Jenkins)

D.G.S. UO NO. SS/150, dt. 8/1/43

Will Home Dept. please see and return. The supply member will not be back in New Delhi until the 18th inst. Our general policy is not to mix politics and business.

E. Jenkins
Signed
8/1/43

Home Dept. (Sir Richard Tottenham)

Dept. of Supply UO NO. 8 32/43 dt 8/1/43

In which case I presume that although action against the firm² would be deprecated, there would be no objection to action against the individual.

R. Tottenham
9–1–43

I have discussed this matter with Greaves who has given various reasons for not taking action against the firm as such. The matter, therefore, does not need to be pursued further.

H.M.
Signed
20–1–43

1. This refers to a discussion with another civil servant as to whether the firm should be black listed. – Ed.

2. C. Doctor & company.

8: Govt. of Bombay to the Govt. of India

File No. 3/10/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

No. S.D. VI/618

Home Department (Political)

Bombay Castle, 23 January 1943

From

H.V.R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Dept.

To

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India
Home Department,
New Delhi

Sir,

I am directed to invite attention to my letter No. S.D. VI/dted the 11th December 1942,¹ regarding the suggested stopping of the import licence granted to the firm of C. Doctor and Company, an to state that this Government would be grateful for an early reply. It is understood that further anti-British propaganda on the part of this Firm has come to the notice of the Director Intelligence Bureau.

Your obedient servant,

H.V. R. Iengar,
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department

1 Doc. 2

9: Official Notings regarding V.L. Mehta's case (contd.)

File No. 3/10/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Accepting the view that no 'economic' action is to be taken against the firm – this is a matter of policy which H.M. may perhaps wish to take further – I think we should certainly tell the

Bombay Govt. that the fact that a man has been detained under DR 26 is no reason whatever for not prosecuting him when a chance of doing so successfully arises.

R. Tottenham

25-1-43

I agree

R Maxwell

Signed

26-1-43

[Marginal Note: Ed] – This is being taken up separately but I do not suppose present policy will be changed.
– R. Maxwell

10: Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy (extracts)

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

From

H.E. Sir John Herbert, GCIE

Governor of Bengal, Calcutta, January 25, 1943

(40 (3) – G.G. 43)

Dear Linlithgow,

5. Congress – Conditions in Midnapore continue to show improvement. My own feeling is that the danger from Congress now lies considerably deeper than in mere acts of, and incitement to violence. I am writing to you separately on the question 'Big Money' as the driving force behind the Congress movement: I will have merely stated briefly that in my view the greatest danger now lies in the insidious activities of the big financial and commercial interests behind Congress. The growing agitation for the liquidation of British business interests in India against India's sterling balances in London may be merely a symptom of the times; but I think there is little doubt that the Congress bosses are here and now making a dead set at these interests, witness the determined effort now being made to curtail jute sowing for the coming season, which is in large part, I am sure, designed to break the jute manufacturing industry – looked upon as a British monopoly.

6. If British interests were to be thus liquidated out here this would necessitate the creation of counterpart rupee capital (just as Raisman has recently created a counterpart rupee loan against repatriated sterling debt) and there are indications that Congress big business may be preparing for this and creating large funds available for future use by the formation of new investment trusts and banks. Examples are the recently constituted 'Great Investment Trust' the Bharat Bank Limited (under Dalmia auspices), and the United Commercial Bank Limited (a Birla project).



11: Extracts from the 9th meeting of the Internal Affairs Committee (dt 29.1.43)

File No. 4/4/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Home Department
political (Internal) Sec

Policy Regarding the Award of Contracts to Congress Supporters

Extracts from the proceedings of the 9th meeting of the I.A.C.C. held on the 29th January '43.

5. After general discussion of the policy in regard to the grant of contracts to Congress supporters, it was agreed that (a) it would not be desirable to discriminate against supporters of Congress in the award of contracts to 'bona fide' manufacturers already in the trade.

(b) Contracts which did not involve the use of plant or specialized knowledge, e.g. the purchase of certain foodstuffs, fabrications of tents, etc. might with advantage, be denied to known supporters of Congress especially in cases in which competitive tenders were not invited and there was no reason to believe that the contracts could be satisfactorily performed by firms or individuals who do not support Congress.

(c) Contracts which involved the use of explosives should, for security reasons, be restricted to those who are considered to be thoroughly reliable. (Reports on this subject should be called for from Provinces.)

(Home Department – action).

Official Comments

As regards (b) above, it was agreed that the supply Member should be asked to give his views at the next meeting.

It is not clear from portion in brackets above whether it is the intention that we should address the Prov. Govts in regard to para (a) above, of this action will be taken by the supply Deptt, who are primarily concerned with the grant of contracts, our action being confined only to the determination of 'policy' from the Congress point of view. If it is for us to address the Provinces, a draft will be put up for approval.

We may await minutes of the meeting held today.

V. Sahay
Signed
8/2/43.



12: Editorial in *Independent India* (RDP weekly)

Independent India – Vol. 7, No. 5
[NMMI]

Independent India

31st January 1943

Changing Relations

A national-capitalist State is being established in this country under very singular auspices. The new State is growing in order to replace the disappearing Imperialist State. The existence of two States in this manner characterizes a revolutionary epoch. But every revolutionary period is also a period of revolution and counter revolution. Things being in a state of flux, the balance can be tipped also in the opposite direction. The outcome of a revolutionary crisis is determined by the relation between the parallel States, the existence of which is one of its characteristic features. When the relation is of antagonism, as it naturally is when a revolution is on the order of the day, the result of the crisis is the triumph of revolution. The Government administering the antiquated relations constituting the social foundation of the State is overthrown because it cannot serve the purpose of the forces engaged in the task of reorganizing society politically. The peculiarity of the present Indian situation is that the rising national capitalist State is replacing the disappearing Imperialist State under the protection of the system of law and administrative machinery which hitherto served the purpose of Imperialism.

The relation between the paralielly (*sic*) existing States is not of antagonism. The replacement of one by the other is a peaceful process. Power is not being transferred voluntarily by imperialist Britain to nationalist India. It is a casually determined process which cannot be arrested by the operation of any subjective factor, such as the pronounced desire of a certain section of the British ruling class to cling to the idea of the Empire when the Empire itself is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The imperialist State in India rested on the foundation of the financial relation between Britain and this country. That relation is rapidly changing under the impact of the war. Consequently, the imperialist State in India has been undermined. It cannot hang in the air. Something must replace it.

It is being replaced by a national capitalist State. Can this process be characterized as a revolution? If nothing unexpected happens the process will most probably culminate in India's national freedom. But an analysis of the changing relations reveals the fact that India is in the throes of a counter revolution. India is not advancing from the stage of colonial bondage to democratic freedom. It is a passage from Imperialism to Fascism. As far as the upper classes are concerned, India has almost ceased to be a colony. But the masses of her population still remain in the bondage of the oppressive and reactionary social relations which constituted the foundation of colonial economy, and therefore of the Imperialist State. Nor will those relations disappear upon the complete triumph of nationalism. The national capitalist State will be built on the foundation of those very relations. The peaceful passage of power offers the guarantee against any disruption of the relation of classes inside Indian society. A revolution presupposes that disruption, which is prevented by the unprecedented protection under which the national capitalist State is being established in India.

An acute revolutionary situation, created by growing instability of the established social order and its economic relations, resulting in a triumph of counter revolution, has been the most outstanding characteristic of the present epoch of revolution and counter revolution which began with the last world war. The misfortune overtook one country after another in Europe. The tragic process culminated in the triumph of National-Socialism in Germany. It was a long process, lasting for twelve years—from the defeat of the revolution in Hungary, in 1919. The earlier defeat of revolution in Germany itself did not immediately mean a triumph of counter-revolution. Throughout that tragic period (tragic, because it created conditions which made the present war inevitable), the Governments in power offered protection to the forces of reaction rising with the avowed object of overthrowing the established government and setting the clock of history back. During the period, European society was caught in a severe economic crisis which could be overcome only by a revolution. Not only no further social, and therefore cultural, progress was possible within the limitations of the economic relations and political order which previously had great liberating significance; but it was not even possible to maintain society as a whole on the material and cultural level attained. A broad and solid foundation for a new social order had been laid. In such periods of history, revolutions become necessary, not to promote the interests of this or that class, but for the general welfare of the community. That being the case, if the administrators of public affairs were really impartial as they claim to be always and everywhere, the triumph of revolution should be guaranteed. But in that tragic period of contemporary European history, in a number of countries, governments offered protection, aided and abetted in every possible way, the forces which did not make any secret of their counter-revolutionary purpose. They rose with the avowed object of overthrowing the established Governments, even when the latter were aiding and abetting them.

Now it is India's turn to experience that tragedy. The change in the relation between Britain and India -- a change which can be revolutionary as well as counter-revolutionary -- cannot be prevented. The resulting transfer of power, therefore, will take place as a matter of course. But the outgoing Government can determine to whom the power should go. In other words, it can determine the outcome of the present political crisis in India. It can tip the scale either in favour of revolution or counter-revolution. It is not necessary to do anything more unconventional or drastic than to see that Indian Democracy comes to its own. In this crisis, the policy of *laissez faire*, the pretension of impartiality, will positively harm Indian Democracy and help the establishment of a dictatorship of the upper classes, who have never given any reason to believe that they would act differently. Even today, when virtual control of the administrative machinery is not yet completely in their hand, they are acting as dictators, and the Government is evidently helpless even to enforce its own laws. This is typical situation which precedes the advent of Fascism in power, formal as well as virtual.

The present Government of the country pretends still to function according to a Constitution which makes it responsible to the British Democracy in so far as the latter operates through the Parliament. But actually it no longer administers even the affairs of British Democracy. The present Government is functioning as the representative of national capitalism. Under the impact of changing relations, it has transferred its loyalty from British Imperialism to Indian big business. By doing so, it is even betraying its loyalty to the British Crown. Because, the avowed object of the political spokesmen of Indian big business has been characterized by the British rulers of India as seditious, that is to say, a rebellion against the sovereignty of the British Crown.

This is a veritable case of people digging their own grave. We might not object to their suicidal mania, if there was not the danger of their dragging Indian Democracy down with themselves. They, of course, do not regard that as a danger. They never cared for Indian Democracy. Their relation has always been with the Indian upper classes. It is natural for them to retain that relation even if it is to be radically changed. Blood, after all, is thicker than water. But they should realise that they are betraying British Democracy also. They may not have any scruple in doing that either. But should they not feel ashamed of acting as the protectors of rising Indian Fascism, even when they claim to be a party to the war which is being waged with the object of defeating Fascism?

They may not even be concerned with any war of ideologies. Their object may not be any bigger than a military defeat of the Axis Powers. But are they so stupid as not to know that the Axis powers represent triumphant Fascism? If they know that much, then it should not be difficult for them to realise that they are fostering the growth of the monster which created the Axis Powers. Their loyalty to the Indian upper classes may thus greatly minimize the value of the United Nations victory over the Axis Powers. Because this loyalty is creating a new base for Fascism, and Fascism will always operate as the enemy of human freedom and progress, no matter in which part of the world it might flourish.

Fascism is nationalism without democracy. It is the politics of capitalism when the latter has exhausted all its progressive possibilities, so much so that it cannot function even as Imperialism. In that stage, capitalism must destroy democratic freedom which offers opportunities for the triumph of more progressive forces. Indian Nationalism has never been democratic. Its ideology is mediaeval and its social foundation is native capitalism, which in the atmosphere of colonial economy remained closely associated with feudalism. Therefore, the rising Indian national-capitalist State cannot be anything but a Fascist dictatorship. Even today, Indian capitalism is starving the people with the object of securing greater privileges with the support of the nationalist sentiment. That is a typically Fascist method. It succeeded in a number of countries, and it will succeed in India also if the curious protection it enjoys today will not be withdrawn.

An analysis of the possibilities of Indian capitalism will dispel any doubt about the danger of the rising national capitalist State establishing a Fascist dictatorship. Capitalism operates as a socially progressive factor when it develops the means of production and thereby expands the volume of total production. Consequently, it raises the standard of living and cultural level of the community as a whole. Whenever it cannot do that any longer, it ceases to be a socially useful factor, and as such can exist not by its creative merit, but by violence and coercion. In that stage of decay, capitalism discards democracy and adopts Fascism as its political creed and social philosophy.

The fundamental feature of capitalist economy is production for exchange with the object of making profit. But the primary object of production is for use. For this primary object, production in India can be expanded almost without limit. And a continued expansion of production will mean national wealth, which in its turn will raise the standard of living and cultural level of the entire people. But that is not possible if production will be for exchange. In other words, economic progress, social liberation and cultural advancement of the Indian people is not possible within the limits of capitalist economy. In other words, nationalism cannot bring freedom to the Indian people, because nationalism is the politics of Indian capitalism. But a national capitalist State is rising, in spite of the imbecility of the nationalists, on the one hand, and thanks to the disruptive influence of the present war on the other. That

makes the danger of a Fascist dictatorship very palpable for India. Power is passing over to a class of people who are associated with a mode of production which by its own nature and owing to the limitations set by the poverty of the Indian masses, cannot be a lever of economic development such as will be beneficial for the Indian people and help Indian Democracy to assert itself politically. That being the case, the national capitalist State will not be a normal political organisation of the Indian society. It will be an instrument in the hands of a privileged and powerful minority which will thrive at the cost of the majority and utilise the appeal of nationalism in order to deceive the people to the extent of making them forge the chains of their own bondage.

That is Fascism. Can there be any doubt that India is heading to that direction? Those who cannot anticipate this danger are either blind to the realities of the situation, or are deliberately helping the rise of Fascism, which may come to India as the legacy of Imperialism.

Let us look at the matter from yet another point of view. To build an unscalably high tariff wall in order to offer protection to Indian industries has been the most fundamental demand of Indian nationalism. Protectionism carried to its logical consequence becomes autarchy, which is the fundamental doctrine of Fascist economics. A system of economy which cannot exist by virtue of social usefulness can be established and maintained only through coercion. Therefore dictatorship is the political obverse of the economic doctrine of autarchy. Protectionism being the fundamental principle of nationalist economy, nationalist politics will necessarily lead to the establishment of a dictatorship.

And it is not going to be a benevolent dictatorship, as visualised by Gandhist utopianism. It is going to be an iron dictatorship because a whole people in revolt will have to be kept down. Even today, this revolt could break out frustrating the conspiracy against Indian Democracy, had not the Government of the country been a party to this conspiracy. The men at the head of the present Government remain under the influence of the tradition of Imperialism, even when Imperialism is no more. They must act as the policemen of some unseen power, no matter who happens to be the occupant of the seat of power.

But once the almost successful effort of European Fascism to set back the clock of history fails, the conspiracy against Indian freedom may not easily succeed. Unless the virtual rulers of India would keep some Englishmen at the head of their Government to serve as their strawmen, nationalist propaganda would soon cease to be an effective dope for the people. The disappearance of Englishmen from the positions of formal power will take the sting out of racial animosity. And that will knock the bottom out of all nationalist propaganda. In these days, nationalism cannot cut any ice without a racial bias. As soon as the present target will no longer be there the fury of the oppressed masses will naturally be diverted towards the real oppressor. Even today, the ugly teeth of the latter are quite visible, and are digging deep into the emaciated flesh of Indian Democracy. Therefore, sooner or later, Indian Democracy is going to revolt. But for the moment, the scale of development remains tipped against them. And the decisive role is still being played by those who came to this country to administer a state which is in the process of liquidation. These are days of changing relations. But the change can be one way or the other. Those who can determine which way the change will take place will either have the credit of helping the reconstruction of a better world on the basis of the positive outcome of the past, or be held responsible by future history for handing India over to a dictatorship, and thereby plunging her into a period of bloody civil war. Let them consult their conscience.

13: G.L. Mehta's appeal (news item in the *National Call*)

Jayakar Papers – File No. 527
[NAI]

Bombay, Sunday

February 1943

Bombay: If Gandhiji's decision to fast could not be altered the Government should at least have unconditionally released him says Mr G.L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, in a telegram to the Viceroy.

Mr Mehta adds:

The very fact that Gandhiji has unequivocally condemned violence as was of course expected and offered by implications to do so again if he is a free man and to go into the developments of the last six months if he is in a position to influence and control events shows what an admirable opportunity was provided to make this a starting point for resolving the present impasse which it is evident from the correspondence Gandhiji himself ardently desires to end. He has explained the object and implications of the August Resolution of the Congress and has made it clear that it was definitely against Fascism in any shape or form and tenders co-operation in war effort under circumstances which alone can make effective and nation wide cooperation possible. He has stressed the fact that the Congress was making every effort to identify India with the Allied cause and that the operative part of the resolution whatever views may be held about it was to come into force only in case the negotiations broke down and the Congress was finally rejected. Gandhiji has categorically stated that the Congress was willing and prepared for the Government inviting Mr Jinnah to form a National Government subject to certain adjustments as may be necessary for the duration of the war such Government being responsible to the duly elected Assembly.

It is evident that the adjustments referred to were in the interests of the war strategy of the United Nations. As regards any positive or concrete proposal to be made on behalf of the Congress Gandhiji suggested that he should be permitted to consult his colleagues on the Congress Working Committee.

Tragedy of Indian Situation

It is a tragedy of the Indian situation today that when there is so much common ground both as regards the need of effective national resistance against aggression and about the recognition of India's independent status it has not been possible to evoke a settlement that would satisfy India's aspiration for immediate National Government and at the same time broad based national defence on popular will for the effective prosecution of the war.

Gandhiji Stands for Non-violence

I should like to add that the belief entertained by the people that Gandhiji stood for non-violence and did not and could not approve of acts of sabotage and violence has been amply confirmed by the correspondence now released and this would no doubt help to clear the atmosphere but cannot but have a healthy public reaction. Advantage could be surely have been taken

of this opportunity to see that there was a reversal of the Government policy in order to prevent the situation from drifting further and to bridge the widening gulf between Britain and India.

On the other hand the consequences which might follow any unfortunate results of this fast are too sad and terrible to contemplate. The feelings of bitterness and resentment which prevailed today would be accentuated beyond measure leading to such estrangement as would seriously impair Indo-British amity. In the interest of amicable Indo-British relationship and for the sake of united and vigorous war effort of India I would earnestly appeal to His Excellency to release unconditionally a person who is held in sincere and deep reverence by the vast masses of people in this country and still has the will and the power to cement the bond of Indo-British friendship.

I request you to place this letter before His Excellency without delay.

14: Extracts from the minutes of the tenth meeting of the Internal Affairs Committee held on 8.2.43

File No. 4/4/43 – Home Poll (I)
(NAI)

2. *Placing of Govt. contracts with known supporters of Congress.* H.M. Supply stated that he was opposed to any form of discrimination except as regards persons with an actual criminal record. The criterion in placing contracts must be efficiency and honesty, and by adhering to business considerations only. They had secured very satisfactory cooperation even from Congress sympathizers. Any attempt to introduce politics into supply Deptt. business would tend to arouse opposition and obstruction which we could not afford. He denied that any preference was given to Congress sympathizers and stated that the personnel of his Department was sufficient guarantee that this was not the case.

In the course of discussion it appeared that while a private manufacturer could give preference to his friends, the only practicable way in which govt. could do so would be to circulate a black list which would inevitably become known. It would be administratively impossible to leave discretion in the hands of the officials concerned in the thousands of contracts placed by the Supply Dept. and to do so might open the field for much intrigue and favouritism. The field to be covered included practically the whole range of industry.

The Committee, with Sir Homi Mody* dissenting, agreed that, an economic warfare against Congress was the approved policy, it would be desirable, other things being equal, to discourage the award of contracts to Congress supporters. They recognised however the administrative difficulties and that to be effective, the policy involved would have to be openly declared, with possibly unfortunate results. It was, therefore, agreed that H.M. Supply, should be asked to consider further whether anything was possible on the lines indicated and, where administratively feasible, to exercise his discretion in the manner proposed.

15: C.L.A. Debates regarding Reconstruction Committee dt 19.2.43 (extracts)

C.L.A. Debates, Vol. I, 1943

[NMML]

Reconstruction Committees

149. Mr Govind V. Deshmukh: Will the Honourable member for Commerce be pleased to state:

(19 Feb. 1943)

- (a) The names of persons serving on the various Reconstruction Committee;
- (b) The names of the economic investigators; and
- (c) If any final or preliminary reports of these Committee are ready and if so, whether these will be laid on the table?

Major General E. Wood: (a) A list of members serving on the fourth Reconstruction Committee viz., trade, International Trade Policy and Agricultural Policy is placed on the table.

The first three Reconstruction Committee dealing with (i) Labour and Demobilization, (ii) Disposals and Contracts and (iii) Public Works and Government Purchases are being constituted and the proposed list of representatives are placed on the table.

- (b) 1. Mr M.A. Mulky, M.A., L.L.B., M.Sc. (Econ) (London).
- 2. Dr S. Ganpati Rao, M.A. (Hons). D.Litt. (Madras)
- 3. Dr Natarajan, M.A., D.Litt. (Madras)
- 4. Mr V.K. Chopra, M.A.
- 5. Mr S.M. Huda, B.A., Dip. in Rural Economics (Oxford).

(c) Preliminary conclusions on one or two topics have been reached, but no decision has yet been taken as to publication of Reports when ready.

Proposed Personnel of Reconstruction Committee I (Labour and Demobilization)

Representatives of the Government of India

- 1. The Honourable Mr N.R. Sarkar member (Commerce): Chairman.
- 2. The Honourable Mr C. Masc I.G. Ogilvie, C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Defence Department.
- 3. The Honourable Mr N.R. Pillai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the government of India, Commerce Department.
- 4. Sir Theodore Gregory D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India.
- 5. Major-General H.V. Lewis, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.C. Defence department.
- 6. Sir Guthrie Russell, Director – General, Munitions Production, Calcutta.
- 7. Mr E.T. Coates, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Financial Adviser, Military Finance.
- 8. Mr L.T. Gholap I.C.S., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Finance department.
- 9. The Honourable Mr H.C. Prior. C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Labour Department.

10. Colonel H.W. Wagstaff, M.C. Member Railway Board.
11. Mr J. Sargent, M.A., C.I.E., Educational Adviser to the Government of India.
12. Mr J.V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab), Deputy Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

Representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry

13. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, C.I.E., M.B.E., Navsari Chambers, Outram Road, Fort, Bombay.

Representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India

14. Mr E.S. Millar, Attock Oil Company, Ltd., Rawalpindi

Representatives of

15. The Bombay Millowners Association Bombay.
16. The Indian Jute Mills Association, Calcutta
17. The Employer's Association of Northern India, Cawnpore
18. The Indian Engineering Association, Calcutta
19. The Hindustan Construction Company, Limited Bombay.
20. The Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., Labour representatives of Provincial Governments
21. Commissioner of Labour, Madras
22. Commissioner of Labour, Bombay

Labour Representatives Approved of by Labour Department

23. Mr N.M. Joshi, M.A., Model House, Ist floor, Flat No. A/4, Proctor Road, Bombay, No. 4
24. Mr Jamnadas Mehta, M.L.A., 40 C. Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Representative of Indian States

25. One Labour representative of the States .

**Proposed Personnel of Reconstruction Committee II
(Disposals and Contracts)**

Representatives of the Government of India

1. The Honourable Mr N.R. Sarker, Member (Commerce) Chairman.
2. Mr E.M. Jenkins, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Supply Department.
3. The Honourable Mr N.R. Pillai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department.
4. Sir Theodore Gregory D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India.
5. Sir Guthrie Russell, Director-General, Munitions Production, Calcutta.
6. Mr L.N. Flatt, V.D., Director, Mechanical Engineering, Railway Board.
7. Mr Zahid Hussain, C.I.E., Additional Financial Adviser, Supply Finance.
8. Mr J.V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab), Deputy Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

Representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry

9. Sir Shri Ram, 20 Curzon Road, New Delhi.

Representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India

10. Sir Bernard Pratt, Imperial Chemical Industries (India), Ltd., 18, Strand Road, Calcutta.
11. Director of Industries, Central Provinces and Berar.
12. Director of Industries, Bengal.
13. Director of Industries, Punjab.
14. One Director of Industries of any State.

Representatives of

15. The Bombay Millowners' Association, Bombay.
16. The Indian Jute Mills Association, Calcutta
17. The Employers Association of Northern India, Cawnpore.
18. The Indian Engineering Association, Calcutta
19. The Hindustan Construction Company Limited, Bombay.
20. The Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd.,
21. The Tanners' Federation of India.

**Proposed Personnel of Reconstruction Committee III
(Public Works and Government Purchases)**

Representatives of the Government of India

1. The Honourable Mr N.R. Sarker, member (Commerce)' Chairman.
2. The Honourable Mr H.C. Prior, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Labour Department.
3. Sir Theodore Gregory, D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India.
4. Mr S.K. Kirpalani, I.C.S., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Supply department.
5. Mr A.W.H. Dean, C.I.E., M.C., I.S.E., Chief Engineer and Rent Controller, C.P.W.D., Labour Department.
6. Mr T.S. Sankara Aiyer, C.I.E., Financial Commissioner, Railways.
7. Brigadier R. M.W. Marsden, M.C., Deputy Engineer-in-Chief, Engineer-in-chief Branch.
8. Mr A.C. Turner, C.I.E., M.B.E., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department.
9. Mr A.R. Thomas, B.Sc., (Eng.), I.S.E., Secretary, Central Board of Irrigation.
10. Mr J.V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab), Deputy Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

Representatives of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry

11. Mr Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Pankore's Naka, Ahmedabad.
12. Sir Henry Birkmyre, Bart., Messrs Birkmyre Brothers, 8 Clive Row, Calcutta.

Representative of the Indian Institute of Engineers Calcutta

13. Mr B.R. Kagal, B.E., M.I.E., M.R., San I, Land & Development Officer, Delhi.

Representative of the Irrigation or the Public Works or the Electricity Departments of

14. Sind.
15. Bihar.
16. Orissa.
17. Assam.
18. United Provinces.

Representatives of

19. The India Engineering Association, Calcutta.
20. The Hindustan Construction Company Limited, Bombay.
21. The Tata Iron & Steel Company Limited
22. The Associated Cement Companies Ltd., Bombay.
23. The Delhi Improvement Trust, Delhi.

Other Representatives

24. A representative of the public Works Contractors.
25. A representative of any State.

**Constitution of Reconstruction Committee IV (As at Present Composed)
(Trade — International Trade Policy and Agricultural Policy)**

Representatives of the Government of India

1. The Honourable Mr N.R. Sarkar. Member (Commerce): Chairman.
2. The Honourable Mr N.R. Pillai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India Commerce Department.
3. Honourable Mr C.E. Jones, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department.
4. Mr J.D. Tyson, C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education Health & Lands.
5. Sir Theodore Gregory, D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India.
6. Mr .C. Turner, C.I.E., M.B.E., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department.
7. Sir Hugh Raper, Member, Railway Board.
8. Mr J.V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab), Deputy Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

Representatives of the Provincial Governments

9. Director of Industries, Bombay.
10. Director of Industries, Punjab.
11. Director of Industries, Madras.
12. Director of Industries, United Provinces.

Representatives of States

13. Secretary to H.H. The Chancellor, Chamber of Princes
14. A representative of Hyderabad.
15. Secretary, Development Department, Mysore.

Representative of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research

16. Mr P.M. Kharegat, C.I.E., I.C.S., Vice-Chairman.

Representative of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research

17. Dr Sir S.S. Bhatnagar, O.B.E., Director.

Representatives of the Chambers of Commerce

18. Mr G.L. Mehta, President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry, New Delhi.

19. Mr G.D. Birla, Member of the Committee, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry New Delhi.
20. The Honourable Mr R.R. Haddow, President, Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta.
21. Mr W.K. M. Langley, Associated Chambers of Commerce Calcutta.

Other Representatives

22. Sir Swetachalapati Rama Krisna Row Bahadur Varu, K.C.I.E., Rajah of Bobbili, Bobbili, District Vizagapatam.
23. Kumararajah Sir Muthiah Chettiar, Madras.
24. Mr B.S. Dabke, Bombay.
25. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M.L.A., Calcutta.
26. The Honourable Mr Hossaim Imam, Gaya.
27. Sir Frederick James, M.L.A., New Delhi.
28. Sir Tracy Gavin Jones, Director, Muir Mills Co., Ltd., Cawnpore.
29. Sir Chunilal B. Mehta, Bombay.
30. Sir George Morton, O.B.C., M.C., President Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.
31. Mr K.C. Neogy, M.L.A., New Delhi.
32. The Honourable Mr P.N. Saprú, Allahabad.
33. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmed, M.L.A. Vice Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh.

**Plans for Protection of Agriculturists from
Slump in Prices After the War**

150. Mr Govind V. Deshmukh: Will the honourable Member for Commerce please state if Government have thought out plans to see that the agriculturists get a fair return for their produce after the war and have not to suffer on account of slump in prices?

Major General E. Wood: This subject was considered at the first meeting of the Reconstruction Committee IV-Trade, International Trade Policy and Agricultural Policy – held in May 1942 and a Sub-Committee on Agriculture has been set up to consider the post-war problems of agriculture. The Agricultural Sub-Committee of the Consultative Committee of Economists is also examining the question.



16: Government of Bombay to the Govt of India (V.L. Mehta's case)

File No. 3/10/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

No. S.D. VI/1613

Home Department (Political)

Bombay Castle, 20 Feb., 1943.

Confidential

From
H.V.R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

To
The Additional Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your Express Letter No. 3/10/43 – Poll(I) dated the 27th January 1943¹, regarding Vadilal Lalubhai Mehta and the firm of C. Doctor and Company, I am directed to state that it is regretted that my letter conveyed the impression that Vadilal Lalubhai was not prosecuted because he was detained under rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules. Actually, he was not prosecuted as it was considered by this Government that such action would merely give needless publicity to the Circular letter issued by him.²

In view of the decision arrived at by the govt. of India no further action is being taken in this matter.

Your obedient servant,
Signed

1 Not printed.
2 Doc. 1



17: Official Notings on giving contracts to Congress supporters (dt 27.2.43) (extracts)

File No. 4/4/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

H.D. UO No. 99/43–D/Poll (I)

Dated 25–2–43

(This file seems to have reached the Supply Department open; it should, I think, have been addressed to an officer by name.)

The view of the Internal Affairs Committee of Council is that it is desirable to discourage the award of supply Department contracts to Congress supporters. Suggestions of this kind have been made several times since the war began, and it seems desirable to explain at some length why Supply Department business cannot (Subject to one important exception) take into account the political alignments of prospective contractors.

2. The Charter of the Supply Department is the 'procurement of supplies for war', and the Department's first duty is to procure for the Defence Services all such goods as they require and as can be procured in India. The primary function of the Department is thus to satisfy the orders of the Defence Services, and this function is particularly important now that the shortage of shipping is so acute. It would be a very serious matter if the Department were to insist on the Defence Services bringing into India from abroad goods which can be produced in India.

3. To meet the obligation outlined in the preceding paragraph the Supply Department must make extensive calls on India's industrial capacity. Unfortunately, industrial efficiency is not related in any way to personal characteristics such as a man's religious or political outlook. Any method of placing contracts which takes such personal characteristics into account may well render it impossible for the Supply Department to do the work for which it was established. Thus, India depends entirely or almost entirely on two large steel works for the indigenous [A] supply of steel. Is it seriously contended that, if the management of Tatas or Scob¹ contributed to Congress funds or otherwise showed sympathy for a subversive movement, the Government of India would cease to buy their steel? It may be that those who suggest blacklisting on political grounds may feel that the Government of India oust the management of an offending concern and substitute a [B] management of their own. In Indian conditions this is not so. The shortage of administrative and technical personnel is such that unless the Government of India were fortunate enough to take over a particular concern with its entire managerial and technical staff complete, nothing effective could be done.

4. Apart from the considerations mentioned above which apply not only to Tatas and Scob and other powerful industries such as the cotton textiles industry, but to many smaller specialized firms those products are indispensable, there is the extreme difficulty of deciding when an industrialist's political opinions are so obnoxious to the Government of India that action against him is necessary. Is mere opinion to disqualify? Or must there be some definite act such as subscription to Congress funds? Or must the management have been guilty of an act of violence? It is not contended that industrialists should be exempt from the ordinary

process of law, and an individual who breaks the law should clearly be punished. There may also be cases (this is the exception referred to at the beginning of this note) in which the management of an industrial concern are guilty of such criminal acts that the concern can properly be blacklisted. But the grounds for the black-listing would not be political opinion but the illegal behaviour of the firm.

5. The matter is one of the very greatest importance, and I consider it quite impossible to manipulate Supply Department transactions so as to attack or support any particular political group. As long as contractors are competent and behave with reasonable integrity in their dealings with Government, their political opinions are quite immaterial unless because of them they happen to commit an offence so serious as to justify their exclusion from the list. To any one engaged on war supply work these facts hardly require demonstration.

Signed E.M. Jenkins
27-2-43

Home Department (Sir Richard Tottenham).

Department of supply UO NO. P-240/43 dated 27-2-43.

1. I do not think that there is anything in Jenkin's note which either has been or would be challenged by any member of the IAC. There was none, for instance, any suggestion of the kind referred to at [A] or [B] in his note.

2. As I understood it the suggestion was that there were a number of contracts which did not require any special plant or machinery (fresh and dried fruits) which I think included ample number of possible contractors whose support of govt. could not be doubted. These contracts were not put out to computation by industry themselves, but simply allowed to A, B or C. It was suggested that, in allotting this type of contract at least, it might be possible to avoid giving them to known supporters of Congress. Whether the facts stated are correct I do not know, but it would be helpful if Mr Jenkins could note on this particular point.

3. We have today sent to Supply Department a letter from some firm of the name of Patel – renouncing all Supply Department contracts because of Govt's brutal refusal to release Mr Gandhi. I do not know if the firm is important, but if it is, here is an obvious reason for taking the 'politics' of the contractor into account whenever possible.

4. There is also the point about contracts knowing the use of explosives – See (c) p. 1² ante on which E.M. Jenkins has not commented.

R. Tottenham
27-2-43

Supply Dept (E.M. Jenkins)¹

Scob – Steel Corporation of Bengal

2 Doc. 11

3 The Note by Jenkins dt 1.3.1943 after the above noting of Tottenham may be seen in Chapter I Section B – Doc. 23 – Ed.



18: Extracts from report on the events in Bihar during the second half of February 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

In Jamshedpur it was freely stated that the presence of J.R.D. Tata' and Sir Ardeshir Dalal' at the Leaders' Conference in Delhi and the resignation of Sir Homi Modi were indications that the steel company would arrange a strike should Gandhi die. Certain Political circles, such as the Radical Democratic party, asserted that the so called Leaders' Conference had been arranged purely and simply by the industrial groups controlled by Birla and Tatas.

19: Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 180 dt 8.3.1943

File No. 3/26/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAU]

Bombay Congress Bulletin 1 Lakh in 1943 or 3 Crores in 1945

Fear breeds despair, despair breeds illusions. More often than not, fear from which the despair as also the illusions spring is as illusory as the illusions themselves.

An illusion prevalent among some sections of our middle classes is about post-war economic and political conditions. Once the war is over and if Britain wins, so these men imagine, India will get a wide measure of political freedom and economic prosperity. Did not Cripps offer freedom to post-war India and does not the Cripps offer still stand? Has not capital been accumulating in our country in the war years and will not capital be invested to new industries at the end of the war?

We will here desist from pointing out the utterly artificial character of our accumulating capital. It is almost like the dew that vanishes at the first touch of the dawn. The capital riches of the most capitalists to our country will be cut down by one good deflationary stroke at the end of the war. Nor is it our intention here to point out the entire immorality of this capital, for it has been built out of the blood of the starving peasant.

Let us presume, for argument's sake, that some portion of this capital will be available for investment in new industries. Let us also forget, for argument's sake that this capital is immoral. What are the industries into which this capital is likely to flow?

Economic expansion, unless it is politically forced, takes place into accustomed and contiguous routes. New directions emerge very slowly. What are the routes along which expansion has been taking place during the war years?

It is easy to answer this question. We have only to find out the source of profits of the rich and of employment of the lower middle classes. Building contracts for aerodromes, barracks and other military needs, clerical establishments for new Government departments, increase

in the number of cottage-scale metal-shops, expansion of the munitions industries, increased demand, primarily military, in consumption goods such as textiles and shoes — are the more important aspects of our current economic life.

It does not require great acumen to see that these routes will lead us to a blind alley, without return or advance, at the end of the war. All this expansion is directly dependent upon the continuance of the war; when the war ceases, it ceases too. Moreover, the routes along which expansion has taken place are such that there is not only a dead stop in front but also there are no contiguous routes to the right or the left along which diversion can be brought about. After all, aerodromes and barricades can be put to one use and none other and clerical establishments are there for specific purpose. Textile and shoes cannot continue to be produced as now, for, apart from the demobilization of British and Indian soldiery and the increasing poverty of our peasantry, there will be competition from overseas. The shipping problem will have gone; in fact, it will resolve itself into a form very much to the detriment of Indian industries.

Much has been made of the aeroplane, ship-building and locomotive industries for war-publicity purposes but their utility as a serious economic argument is almost nil. These are not production plants; they are only assembly workshops. It is extremely doubtful if even the end of the war will see a single air-craft built entirely in India.

Industrial and Administrative Paralysis is Our Aim: Do or Die

For argument's sake let us imagine that these assembly workshops will be gradually converted into production plants after the end of the war. The question is how gradually.

The fresh starts of a post-war demobilized industry, are always the railways, iron and steel and building. Our railways at the end of the war will be lustily crying out for replacement of worn stock and there will be nothing but worn stock. Accidents are already multiplying and inefficiency and inadequacy is increasing and there will be further deterioration. Buying up of new stock will have to be immediate; there will be no time for gradual doing of things. So that locomotives and other railway stock will come from Britain and elsewhere. Meanwhile our assembly workshops will be gradually converted into production plants and, by the time that this conversion is completed, there will be no need for it.

Post-war demobilized industry in our country will be a miserable spectacle. Unemployment, starvation and epidemics for our clerks, labourers and peasants and an almost total lack of scope for investment for the majority of the rich will be the main features of our industries. Unless the British can be thrown out of our country mid-war or immediately as the war ends, there will be nothing but disease and death. So cast away the illusion of post-war plenty born out of fear of British bayonets. This fear is illusory. For, if we do not die in a hundred thousand or more, we might have to die in thirty millions at the end of the war. Do not forget that the last war and the influenza and poverty it brought us cost us merely twenty million lives. The choice before us today is: a lakh of invited deaths mid-war in the effort to free country, or over three crores of miserable deaths post-war under British domination of disease and starvation.

*Inquilab Zindabad
Kareng Ya Mareng*



20: Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 181 dt 9.3.43

File No. 3/26/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Profits Rise, Wages Fall

(Achyut Patwardhan)

There are two voices in India today, one calling upon the people to non-cooperate with the gangster British authority and to oppose in every practical way its war effort in India. There is another voice calling for an all-out war effort at any sacrifice'. Why is it that there is such a sharp divergence of opinion on this question and what are the desires which impel these two groups to advocate their own policies with all the force at their command? All over the world, ever since Hitler came to power in Germany, world events have been shaped not by any other logic except that of the strong desires of large masses of men. What are these strong desires in Indian politics that are expressing 'themselves in such contradictory ways.

Behind the cry for opposition to the war effort there is the strong desire for India's freedom from foreign rule, the desire that India's affairs should be governed by the needs and the interests of the vast bulk of the Indian people. There is also the refusal to bleed for a war which will only determine which of the two gangs of white Brigands is to suck Indian blood. Whichever party may win-Hitler or Churchill, Roosevelt or Tojo – India loses; her people remain slaves of a foreign ruling caste only starving themselves to fatten an English Stud Bull, or his Japanese or German equivalent.

The communist support to the war effort is not based on a reasoned conviction that the way is a 'Business proposition to the working class'. It rests on a desire to further Russian interests even at the cost of immediate interests of the working class in India. They look upon it as an investment in Revolution. To us it is a terribly unsound investment. It is a wrong gamble.

Then let us turn elsewhere. Homi Modi and Rustom Masani* represent another class of war-mongers. They speak for Indian big business which is not at all big in stature. Greater the war effort, higher the profits that is their experience. If you only examine the balance sheets of these industrialists, the mill-owners, factory owners and financiers and war-contractors you will be staggered at the steep rise of the rate of profits. This rise is unprecedented in spite of the Excess Profit Tax. This is so in England but it is more noticeable in India. While every God-dam mill-owner has earned more and more every month, what of the mill workers? They who keep the wheels of the industry moving? They who ease the burdens of the war effort on their bare backs? What of them – How do they fare? They seem to earn plenty more than before. But is it a fact or an illusion?

The best answer is the Index Number which shows what the mill workers rupee can buy. In 1934 that rupee could buy a little more than twice what it can buy today. Index Number for 1934 = 100 for 1943 February 203 says the British controlled news agency. The facts are provided by the British themselves. The workers rupee today can buy less than 8 annas worth of what it could buy in 1934. Now compare his earnings. Does he earn twice what he did in 1934? The answer less earnings. War effort for the capitalists means super-profits; for the

worker in the office, mill, for the school-master, the shop-assistant, for the little men it means smaller income in goods, food queues, shortages and an unbearable and impossible tug-of-war between prices and earnings.

The cry for a ceaseless war on the war-mongers, for a total non-cooperation into the war effort, for a defiance of the war monster British authority, is based on the insistent desires of the hundreds of thousands of office-boys, mill workers, school-masters, shop assistants, malis and dhobis to whom every day is becoming a nightmare of want.

In the name of all those whose paper-earnings cannot even win a decent meal for themselves and family today, against all those whose tall talk of total war-effort means increasing super-profits for themselves and starvation for others – we call for a daily assault on the war machine. Wherever you are, think plan and act. Break this mighty machine that is breaking your bones.

Do or Die

21. Official Notings on policy regarding the award of contracts dt 17.3.43–8.5.43 (extracts)

File No. 4/4/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

I concur. The question of contracts including the one of explosives. Shall I suggest to take up with Labour Deptt. and Provincial Govts?

J.J. Hutton
Signed 17-3-43

(Sir R. Tottenham)

Ref. U.O. R. No. 1001/WR dated 17-3-43

Folow this up please.

R. Tottenham
Signed 17-3-43

In police section file No. 21/52/41 – Police, we have already taken necessary action regarding the control of chemicals used in the manufacture of bombs for illegal purposes. As regards the control of explosives the Labour Department, at our insistence, have also taken necessary action. War Dept. have also been asked to take necessary action reg. explosives in magazines etc. and their reply is still awaited. The proposal in this file regarding the contracts involving the use of explosives is primarily for the Labour deptt. to deal with and the file may be passed on to them for any action which they consider necessary.

Signed
N.M. 19/3/43

I am not clear as to what action can be taken on the suggestion in the Police section. In view

of the increase in the manufacture of bombs for subversive purposes in various parts of India, we took action to enforce stricter control of the sale of certain military stores which include some chemicals used for the manufacture of bombs, and at our instance Labour Department have taken similar action for tightening up the control over explosives so that these may not be easily obtainable by undesirable persons for criminal use. We were thus dealing with the question from a different point of view, namely, a greater control over the possession and sale of explosive chemicals under the Indian Arms Act and the Indian Explosives Act.

2. The question now raised is different. It is that contracts which involve the use of explosives should be restricted to those who are loyal and reliable. It appears that the suggestion has been made partly for reasons of security and partly as a method of economic warfare against the congress. We have no information what items of contract other than mining involve the use of explosives. [A] It is obvious, however, that their use would mostly be connected with blasting operations. Supply Dept. have noted that explosives are not used in their contracts except in mining operations and that the manufacture of ordnance material is not in the hands of 'trade'. They have not, however, expressed their views on the feasibility of the suggestion so far as mining contracts are concerned.

3. The action indicated on the proposal at the meeting of the I.A.C.C. which approved of the policy was that reports on the subject should be called for from Provinces. As Labour Dept. deal with the subject of explosives, they would perhaps agree to take further action on the suggestion.

B.L. Pandey
20-3-43

P.S. (I) Will Lab. Deptt. Please comment.

Signed V. Sahay, 24/3

Lab. Deptt.

H.D. U/O No. 4/4/43 - Poll (I) dated 25-3-43

It is very difficult to say what more we can do to ensure that explosives do not get into unreliable hands. The question is continually under review.

Outside military uses practically all high explosives are used in mining, quarrying and similar operations and nobody, other than a Government servant, is permitted to possess them without a licence under the Explosives Rules. These licences are either granted by the District Magistrates or are referred to the District Magistrates for their approval before being granted.

M. Peace
Signed 27-3-43

Home Department (Mr Sahay)

Labour Deptt. U.O. No. 1180 E/Camp; 27-3-43

1. [A] in para 2 of Mr Pandey's note. The suggestion that contracts involving the use of explosives should be carefully controlled has been made from the security point of view only and not as a method of economic warfare against the Congress. There would be no point in confining economic warfare to contracts involving explosives only when more lucrative contracts are given irrespective of the politics of the contractor.

2. Ref. Mr Peace's note above. I am sorry to trouble Lab. Deptt. again but may we assume that the position is —

Contracts involving the use of explosives are given only to those who have a licence [A] and that Prov. Govts have been told to ask D.M's to be particularly careful to see who gets [B] a licence, and that D.M's have been asked to see that, in practice, the conditions of the licences are strictly observed and that the licensee take precautions to prevent leakage. [C]

We shall be glad to be shown copies of the related communications to Prov. Govts.

V. Sahay
Signed 31/3

Lab. Deptt.

H.D. U/O NO. 4/4/43 - Poll (I) dated 31-3-43

Point A: I do not think it would be at all a safe assumption that contracts involving the use of explosives are given only to those who have a licence. On the contrary, I would assume that contracts may be given to anybody and that the contractor himself will probably sub-contract, let us say, of the supply of road material. All we can say is that no one is permitted to possess high explosives without a licence under the Explosives Rules.

Point B: We are not aware of any specific instructions that may have been issued to District Magistrates asking them to be particularly careful to see who gets a licence. The assurance that a person receiving an explosives licence is in fact a reliable person to be in possession of explosives is in point of fact that fundamental reason for the existence of Rule 85 (3) of the Explosives Rules 1940.

Point C: There has been considerable correspondence with Provincial Authorities on the subject of enforcing conditions of licences for magazines and the steps necessary to prevent the leakage of explosives from magazines, quarries and mines. Our file of correspondence on this subject is now on its way to Simla. As soon as it is received, it will be returned to Home Dept. for perusal.

Peace
Signed 15-4-43

Home Dept.

Labour Deptt. U.O. No. 103/16 dated 19-4-43 dt 1217/556 The Labour Dept. file is linked. D.S.I. may see the above note. N.M. 21-4-43

Will office prepare a separate note on the action so far taken on the control of explosives. Let us have the file back as soon as possible.

B.L. Pandey
Signed 1-4-43

A copy of the circulars issued by the Labour Department and that Dept. notes indicating the steps taken to secure control over the issue and use of explosives are on F. 21/52/41 - Police which was submitted to D.S. (I) on 21-4-43 and has probably been referred to the Leg. Dept. It has not been possible to obtain a copy of the circulars from the Labour Dept. or the office of the Chief Inspector of Explosives at Simla and to prepare the note required by us.

2. Under Secretary is aware the Labour Department have issued several instructions recently to exercise a strict control over the issue and use of explosives and are quite alive to the necessity of taking precautions to stop leakage for undesirable purposes. We have also asked the War Department to take the necessary steps in that direction. All that is possible is

being done to secure control and stop leakage. Instructions to secure control over the arms and ammunition with the public have also been issued.

N.M.

24-4-43

D.S. may kindly see his note of 31-3-43 and Mr Peace's note of 15-4-43 on prepare.

2. I intended to prepare a summary of the action so far taken by us and Labour Department regarding the control of military stores and explosives. The relevant files are, however, not available. But D.S. is, doubtless, aware of the various restrictions that have been imposed by us, and at our instance, by the Provincial Governments.

3. So far as general security measures regarding the possession, transport and use of explosives are concerned, it would appear that adequate action has been taken, and I would ask for instructions as to what further action is now required on General Huttoon's note of 17-3-43. Possibly, the proposal is that a person should not be given contracts involving the use of explosives if his politics are known to be anti-Government, because such a person would be likely to use or permit the use of explosives in his possession for subversive purposes. In other words, he would not be a safe person to be in possession of explosives. An instance may be a ballast contractor who has to quarry metal which involves the use of blasting power and dynamite. If such a contractor is known to be anti-Government, he ought not to be given the contract. The intention perhaps may be that, apart from the general special measures that have been taken in the matter, special precautions are still necessary regarding the possession of explosives by persons whose political record is of a questionable and unsatisfactory kind.

4. In dealing with Point B in his note of 15-4-43, Mr Peace has stated that Rule 85 (3) of the Explosives Rules requires that a person receiving a licence for explosives should be known to have been a reliable person. If what has been stated above correctly suggests the intention of the present reference, it may perhaps be sufficient to address the Provincial Governments emphasising rule 85 (3) and pointing out that in view of the large use of bombs in the recent disturbances, persons actively associating with anti-Government, subversive movements might well be considered to be unsafe for the purpose of explosives licences. If this is accepted, we may request Labour Dept to issue instructions in the above sense to the Provinces.

B.L. Pandey, 24-4-43

D.S. (I)

We have recently (in Poll I) sent to Prov. Govts. a letter containing a summary of the action taken by Madras.¹ Let me see that. I think the point about licences for explosives not being given to unreliable persons is covered in that.

2. The question then remains whether a contract should be given to a Congress sympathiser for work involving the use of explosives, which would be supplied by a duly licensed sub-contractor, I doubt if any special action in this respect is desirable — it is the licensee who would be responsible for the proper use of explosives.

V. Sahay,
8-5-43

1. Doc. 41 in Chapter I — Sect. B.



22 Official Notings on Madras Government's letter dated 26.4.43¹ to GOI (dt 3.5.43-5.5.43) (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

S. No. (3 Rec.)

Lot of useful material in this.² Might be worth while bringing it to the notice of other Provincial Governments. put up on file.

Signed V. Sahay, 3/5/43

Put up (Please see the minutes of the meetings of the Internal Affairs Committee of Council on Pre-page), a reply to the C.B.R. is due.

Signed 3/5/43

US (I)

I do not think it is necessary to circulate all the accompaniments to serial No. 3. It would be sufficient if the tabular statement of action taken in Madras is communicated to Provincial Governments. I put up a draft.³

2. I also put up a draft reply to Sir John Sheehy.⁴

Signed 5-5-43

DS (I)

I do not thin it is necessary to get the approval of the various depts of the Govt. of India to D.F.A.I. (Draft) which I have revised slightly as the IACC has approved the policy.

A copy of DFA (Draft) should be sent to other departments of the Govt. of India (and also to P.S.V. and India office).

Signed V. Sahay, 5/5
Addl. Secy.

I agree (reference as in brackets in the Madras Tabular statement may of course be omitted).⁵

The only point is whether there are Licences under the control of any Central Deptt. which could be similarly treated. The IAC for instance mentioned wireless licences and there may be others. Perhaps a further communication could follow about these?

R. Tottenham, 5/5

Issue and then other departments here could be asked whether they deal with any licences which would be covered by these instructions. Commerce, Posts & Air, I & B, Food, Industries, Labour and Health alone need be asked.⁵

V. Sahay
Signed 5/5

1, 2 Doc. 36 in Chapter I - Sect. B

3. See Doc. 41 dt 7-5-43 in Chapter I - Sect. B (final letter to Provinces)

4. See Doc. 42 in Chapter I, Sect. B.

5. See Doc. of 3/17/43 - Poll (I) in Chapter I, Sect. B

23 Extracts from report on the events in Bihar during the second half of May 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

3. Labour – There have been a number of minor short-lived strikes including one at the Bihar Cotton Mills. These are nearly always connected with questions of dearness allowance and food difficulties. A leaflet distributed by the management of Tata Iron and Steel Company over the signature of the General Manager, Mr Ghandi explains the difficulties of food supply and impresses on the Workers that every effort is being made by the management to meet the situation. The leaflet seems to hint that the management are struggling against apathy or non-cooperation by Government.

24 Extracts from Mr H.B.L. Baund's memorandum mid May & end of June submitted before the Famine Enquiry Commission

Nanavati Papers – File No. 57/1944
[NMML]

31. Before concluding this Chapter which contains a short account of the introduction of 'free trade', its result and the resistance it provoked, it is fair and right that I should deal with one other matter which has provoked some controversy. Bengal procurement agency. It has already been observed that the Bengal Government had not embarked upon any procurement agency of its own, such as was envisaged by the Basic Plan and still less such as was envisaged by a policy of monopoly purchase. But when the period of 'free-trade' started, it was necessary for it to make urgent arrangements for procuring for itself as much as could be purchased outside Bengal to feed its essential services and its deficit districts and to try to build up the reserve for stabilization purposes which it badly needed. It could not do this through miscellaneous merchants over whom it had no control. It had, therefore, to choose a purchasing agent, or purchasing agents, and it chose a single firm of Messrs. M.M. Ispahani Ltd. For this it has been, and no doubt further will be criticised. That firm had political connections with the Government of Bengal and were known as their staunch supporters. The firm was, in all the circumstances, probably the largest and richest single firm procurable. Whether it was wise for the Government of Bengal to choose a single agent in all the circumstances, however big, I do not know. But that it was honestly done, I do not doubt. The Premier of Bengal, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, consulted me about the matter. He was evidently worried about it. He felt that he must have a firm upon which he could rely fully and implicitly. He felt that the firm of Messrs. M.M. Ispahani Ltd. was the only firm upon which he could rely. He was alive to the criticism it might provoke. My advice to him was that, in the circumstances of desperate need in which Bengal stood, he should ignore political criticism, and if he felt that Ispahanis

were the right men for the job, he should appoint them, whatever might be said. The Bengal Government appointed them, and I do not think that they have reason to regret their decision. I am aware of all the abuse that has been thrown at this firm, and of all the prejudice to which it has been subject for the last twelve months, even in high places. Yet watching the progress of events and having contacts with many of those who have shown themselves most prejudiced against Bengal and against Messers. M.M. Ispahani Ltd. I have never yet heard one single 'fact' alleged against them of dishonesty or bad faith. Rumours, unsupported charges, suspicions and abuse, I have heard in plenty, but never one single fact. I have no interest whatever in the firm or anyone connected with it. I have seen it at work, it has struck me as enthusiastic and efficient. During the free trade period I have no doubt that it was its very efficiency and enthusiasm which attracted to it most of the abuse which was showered upon it. There are only two further things I desire to say in this connection. The first is that the firm was employing thousands of agents and sub-agents. That everyone of these agents and sub-agents was scrupulously honest is too much to be expected, and there may have been some among them who by dishonesty deceived their own employers. But that was not the dishonesty of the firm. The other thing is that, in my experience, there was only one point at which I could possibly criticise the firm. It was that, when the proposal was made for all-India free trade, there is no doubt that this information was known in Bengal. In fact, I think, it was even published in the newspapers. The firm undoubtedly did anticipate 'free trade', and at its own risk made some purchases outside the Eastern Region. But this was not dishonesty of the kind with which it has been charged, I have criticized freely where I have thought criticism was justified. It is only fair I should with equal frankness condemn injustice where I think it has been shown. I may be wrong, but I can only fairly relate my own experience.

25 G.D. Parikh to M.N. Roy – Report on the Andhra Party

M.N. Roy Papers

[NMML – M.F. Roll No. 14]

Concanada, dated 2/6/43

My dear Com Roy,

The meeting of the Prov. Executives was held here on the 31st of May, and the 1st of June. The following comrades attended the meeting: Gopal Krishnamurthy, Ankamma, Narhari, Mohan, Subba Raju (West Godavari-Ellore) Devki, Narsimha Rao, Sastry, Wanikumar (Ramkrishna Rao's son). None of the comrades however, could reach Cocanada even a day earlier than the meeting day; all of them arrived on the same day, some of them only an hour or so before the meeting. I had a mind to have some talk with individual coms. before we met collectively. But many of them were in a hurry to return and so it was not possible to postpone the meeting even by a few hours, much less by a day. I could naturally talk just a little with them, during some of the brief intervals we had when the meeting was in actual progress. Prominent among the absentees were Coms. Venkatrao, Gopal Chand, Ramkrishna Rao. Paramhansa, having now joined the I.A.F. is out of question. The agenda for the meeting

was 1) Andhra Party Affairs, 2) Preparations for the Party Conference, 3) Party Organ 4) Party fund 5) A plan for Tiwari's Tour in the Province.

The meeting on the first day was utilized for an elaborate discussion of the organizational problems and tasks. Care was taken to see that instead of being allowed to degenerate into mutual recriminations the discussion should be raised to a level from which everyone could realise that something was wrong with him rather than with the others. The general conclusion of the first day's discussion therefore was that 'We are all of us wrong. We must change'. The prevailing atmosphere in the meeting was very healthy. That created, therefore, some necessary background for the concrete proposals that followed on the next day.

On the next day, the meeting took the following decisions . . . 1) The meeting appointed a sub-committee to organise, develop, co-ordinate and guide the activities of the Party in the Province, with the object of holding the Prov. Conf. after a few month's political activity being carried on by the Party. The sub-com. will consist of the following comrades. 1) A. Gopalkrishnamurthy 2) Venkat Rao. 3) M.V. Sastry 4) Mohan, (Kistna Dist. Bezwada) 5) Narrhari 6) Ankamma and 7) Gopichand.

2. The District Units shall be asked by the Prov. Office to immediately submit their membership lists, quota and a brief report of their activities since the Lucknow Cón. of the All India Party. This they shall do before the 15th of June.

3. The Dist. Units shall also be asked to chalk out immediately their own plans of work for the next three months for the following activities . . . 1) Popularization of the Fundamental Principles; holding of Peoples' conventions; and the formation of Peoples' Committees. 2) Propaganda re. the food problem, against the hoarders and the profiteers, and with the object of making the people co-operative-minded; the setting up of cooperatives wherever possible 3) Drive for increase of Party membership 4) Increase of the sale of I.I. 5. Reorganization of the old Unions and the starting of new ones, and getting them affiliated to the I.F. of L.; and extending the political influence of the Party in Labour, both agricultural and industrial 6) Raising of the Provincial Party Fund. The Dist. Units shall submit these plans for the consideration of the sub-comm by the 15th of June. They will be submitted to the Prov. office.

4. Later, when once activity is begun in the Districts, the Dist. Units shall submit regular fortnightly reports of their activities to the sub-comm.

5. The sub-comm. shall submit a report of the activities in the Province, regularly once a month; to the central office.

6. The sub-comm. shall enter into correspondence with the Central Office and receive its instructions from it through com. M.V. Sastry, member, C.E.C. who shall act as a liaison officer, so to say, between the sub-comm. and the Central Office. The latter can issue instructions, however to anyone and in any manner it chooses, as is obvious. Comm. Sastry will also be free (as the C.E.C. member) to communicate his own observations re. the work to the Central Office.

7. The sub-comm. shall organise Prov. study camps for the Political and party training of the membership, at one or more places, as is possible and necessary. These camps, it shall see, are organised in such a way that they are largely attended, and do not conflict with the general work in the Districts.

8. The Secretary, the Convener, and the place for the office of the sub-comm. shall be decided as per the instructions of the Central Office.

This is the concrete outcome of the meeting. I shall now briefly state how and why we

arrived at it. So that the Central Office will be in the know of the situation here as I see it, and that may facilitate the work of issuing the instructions that it has to issue.

I was asked to suggest to the Prov. Exe. that the Prov. Conf. be postponed for some time, and that the Prov. Executive should chalk out some plan for activities in the Prov. as also may create suitable machinery in order to carry it out. The Party in the Province was thus to be made a functioning party, and was to put in some political pressure before it held its Prov. Con. The above decisions were taken with this aim in view. It was originally intended that the sub-comm. should consist of five comrades only; but as it appeared that some of the names of those who should be there were being left out and hence it came to be of seven. Another point is that it is the best possible team that could have been chosen under the circumstances, and by 'team' I imply homogeneity. Gopi Chand was absent. The G.S. was of the opinion that for a month or so he will not find it possible to become active, but after that time he will work. This did not appear to be a very serious difficulty. Hence his name has been included, and I have asked the G.S. to persuade him. When I go to Tenali, I shall do it myself. Other important omission is the Prof. His inability to become active for some time, and the need for homogeneity, since the trouble, I am told, originated in the beginning from there, were the reasons for that omission. I hope I shall be able to explain the whole thing a little tactfully to him when I meet him in Guntur.

Sastry's being a liaison officer between the sub-comm. and the Central Office is his own idea. I think he has rather strong and definite views in the matter — perhaps in certain other matters also and it was a good thing that the Executive could see its way to accepting the idea. He also had the idea of remaining out of the sub-comm. and of supervising its functioning from outside; but I felt that others may not like that kind of arrangement from the talk I had with them and therefore persuaded him to be on the comm. itself.

As regard the last item which is to be decided on receiving instructions from the Central Office, the following considerations are to my mind important — It was suggested in the meeting that the office of the sub-comm should be in Bezwada, and Com. Mohan who is in Bezwada should act as the convener of the committee. It is a new name. Perhaps not much of a quite mature comrade, though he may grow. Of late he has been doing some good work in Bezwada. But his good point is that both the sides do not believe him in respect of the sectional fights. The G.S. was agreeable to the proposal of Mohan's being made the convener. He appeared to have come here almost in a spirit of resignation; and was agreeable almost to any proposal. His attitude throughout was good and helpful. But he lacks I think the initiative and the drive which are quite essential for his position. It was however suggested to me by some e.g. Narhari that to shift the office to Bezwada and to make Mohan the convener would amount to a setback for him, which others might make it impossible for him, to bear. That might also increase the existing bitterness. Others, on the contrary, were quite categorical that it was absolutely necessary to do that. They even went to the length of suggesting that the G.S. need not be taken on the sub-comm. That was too much and was opposed to the instructions I got from Com. Karnik. It was therefore ruled out. But since the G.S. was apparently ready to accept any solution it was not possible to judge what were his real feelings and what might be the probable reactions of the coms. associated with him to the proposal of shifting the office to Bezwada and to making Mohan the convener. Since it appeared that a satisfactory solution could not possibly be found out without taking a little organizational risk in the sense of displeasing some section or the other; I thought it better to refer the matter to the Central Office for guidance. There are

three possible alternatives; one; the office to be in Bezwada-Mohan to be the Secretary and the convener of the sub-comm. two; The office to be in Tenali and the G.S. to be the secretary; Three; The office to be in Concanada, and Sastry to be the secretary. Other possibilities for one-reason for another, are out of question. I think the second and the third are also so; for in both the cases some important section would be displeased. In the first case, there is a possibility of the G.S. and his group being dissatisfied. I, however, might suggest a possible way out; It is to split up the office of the convener and the Secy. of the Comm. so that the office can be shifted to Bezwada, Mohan can be put in charge of it as the convener; and the G.S. may be asked to be the secy. That may not completely satisfy him, but that is impossible; it can however activate him if he means to be active. And the distance between Tenali and Bezwada is not much. A suitable division of their functions can be suggested by the Central Office in their instructions. Since both the sections could not arrive at an agreement in this respect I told the Executive that after touring the prov. and meeting all the important comrades in the Prov. I shall make a report to the Central Office and then the Central Office will issue the necessary instructions in that respect. That was agreed.

I am leaving Cocanada this evening. I shall go to Vijayanagaram in the beginning. Coms. from the Vizag. Dist. are expected to be there on the 4th. Having met them all, I shall go to Bezwada on the 5th, On the 7th I shall leave for Guntur, and shall be there on the 7th, 8th, and possibly on the 9th also. From there I am going to Tenali, and will spend two or three days there. That will be by the 12th. Then I may probably go to Chittur, an altogether new Dist. where some work has been done recently. It is the Southern-most end of Andhra. It will be another two three days. From there I shall go to Madras, reaching Madras by the 15th. That is the plan at present, and I hope it will be carried out.

I may make a detailed report of the tour either from Madras or from Bombay, on reaching there by the 22nd or so. If there are any instructions in the light of what has been done, I think the letter can normally reach me at Guntur or at Tenali. It takes too long a time for the letters to arrive. I wonder whether you have received both of mine.

I met the Dist. Supdt. of Police from this place. Sastry knows him well. We were just talking of some of the malpractices of Big Business. I told him of some of their ways I knew about, and he was very much interested in the information. He is very helpful to Sastry here and would like to do something more. He (Mr Underwood) said he could put me in touch with one Mr Harry Green-Field, who is on the Central Board of Revenue, and who is staying with Sir Jeremy Raisman, the Finance Member. In his opinion, if Mr Greenfield were told of these malpractices, and possibly of where exactly to lay their hand for detecting them, he would certainly do his best to move the Govt. machinery in the matter. I have suggested that he should write to Mr Greenfield if he could meet me, and let me know about it, so that I may, arrange to go to Delhi and see him. Now, properly speaking, I do not at all believe that the Govt. with its Intelligence Branch is ignorant of what I had been telling Mr Underwood, but I thought that probably it might give us a useful contact. I do not know whether you know the man already. But at any rate, I have asked Mr Underwood to write to him.

I have for some time been thinking of the work I have to do in Madras. I want some definite idea about it, and some guidance in that respect. I hope to learn something from you as also from Karnik, who I am sending a copy of this letter, either at Tenali, or at Madras.

I hope I shall be able to successfully manage with this tour from the health point of view. As for the other considerations, it is for you and the Central Office to decide. I am in a very

good state of health; and feel quite energetic and cheerful; and have high hopes that shall be the case till the end.

With best respects to Com. Ellen,

Yours Sincerely,

Parikh

26: G.L. Mehta's contacts with underground C.S.P. rebels – Involvement of Humayan Kabir

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 329-30

F. 28/Cong/42-A-III

September 4, 1943

(Copy of D.O. letter dated 4-9-43 from M.L. Bhattacharya, Central Intelligence Office, 9/1, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta, to J.W. Purdy, I.P., Spl. Supdt. of Police, I.B., C.I.D., Calcutta). Please refer to the statement of J.P. 346 dated 1-9-43 forwarded under your Memo No. CS 7015 (2) J.P. 346 Act dated 2-9-43 regarding Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali's present itinerary mentioned in para 1, and about one Desai referred to in para 2 of the statement.

This Desai strikes me as being almost certainly identical with S.J. Desai, Secretary to Gaganbehari Lal Mehta of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce. Desai's office is located at No. 102A Clive Street, Calcutta.

Gaganbehari Lal Mehta has been in close touch with Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali in Delhi and Bombay. In December last G.L. Mehta is reported to have met Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali at Bombay (Please see C.B. is dated 5-12-43) and brought from her the new AICC direction purporting to be the fresh line of action for the second phase of the Congress movement. The leaflet was entitled 'The freedom Struggle front'.

While G.L. Mehta was establishing contacts with the underground C.S.P. rebels, his Secretary S.J. Desai had been running the sufferers' relief Committee, which meant ostensibly to help political sufferers but had really been subsidizing Congress rebels in Bengal.

Another man named Y. Menon of the Indian Chamber of Commerce was also one of the bunch taking a keen interest in the C.S.P. section – the front rank rebels of the Congress movement.

The report of J.P. 346 is highly interesting and gives us a fresh avenue for a drive. The two paragraphs are closely inter-connected as we are already in the know of Humayun Kabir's role in the C.S.P. conspiracy.

I would therefore submit that instead of concentrating on the Kabirs alone, we had better spread the net a bit wide. Past experience have shown that bigger circles and houses of prominent men afford better and safer sanctuary for absconders.

27. Extracts from the book *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism* reprinted by Rammanohar Lohia

(Written in the end of 1943 – Published by Ram Manohar Lohia Smriti Vidyalyay Nyas – Hyderabad)

Economics After Marx

During the open Rebellion of 1942–43 against British rule, when Socialists were in prison or being hunted, and Communists waged their 'Peoples' War' in companionship with the foreign masters, the doctrine of Marxism appalled me with its wide range of contradictory applications. To recover its truth and demolish its untruth became my desire. Of four aspects planned, economics, politics, history, and philosophy, I was halfway through the economic when the police got me.

Since then this style of inquiry and expression has ceased to interest me. No man's thought should be made the centre of a political action; it should help but not control. Acceptance and rejection are varying forms of blind worship. I believe that it is silly to be a Gandhian or Marxist and it is equally so to be an anti-Gandhian or anti-Marxist. There are priceless treasures to learn from Gandhi as from Marx, but the learning can only be done when the frame of reference does not derive from an age or a person.

Researchers must still inquire into a man's thought, particularly if the man is Marx or Gandhi. The pages that follow are thoroughly incomplete, and no change has been made since they were written. But error is also a source of knowledge. I only hope that I have made some significant statements so as to titillate some man of greater talent and industry into inquiry. In any event, these pages, I hope, show the need of an economic thought different from any that exists today, that will turn the whole world into a gay unity of equal welfare.

Communism began as a programme of social justice. Its basis was the achieving of a classless society. Like other programmes of social justice, it was early faced with greed and ignorance and the sarcasm of those who denounce everything great as unpractical and impossible. It therefore elaborated a whole system of philosophy, history, and economy. The fact that its first philosopher was a German of the 19th century might have played a part. In any case the elaboration of an entire system of thought in furtherance of a concrete programme of human improvement is nothing new to history; Vedism, Buddhism, Christianity, Liberalism have gone through a similar phase. What was new in the elaboration of communism was its claim to being scientific, its assertion that it was not a moral law but a causal law. Communism, so claims its philosophy, is a necessary conclusion of the development of capitalism; the classless society must come. Around this claim has arisen a whole code of laws. This code formulated by Marx has produced such a powerful effect that communism and Marxism have become synonymous, that all socialists and communists are in various degrees influenced by it. A study of this system of laws should preferably begin in the realm of capitalist economy, to which it is nearest in scope and about which it is likely to have made the least errors. A summary of the principles and the laws of capitalist development as formulated by Marxism must first be made.

The principle of capitalist development lies in the fact that labour is a commodity like any other commodity. Capitalists buy labour in order that they may with its help produce other

commodities for sale. But labour, unlike other commodities, carries within itself two contradictory values. Every other commodity has a single consistent value, the time that is socially necessary to produce it. Labour has indeed this value, which is measured by such food and clothing and other requirements of the labourer as are effective in a given capitalist phase. The labourer works and is given his feed so that he may work again. What is given as his 'feed' in any particular period is his wages. This is one value of labour, its exchange value, the value of its reproduction, its wages. But labour has another value, its use-value to the capitalist who buys it. The capitalist pays for the labour power of the worker but receives in return all the goods produced by it. From among these goods, a part goes towards the wages of the worker, but another remains as the profit of the capitalist; the labourer's day is split up into two parts, one of which produces wages and another profits. Herein lies the source of all capitalist profits and not in other transactions, for labour is the sole create of value. In his drive for profits, the capitalist, indeed, tries to make use of machines and improve them in order that he may turn labour power to better account. Machines do not produce better profits; it is mechanized labour that does so. Clearly, therefore, the dynamic of capitalist development lies in the contradiction between the value and the use-value of labour, between wages and produce. This contradiction is the source of surplus value, which makes up the entire profits of the capitalist system. In the career of surplus value can be discerned a whole series of laws of capitalist production and development.

Capital leads to further accumulation of capital. Surplus value of capitalist profit is used for improved machinery and joint labour, which in their turn produce increased surplus value. This is the law of capitalist accumulation.

Under capitalism, however, production and circulation cannot keep pace with each other. More is produced than can be bought, because productivity of labour and profits continually increase while wages remain comparatively fixed. There is thus a lag between the production and the purchasing power of a population, which causes crisis in industry. This is the law of the periodic crisis of capitalism.

More capital is put into making heavy and intricate machinery, into building the means of production. This tides over the crisis for a while, for it does not immediately lead to increased production, but it lays the basis for a higher productivity in the near future. The organic composition of capital increases, the rate of profit falls, large-scale production increases, smaller capitalists are thrown out, and capitalism changes into monopoly capitalism. This is the law of concentration of capital or of large scale and monopoly production.

While capital accumulates and concentrates, large sections are turned into the workless, the reserves of industry, and the workers themselves become increasingly poorer. This is the law of pauperization and of accumulation of poverty.

At the same time, the working class is increasingly unified and becomes conscious of itself, by virtue of the fact that it works co-operatively and in large numbers in the big-scale monopolist industries. This is the law of socialization of labour.

Passing through these laws of development, the contradiction between the price of labour and its produce assumes sharp forms. It becomes the contradiction between capitalist appropriation and socialized production, between old relations and expanding forces, between monopoly capitalists and an angry, numerous, socialized working class. The class struggle enters its last phase, when the capitalist husk is burst asunder by the working class. This is known as the law of the class struggle, leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To these laws must be added yet another on the general crisis of capitalism, when there

are no longer any alternating periods of boom and depression in industry. In this period of general and continuing crisis, there are imperialist wars, general exhaustion of capitalism and the victory of the world working class. This is the law of the general crisis of capitalism leading to imperialist wars and the law of the World Revolution.³

In his well-known passage establishing how 'the expropriators are expropriated', Marx has in a broad sweep defined these 'imminent laws of capitalist production' as the 'centralization of capital-purposive application of science to the improvement of technique, means of production economised-by social labour, a progressive diminution in the number of the capitalist magnates and a corresponding increase in the mass of poverty, oppression, enslavement — a working class which grows ever more numerous, and is disciplined, unified, and organised by the very mechanism of the capitalist mode of production'. These Marxist laws of capitalist development do not merely possess an interest for the scholar. Although only a few care to read them except as catechisms and fewer still to understand them as a whole, socialists of all description, Marxists, neo-Marxists, anti-Marxists, base their thinking and action on one or the other of these laws, particularly on their source, the general history of the contradiction between the value and the use-value of labour-power.

A vast literature confirming or refuting these laws has arisen. It is largely a literature of barren controversy. We must approach these laws, not to confirm or to deny, but to understand the process of capitalist development.

Let us see how these laws have been unable to include or have gone against major facts of capitalist development. The first causality is the law of pauperization and of accumulating poverty. It would be useless to deny that, until well after 70 years of the formation of this law by Marx and 25 years after the first formations of the big concentrations of capital, the proletariat in capitalist countries was not only not pauperized, not growing poorer, but was steadily improving its conditions of living. In fact, German economists were able to assert that, in place of the proletarianization of the middle class and the pauperization of the large sections, which Marx had predicted, a steady bourgeoisification of the proletariat was taking place.⁴ British economists could point to the black-coated worker. Communists tried to deny these facts and formulas by the astrologer's wait-and-see. There was no such astrological hocus-pocus in Marx's formulations. Pauperization was a necessary consequence of capital accumulation; accumulating poverty was a necessary consequence of monopoly capital: why should 30 years or even 10 lapse before the necessary consequences appear? There must be a reason for it. In fact, sectional poverty and pauperization did appear in the capitalist countries 10 years after the end of 1914 war, but were again partly overcome. To say that capitalist governments overcame poverty by works programmes and war industries is to state a moral fact, but it is no answer to the 'immanent' ability of capitalism to preserve itself from pauperization. Socialist theory must be able to pick up these loose ends, find them a formula and reconcile with facts.

This weakness of Marxist theory in explaining the absence of poverty under capital accumulation has tended to blunt its understanding of what is otherwise a correct description of the industrial crisis in capitalism. Industry throughout the 19th century suffered from periodic crises, but quite as periodically got out of them. The main Marxist explanation for these crises, as also for their overcoming, lies in the internal structure of capitalism, the conflict between the improving means of production and the constant purchasing power.⁵ Is it not possible that on this basis capitalism, which is said now to have entered its general crisis, may endure in this state as it endured in its periodic crisis and may possibly, while dying out in one country, reappear in another?

As to the law of socialized production, it must be admitted that monopoly capital and large-scale enterprises have appeared. What has not taken place is the wiping out of the small capitalist. In fact, the number of small capitalists, either as shareholders in the large undertakings or as owner-managers on their own, has increased. In the same manner, although socialization of labour in the limited sense of thousands of workers working co-operatively in a single establishment has taken place, what has not taken place is their unification. Aside from the technical and managerial classes, the free professions, and the clerical classes, the workers themselves are cut up into a hierarchy of skilled workers, seasonally employed, and their differing wages have turned the predicted solidarity of the working class into a pitey-reality.⁶

The worst trick played by history on the Marxist laws of capitalist development lies in the fact that the Revolution took place not in Germany⁷ where it was expected, nor in any other developed country of western Europe, but in Russia. According to the 'immanent laws of capitalist development', the capitalist husk was to burst as under where it proved incompatible with the socialization of labour and the concentration of capital. How this law of the class struggle made an arbitrary leap still remains unexplained and undigested by Marxist theory. Trotsky's explanation that the capitalist chain snapped at its weakest link is indeed a graphic phrase, perhaps true, but an entire denial of the communist teaching on capitalism. Where is the capitalist chain to break? At its most developed link, says Marx; at its weakest link, says Trotsky; and, between these two with various other shades, communism will of course always be right. Lenin's explanation denies Marx as much as Trotsky does. Lenin explains the Russian Revolution by the active role of the Bolshevik Party. With a slight change, in that the Party is now called the Party of Lenin-Stalin, Marxists have memorized this explanation. How this final activity of the class struggle flew out of its iron laws nobody has cared to explain on any scientific basis. In fact this was not necessary, for Soviet Russia and the Third International soon enough turned their attention again to western Europe as the centre of the world revolution. The master's teaching proved greater than the big fact of the revolution. Marxists are apparently determined to prove, even at the cost of the world revolution itself, that humanity will reach its highest foreseeable development first in Europe.

Marxism is quite accurate in its findings on capital accumulation, correct from one angle on questions of industrial crisis, of monopoly and socialization of labour, but factually wrong in the spheres of accumulating poverty, causal class struggle, and the world revolution. Whence comes this conflict between its insight into production and the blind spots regarding circulation? Is it not as if poverty and pauperism did not arise or that the centres of class struggle and world revolution could not be located; it is also not that Marx and his disciples were unaware of the relevant facts; it is this that Marxism was not strong enough to digest these facts and weave them into its general theory on capitalism. Let us first get at the relevant facts.

Capitalism first arose in England during the second half of the eighteenth century. The pre-capitalist mashings of silver were due as much to the plunder of Spanish ships and Bengal revenues as to the throwing out of farmers from common lands in Britain herself. The first industry to employ machinery, which is the technical basis of capitalism, was textiles. Hardly had this Lancashire industry begun when it had to look out for a dynamic outside its own country, and found it in India. British textiles did not overcome Indian textiles in an economic way. When one of the British parliamentary commissions pointed out that 'the wares of Lancashire were bleached with the dry bones of the Indian weavers', it did not mean that the Indian artisans could not stand competition with the British manufacturers. Aside from whatever measures were adopted for direct attack upon Indian weavers, the East India Company and

its servants by taking the monopoly of internal trade into their own hands were able to dictate what goods should or should not flow into the normal trade channels.⁸ The victory of British textiles over Indian textiles was political; the dynamic that Lancashire industry, at its very start, got out of India was due to the British rule. Once again, as soon as the first heavy industry of rail-and-engine manufacture is set up in England around the middle of the nineteenth century, it has to get an immediate dynamic from India. It gets that not only by way of the large numbers of engines, rails, and other materials used in India but also by way of the capital investments in Indian railways which bear a guaranteed minimum interest.⁹ This dynamic of Indian railways has continued to act on British engineering industries, in fact, on all of British capitalism, in manifold ways. It hardly needs to be pointed out that the immense growth of commercial agriculture in India during the latter part of the nineteenth century and after, in the shape of jute, tea, cotton, oil-seeds, and the by-products of hides, pumped a much-needed impetus into British capitalism, sometimes by way of the German and Japanese capitalism. This commercialization of agriculture took place in the imperial-colonial level, on the level of pauper wages to landless labour, as in Asam, and poverty earnings to farmers, as in Bengal, U.P., and Bihar, except in the very limited cases of some cotton farmers. Once again when British capitalism was faced at the end of the 1914 war with what has come to be known as a general crisis, Indian railroads alone rushed to its rescue by ordering goods worth a billion rupees and more.¹⁰ This rapid survey of British capitalism has brought us to the conclusion that imperialism and capitalism are of joint origin and development. A similar development can be traced through the career of German capitalism, either by way of sharing in the Austrian, British, and French imperial expansion or on its own.¹¹

On the surface, American development will seem to have gone a different way. Actually, capitalist development in the United States has needed an identical imperial dynamic, has made use of the same elements as Britain. England used already populated countries like India for her capitalist development. These two elements, a population and a territory, were similarly made use of by American capitalism. The territory was new and contiguous, and the population was got from Europe. This territorial expansion took place over the larger part of the nineteenth century. To understand this one has only to look at the map of the United States as it stood at the beginning and as it got to be at the end of the nineteenth century. All the mid-western states, the Prairie States, the Border States, the Eastern States, a territory larger than India, were the result of the expansion.¹² The problem of man-power for these large territories was also solved in an imperial way. No less than 30 million European paupers¹³ came in to the United States during the century and settled in its factories or on its lands. Each fresh batch of immigrants stood, at least for a dozen generation, in an imperial-colonial relationship with the older inhabitants, until it got Americanized. That imperialism and capitalism have jointly developed in capitalist history is clearly established by the American case. The results of this joint development inside the frontiers of what is now a single country and a single nation are indeed fundamentally different from those of the British. How American capitalism overcame its twin is a brave story of the Jeffersons, Jacksons and Lincolns, but whether this was due to the new and robust American nationality or to the fullness of natural resources and a corresponding labour yield, and whether this may not yet lead to an imperial-colonial relationship on a world scale is not within our present scope. It need hardly be added that Japanese capitalism began as a system of industries rapidly built chiefly out of government revenues, and it could herefore wait for two decades or so before it too went the imperial way.

In face of this wide wealth of facts, how anyone could have suggested that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism is beyond comprehension.¹⁴ Imperialism not only appears at the first stage of capitalism but goes on developing with it. Capitalism seeks its external dynamic, one might say, even before it is born and insatiable in this search, it gobbles up one country after another. First Bengal and the Americas, then the whole of India and on to China and Egypt, thence to South America and Malaya and Java and Burma and the great continent of Africa; the limits of the world are reached. No single dynamic lasts capitalism for long; it is soon stabilized, and, with an almost magic resourcefulness it uses the old dynamic for the conquest of a new one, Bengal for United Provinces, India for China and Burma, and so forth. Not only does an old dynamic continue to give capitalism a part of the needed surplus for home-production; not only does it produce armies and war-chests; it also yields labour-power, for instance. Chinese and Indians in Malaya, Indians in East Africa, Fiji, and such far-off lands as Trinidad. If ever the world is able to look back upon capitalism and its playtime – the nineteenth century and after – without the heat of battle, it will contemplate with wonder this cruel and unscrupulous, but nevertheless, cleverest scoundrel of all history.

But now the limits of the world are reached. Capitalism's insatiable expansiveness has come up against a dead wall. How will it, or can it at all, solve this contradiction between its expansive needs and a limited world? But that is a question of its most recent development and its future, which we will take up at the proper place. Meanwhile let us look at another aspect of the career of capitalism through history which is sharply related to this contradiction. Once upon a time there was but one capitalism in the world, Britain's, for five decades or so of the 18th and 19th centuries. In its herrscher gait through the world it showed its superiority in war and its wealth in peace. It was also willing to help in the birth of cousins. Culture-capitalisms were born.¹⁵ By the first decade of our century there were four such major capitalisms besides Britain's: German, American, Japanese, and French. This growth of culture-capitalisms has further sharpened the conflict between capitalist expansiveness and the limited world. We are thus living in an age which has come to be known as the epoch of imperialist wars, and which with greater appropriateness can be called the epoch of capitalist wars. Can capitalism scotch the birth of new culture-cousins? Can it lay low some of its existing ones? Can the world instead of growing socialist, remain capitalistic by a process of stagnation or seesaw? These are some of the intriguing questions of future development. For the present, let us weave the results of our inquiry into a correct theory of capitalist development. We have found the fact of joint capitalist-imperialist development. We have found the fact of the growth of culture-capitalisms. We have finally found the fact of multiplying capitalisms within a territorially limited imperialism.

The question of whether capitalism is at all possible without imperialism may be briefly answered with the strict understanding that in history so far there has been no capitalism without imperialism and that, therefore, it clearly relates to the problematic future and asks for prophecy. Clearly, capitalism, depending upon an exclusive internal dynamic, theoretically impossible in a vast country with a vast population, will have to bear two burdens at the same time, the joint capitalist-imperialist burdens. Most likely it will crash under these burdens; most certainly it will cause impoverishment on a hitherto unknown scale.

Let us now reconstruct the theory of capitalist development. Marx's initial fallacy was to have examined capitalism in the abstract, to have wrenched it outside of its imperialist context. Marx was not unaware of imperialist exploitation and his disciple, Lenin, was even more keenly aware of it. But imperialism is with both Marx and Lenin a tumour of capitalism, an

odorous after-growth, and this has at best awakened an unintelligent concern for the colonial races. Marxism has therefore not been able to give a consistent theory of capitalist development. Its picture of capitalism is that of a West-European entity, with the later additions of the American and Japanese forms, more or less wrenched out of the world, more or less developing internally. All the dynamic of capitalism is placed within its internal structure in the contradiction between the value and the use-value of the labour-power, between the working class and the capitalist class of the self same structure. Marx's capitalism was that of a self-moving West European circle, no doubt causing great repercussions in the outside world, but the principles and laws of its own movement were exclusively internal. Marxism to this day remains stuck in this picture, no doubt formulating laws about these outside repercussions, but wholly unable to state the basic interacting principle of the two, internal and external, movements of capital. Socialism must forever shatter this unreal Marxist picture. In its place must arise a picture of two circles, one placed inside the other, the inner circle representing the free capitalist structures with their dynamic in the contradiction between capitalist profits and mechanized labour, the other circle representing the colonial economy of the rest of the world with its dynamic between imperial exploitation and colonial labour, the rim of the inner circle possessing an enormously porous capacity to suck into itself the dynamic of the outer. This is the only way in which we can join up the capital-labour dynamic with the empire-colony dynamic and arrive at a consistent understanding of the development of capitalism.¹⁶

The communist theory of capitalist development starts with the contradiction between the value and the use-value of labour and with the surplus thus generated. The career of this surplus value reveals the further laws of capitalist development. All this needs to be restated, in the light of our investigations, both as to labour's value and its use-value. Labour is not an abstract thing, although Marx made it so. In spite of their horror of idealistic concepts, communists have continued to treat labour as an ideal, abstract entity. Actually, labour under capitalism has shown two forms, which differ so widely from each other that lumping them in one category can never give us a proper understanding. Labour has been either imperial or colonial, and there have been vast divergences in their values. It is for these divergences that communism has had to evolve the concept of the socially effective requirements of labour. But its basic concept of the necessary requirements of labour¹⁷ has stood in the way and prevented a richer understanding of the newer and correct concept. There are no necessary requirements of labour; at least, they have no economic relevance except in periods of famine. Human labour has shown a remarkable tenacity to live and work, and its requirements have varied from the minimum of 2 annas a day for colonial labour to that of Rs 4 a day for imperial labour. This shows that requirements of labour are dictated, not by nature or physique, but by history.

Historical development has dictated that a colonial labourer shall keep himself upon the brink of starvation and work, while nature has shown its marvellous elasticity in how very little is needed to keep a man alive and enable him to turn up for work day after day. We thus find that there are two distinct values or wages of labour, those effective in the imperial countries and those effective in the colonies. This distinction between imperial labour and colonial labour and their respective wages is of the utmost importance for a proper understanding of the source of surplus value. Likewise, the concept of the use value, the produce, of labour remains abstract and meaningless unless it is understood in the context of joint capitalist imperialist development. In the current product of labour in West European factories appears the saved labour of many generations of colonials. Economists, including communists,

are wrong in crediting this entire product to imperial labour and in using pompous phrases about the higher productivity of labour in Europe as compared to Asia or Africa. Labour, on the whole, uses the same muscle-power and skill every where, and what appears as the higher produce of imperial labour is directly due to the many generations of imperial-colonial division of labour in the world. One might almost say that the ghosts of hundreds of millions of colonial toilers are invisibly moving the machines in imperial factories. The highly elaborate machinery and its continuing improvement in capitalist countries are due, in large part, to the surplus value created in colonial firms and mines. The continuing use of the productive capacity of these factories is also due, in large part, to the vast masses of colonial toilers who buy their produce. In this welter of a current production that carries with it many entangled skeins of history and of two distinctive values of labour, the old formula that capitalist development has proceeded with the contradiction between labour's wages and its produce has become meaningless.

If capitalism has extracted surplus value from its home labourers by paying them less than what they produce, upon this extraction has continually acted the far greater surplus value derived from colonial toilers. Do the immensely rich persons and the vast middle classes of England and Germany receive surplus value from home-labour or from colonial labour, and in what ratios? Does imperial labour itself, at least some of its better-paid ranks, receive a large measure of surplus value extracted from colonial labour? There seems to be only one way to get out of this labyrinth. We must forever abandon the habit of examining a country's economic structure as a self-moving entity; we must therefore abandon the Marxist understanding of capitalism as a self-moving West-European entity. Capitalism from its origin to its most recent development has moved mainly on the imperial dynamic. So that we may evolve a formula which may grasp at the same time the internal and external dynamics of capitalism, we have to give up the idea of an isolated produce of labour within a single economic structure and replace it instead with the concept of the world's total production averagely distributed over its working population. Thus, the contradiction is not between labour's requirements of labour and the average production of the world for each worker. Surplus value cannot be calculated, nor understood, on the communist basis of the difference between labour's requirements and its produce. Surplus value, wherever it appears and to the extent that it does so, is the difference between the actual earnings of labour and the per worker world production of the time. It is in the career of this surplus value that the laws of capitalist development can be discerned.

Surplus value, which makes up the entire profits and high earnings of the capitalist systems, is derived mainly from colonial farms, fields, and mines. The inner imperial circle of the capitalist structure revolves in a way as to draw with great suction the labour yield of the outer colonial circle. One can quite graphically describe the movements in colonial economy through the past two centuries to now. Four distinct rings inside this circle are discernible. The outermost, and now perhaps the broadest, band is composed of landless labour in agriculture, and the suction here has been the strongest. The second, almost equally broad, band of the peasantry, factory worker, and such lower middle class as the small trader and the primary school teacher has been sucked at just a slightly less intensive rate. Then comes the rather thin ring of the middle classes which alternates between sucking and being sucked. Last comes the almost invisible streak of monopoly capitalists which appears at a late stage and acquires completely the capitalist quality of seizing the labour-yield of others. This outer colonial circle with its four rings moves as an adjunct of the inner capitalist circle to which it is attached in political and economic slavery. The suction does not abate, and through out, but more particularly at the

point when exhaustion is reached, the outer most bands of landless labour and small peasantry are piled up with the dried bones of starvation and famine. The colonial economies become one vast village to the capitalist economies. The town-village relationships of exploitation inside a country are as nothing compared to this deciding town village relationship in which three-fourths of mankind is transformed into a village for the benefit of the rest.

With this instrument of an inter woven inner and outer dynamic, we are in a position to understand the other appearances of capitalist development. In particular, the high capitalization of West-European industry is made intelligible. This industry has not only continually got the larger part of its capital from overseas profits, but it has continually found overseas outlets for its produce in goods as well as its capital accumulations. Thanks to the fact that corresponding industries could not be established in the major part of the world. West-European industry could capitalize itself so highly, could become unmistakably monopolistic. The West-European population could never have borne the burden of this heavy capitalization, could neither have created it nor carried it through, not even if they could have distributed their produce on a communist basis.

Just as this heavy capitalization is the outcome largely of overseas dynamic, the overcoming of periodic crises is to be traced to the same source. To say that industrial crises are caused by the lag between a people's production and their purchasing power or that they are overcome by inventions and heavier capitalization is to state some half-truths and outward appearances. Industrial crises, in addition to partially resulting from the capitalist distribution of internal incomes, have more largely been due to the time-lag between the exhaustion of an old imperial dynamic and the discovery of a new one. An old technique of producing goods with a given overseas area for imperialist exploitation tends to produce crisis, until a new overseas area is conquered to enable the use of a new invention.¹⁸ Thus was it possible for capitalism to survive in first crisis and its later periodic crises, for internal purchasing power could in no event have sufficed for its produce. Thus is it that with the complete conquest of the world and the impossibility of a new imperial dynamic, capitalism has entered the phase of general crisis. It is wholly unable to get out of this phase. Whether it will as a result break as under or stabilize itself at low levels of wealth will be considered later.

Capitalist crises are often sought to be understood in terms of the rise or fall in the rate of interest. As an outward appearance, it is incontestable that crisis is a period of very low out-turns on capital, that is, almost negligible rates of interest, while boom is a period of high out-turns. It is also true that, after a period of abnormally low out-turns, a new invention for the production of goods used to bring a higher yield on capital. A new composition of capital and labour took place. But this is merely touching the surface of the problem of crises, or even of the rate of interest. Going deeper, we are offered such explanations as that new inventions caused a fall in the costs of production and the price of goods, and with the increase in population, this gave higher profits to capitalists and thus restored equilibrium. This is yet not a full explanation. Each boom-making utilization of new inventions and the consequent fall in the costs of production were possible only with the fresh markets of large overseas populations for trade as well as investments. It was this situation that restored capitalist equilibrium and profits, and the new restorations tended to be on lower levels of interest. With the possibility of such new restorations now blocked, capital is faced with the problem of a zero or a minus rate of interest. Capital is faced with its own extinction. This is the problem of the general crisis of capitalism.

While capitalism has progressed through periodic crises in its home lands, it has brought

devastating paupery and increasing poverty to the colonies. Landless and starving labour in agriculture has claimed an increasingly higher percentage in the total population. Because of their basic misunderstanding of the dynamic of capitalism, Marxists have looked for increasing impoverishment among imperial labour, whereas they should have looked for it in colonial labour. The history of capitalist development is the history of the increasing poverty of colonial masses and their reduction into starving and landless labour.¹⁹

The worst sufferers under capitalism are the colonial masses. Presuming the validity of the Communist law of class struggle, there is obvious need to change its basis. Not the working class in capitalist countries, but the colonial masses are the principal grave-diggers of capitalism. Imperial labour can at best be an ally of colonial toilers in the destruction of capitalism.²⁰ The class of colonial toilers pours its life-blood into the capitalist system from its birth, carries it along through its various phases, and is itself steadily impoverished until it reaches a stage when its own extinction spells the decay of capitalism, while its purposeful rise into manhood ushers in a new world. Whether the class of colonial toilers will do its work well or ill, whether it will allow itself to stay in decay or rise into manhood, will be discussed under the most recent development of capitalism. Sufficient here to say that the future of capitalism depends not so much on the behaviour of labour in capitalist countries as on the behaviour of colonial masses. The student of the capitalist future will have his eyes pre-eminently on the political action of colonial toilers.

The Russian revolution fits in very well with this theory of the class-struggle. As a country which by no means formed part of the inner capitalist circle of world economy, but was being gradually brought into the outer colonial circle of the West Europeans, its semi-colonial toilers were yet powerful enough to overthrow the foreign and native systems that spelled their servitude. The capitalist chain snapped where the colonial masses supplied their strongest link. Those desirous of seeing the capitalist chain break again will do well to look for the now strongest link in the class of colonial toilers. Such a breaking may perhaps usher in a real new world, as the snapping link is now no longer semicolonial but wholly colonial, and vitally necessary to capitalist continuance.

Before we go on to consider the most recent development of capitalism, let us ask ourselves how Marx could have made an inadequate use of his own instrument, and have considered capitalism in its West-European isolation. One is tempted to answer in the Marxian way that, as a limb of European economy, Marx could not see beyond the interests of the European working class. As a philanthropist, he vaguely wanted the whole world to prosper, but the centre of his world with its deciding movements for economic and spiritual welfare was placed in West Europe. This view is further confirmed by the attitude of Marx's critics. They have attacked Marx's theory of capitalist development from various angles such as marginal utility or preference scales and costs of production, but none of them, even as an argument, has pointed out the error of Marx in looking upon imperial labour as the sole creator of value in capitalist factories. Capitalists and communists alike of West-Europe have maintained a singular silence over this division of labour into imperial and colonial and the great consequences of this division to capitalist development through its various phases. One would be tempted to call this conspiracy of thought a reflection of economic interests, but that Asiatic socialists have also been party to it only proves that thinking has perhaps its own laws and its lapses need not always be put down to economic self-interest or the working of class forces.

The recent development of capitalism can be appropriately studied by analyzing West-European economy after the first decade of our century. Apart from the fact that West-Europe

until recently decided the destiny of more than half of the human race and was consequently the main determinant in the affairs of capitalism, it has during this period had the strength to involve the whole world in two major wars. In the study of the West-European economy we will be concerned with economic facts, as the thoughts and motives of men, except in so far as they are of economic consequence, will be studied in another connection.

The main source of West-European economic movement in this period has lain in the extremely heavy capitalization of industry and in the fact of multiplying capitalism within a territorially blocked imperialism. The capitalization of West-European industry had, until the first decade of our century, proceeded on the basis of ever-available large chunks of colonial masses and their territories; it needed an expanding world on which to operate. The source of such an expansion is now completely blocked. There are no more new worlds whose colonial masses can act as a dynamic to West-European capitalization. On the contrary, a kind of diminishing returns has begun to operate in the available spheres because of the increasing poverty of colonial masses as well as their obstruction and opposition. All this has produced a chronic condition in West-European capitalization: not only has industry reached the summit of its capacity, and can no longer expand, but it cannot make use of whatever capacity it has already reached. The use of productive capacity fell in the five years of the 1929 depression to nearly three-fourths, and in certain industries it was as low as 50 per cent. Even in the five years immediately preceding the 1939 war, Britain and France could not make full use of their productive capacities. This downward trend in the use of productive capacity was accompanied by downward trends in world trade and employment.²¹ West-European capitalism has thus been faced by three kinds of insecurities to its existence: insecurity due to colonial poverty and obstruction; insecurity of internal disorders; and insecurity as a result of competition within its own ranks and from extra-European lands. Due perhaps to doom that will not release it from its coils, West Europe has been wholly unable to meet, except in a hand-to-mouth fashion, the insecurity of colonial poverty and obstruction that most threatens its existence. Out of fear and a kind of obsessed thinking, its conscious talk has been largely influenced by the internal conflict between capital and labour. In actual practice, however, and so far as vital consequences are concerned, the insecurity that has moved West-European capitalism in its entire being is the competition within its own ranks. Twice in the course of a generation it has sought to master this insecurity by wanting to reduce its members in war. The downward trend in productive capacity, world trade, and employment has been followed by the upward trend in arms industries and war.

Back of the two wars in this period, in so far as economic issues are involved, is the clash of productive capacities, the fact that the productive capacity of one capitalist structure cannot be fully used until that of another is laid low. This clash is overlaid by a number of cultural issues, and men might for all kinds of reasons ranging from narrow interests to democratic welfare, and even whole nations, get dragged into war as a measure of national freedom. All these reasons are perhaps important in the very long run; some are even economically important, and we will presently consider them in their bearing on West Europe. But both as to economic origin and consequences, the wars of this period are predominantly wars of productive capacities. The biggest economic dissimilarity in the two wars lies in the fact that the 1914 world war was almost wholly of West-European origin and making, while the 1939 war is only slightly more of a West-European character than it is of a Pacific setup. Whatever else this might denote, it unmistakably shows that the spheres of economic vitality and arising disorders are shifting and that, comparatively speaking, West Europe is stepping back in history.

This stepping back is not occasioned by the destruction caused in the two wars. The direct destruction caused to a powerful country by war is seldom such that it cannot be made good by replacements. Rarely do the killings, however large they may be, out number the births, so that a war produces little effect on the numerical strength of West-European populations except with regard to the ratios between the age-groups. In like manner, the West-European productive capacity, whatever be the extent of destruction by land, sea, and air, is continually renewed and even expanded in the midst of war, so that the end of a war finds a West-European power at a slightly higher productive level in certain directions than at the beginning. It is possible that the 1939 war, before it has ended, will have caused vast destruction, even so, unless they fight it out to the last factories, the productive capacity of West-European capitalism will not have been appreciably reduced. Not war destruction but post-war incapacities reduce a people's strength. The morale of the peoples, however, is quite another question. There is no saying when a people might fade out of history as result of repeated wars; the German example of a beaten people coming back soon to warlike vitality makes such calculations extremely hazardous. It might be said with caution that repeated and long wars may at some stage turn a people from the zest of this life to the bliss of the hereafter. Nevertheless it is safe to treat the factor of people's morale as an unknown variable.

West Europe is stepping back in history as a result not of the destruction but of the shifts caused by war. The necessities of war cause such as disturbance in the ratios of productive capacities, and their use, of the world's Great Powers that continents and hemispheres gain and lose at each other's expense. The end of the 1939 war will probably have achieved a greater disturbance than the 1914 war did.²² Impelled by the urge to eliminate the insecurity of each other's competition. West-European capitalism achieve through their wars of far greater measure of insecurity. The increasing insecurities of colonial poverty and obstruction, of competition from extra-European capitalism, and perhaps also of internal disorders are causing West-European capitalism through their various wars to step back in the affairs of man.

The West-European populations have lost their former rate of increase. Some are constant, while others have a very slow increase, and all are showing unmistakable tendencies towards great reduction by the end of the century. A reduction in population, however, does not necessarily imply a reduction in its capacity to dominate over colonial economies or to wage war. What a population may lose in numbers, it may gain in the technique. Actually, however, it is not so, in view of the fact that the technique of extra European free economies is quite as advanced, if not more, and, further more, cultural and scientific stagnation does under capitalist conditions seem to go with a constant or declining population. The exact connection between cultural stagnation and a declining population is difficult to determine, except in so far as capitalism, because of a falling birth rate, is denied by very vital internal dynamic, which, in a variety of ways, also causes it to lose its control over external dynamics.²³

West-European inventiveness is also on the decline. With the rapidly increasing imports of electrical engineering and the internal combustion engine. West Europe is slipping back from the unquestioned leadership in applied sciences which it held in the age of steam and steel. The German effort at substitute and synthetic industries is indeed a brave attempt at recovering by technique what is not naturally available; it is valuable for a closed economy but can hardly determine the world's economic career. It is more in the nature of a heroic effort to delay as far as possible West Europe's appointment with destiny.²⁴

Colonial poverty and obstruction, more than any other factors, are forcing a contracting rigidity into the West-European economy. From Peking to Kahira and beyond, over Calcutta

and Bombay, nationalism, at least with regard to consumption goods, is becoming the dominant spring of action. Except for some small and semi-fashionable sections of city-dwellers, the colonial masses show greater interest in where their goods are made than in questions of quality and price. Such an attitude is likely to grow and ramify with the passage of time, and its effect on the West-European economy can already be seen in the uplifting depression that has set upon Lancashire and Lyons. At the same time, colonial obstruction has been unable to produce any appreciable effect on West-European investments and production goods industries. With the exception of Mexico, where the British-owned Eagle Oil Company was confiscated, such attempts made elsewhere in this period, as for instance in Iran, have come to naught. Nor have any industries for the making of machines and machines-tools been set up in the colonies that may reduce the use of West-European capacity in production goods. While colonial obstruction, therefore, has great effect on West-European industries of consumers' goods, it has little appreciable effect on producers' goods industries.²⁵

Much more than their deliberate obstruction, the increasing poverty of colonial masses is causing rigidity and contraction in the West-European economy. Through successive repetition of the town-village relationship, over decades in some areas and over a century and more in certain others, colonial masses are no longer able to act as adequate life-givers to capitalist economies. They may yet delay West Europe's final stepping back in world affairs by their replacements of requirements for railways, public works, and consumers goods industries, but these requirements are showing a tendency to contract. Unless, prevailing economic trends are reversed, and that does not seem very likely, the increasing poverty of colonial masses will be the greatest single factor towards the undoing of the West-European economy.

Continental shifts in the use of productive capacity, tendencies to declining population and to loss inventive vigour, and colonial poverty and obstruction are relegating the West-European economy to a back-seat in the affairs of men.

Let us now see if the purposive activity of West-Europeans is such as may stem their relegation to a back seat. We will be concerned here with that aspect of purposive activity which produces tangible economic results; questions relating to motives, secondary aims, moral worth, errors, and of what ought to be done will be discussed when we take up the general problem of history.

The purposive activity of West-Europeans with regard to their greatest insecurity has tended, with the increase in colonial poverty and obstruction, to be more political than economic. This tendency is likely to grow, not so much because colonial obstruction will become increasingly active, but more so because the problems of colonial poverty are too baffling to admit of an economic solution by West-Europeans. Events no longer wait upon capitalist activity in the colonies, and it has very often to go counter to them, so that it is almost always left behind. West-European capitalisms are frightened of the development of cousin-capitalisms in the colonies, and they have even less vigour to work out a new system of technics that may bring wealth to the colonial masses and impetus to their own economies. Retention, not development, has become the colonial key action of West-Europeans. With each repetition of the town village relationship, the retainable volume will lessen, and West-European capitalisms will shrink with the shrinking of colonial economies.²⁶

West-European political activity in the colonies is simple. If colonial poverty is an insoluble problem, colonial obstruction is not quite that. By virtue of their political power, West-Europeans have to date been able to prevent a sudden cessation of the colonial dynamic through the revolutionary action of the colonial masses. They have also tried to appease

colonial obstruction to the extent that is possible without danger to their own economies. When, therefore, West-European political activity, in the colonies is not based on repression, it is informed by the tactics of investigating commissions, inquiry committees, reports, and piecemeal reforms. This is not only when conservatives are in office, but also when popular front governments, such as those in France and Spain to which Socialists and Marxian Communists were party, held office. Nor is this condition likely to change. The liberal conscience of West Europe, whatever its moral worth, is too uninformed economically to be able to direct the future of capitalism. Its solution to let the colonies develop themselves in freedom and to depend on their goodwill for such dynamic as they may choose to give has never been worked out in its economic details, and even if it were, there is no guarantee that it would prove acceptable to West-European governments.²⁷ Unless, therefore, some severe stress occurs as a result either of successful colonial obstruction or of great continental shifts in the ratios of productive capacity, West-European political activity in the colonies will continue to be based on the policy of retention. In the midst of shrinking economies, the political policy to retain whatever is possible can only mean the attempt to stabilize the colonial masses into the lowest caste of capitalism, much in the same manner in which Hindus of a disreputable period stabilized one of their own limbs into the caste of untouchables.

With regard to the insecurity presented by the clash of productive capacities, West-European purposive activity has been able to evolve nothing beyond international understandings on technical processes and certain quotas of production and trade. Such understandings, open or secret, are arrived at among the capitalists of deciding nations, and they have operated in spheres like oil, chemicals, and sugar. While they last, they are helpful in removing various sources of friction among different capitalisms but they are wholly unable to prevent war. As, however, West-Europeans have no economic remedy other than this against war, these international understandings, when they are set up once again, are likely to cover extensive spheres such as foreign exchange and currency. They will undoubtedly help in delaying another outbreak of open hostilities among nations, not only because of the wide tie-up they will introduce among important national economies but more so because of lessened competition due to the post-war destruction of a few substantial economies. Nevertheless, these understandings can hardly prove enduring, as they will be strained, on the one hand, by the diminishing yield of colonial dynamic and, on the other, by the pressure of continental shifts on their stable systems of quotas of production and foreign trade. They can delay war, but they cannot prevent it. It is even possible that the war that comes after the operation of these very loose international agreements on production, currency, and trade may be genuinely deadly. Nevertheless, world capitalisms must pursue this policy of international understandings, for they have no other economic preventive against war.

The U.S. and Hindustan are graduating themselves into the two polarities of the rest of our world. If the U.S. has become the leader of the capitalist system, what happens there might yet deflect the sequel being worked out in West-Europe; so has Hindustan become the chief arena for the shaping of an alternative economy.²⁸

The U.S. productive capacity is higher than that of the three West-European lands, Germany, France, and Britain, put together. Its productive capacity in mining and manufacturing, and that is what matters in the international relationships of world economy, is higher than that of the whole of Europe. But with this economic expansion the U.S. has fully exhausted its internal dynamic and used up such a dynamic as it could get from the other countries of the American hemisphere. There is now little question of further expansion; the U.S. is faced with the

problem of preventing a setback into lower levels of production.²⁰ But the world is limited and imperialism is territorially blocked.

Increasing poverty in the colonies is causing a contraction in such capitalist economies as have so far been using them up. The leader of all capitalist economies will thus have to discover fairly soon whether it can enlarge an external dynamic in the process of using it to its own advantage. Is it at all possible to shunt world trade from its empire-colony rails to a new road which leads to expansion in the production equipment and consumption of all trading countries? The U.S. economy will have to tackle this question, not for the good of the world, not for the good of the colonies, but for its own survival and for full use of its own productive capacity. If there is no answer to this question, U.S. capitalism must suffer the same tendencies to relegation and to transformation of class into caste which we detected in West-European capitalisms. We have therefore to find if there is any additional strength in U.S. capitalism which marks it off from its West-European cousins. Before we do so, let us broadly go over the entire scope of dangers to which we have found the world economy to be subject.

The severest danger to the world economy consists in the productive equipment of two-thirds of the human race. Denied the advantages of science and improving technics this equipment has been knuckling under the weight of foreign capitalisms, and labour done with its help is getting increasingly barren of yield. Five thousand crores of labour-hours under this equipment are of equal money-yield to 250 crore labour-hours in free capitalist economies. This great unbalance in the productive equipment of the human race goes with the equally great unbalance in its political and armed power. There are three major aspects of this unbalance. One aspect is whether the world's productive equipment at all its geographical points could be brought to the efficiency of yield that has been attained at any favoured point. If that were not possible, could the productive equipment of the retarded nations alternatively be so remodelled as to give an average per-worker yield of the world's production? These two aspects, however, relate essentially to the creative activity of the retarded peoples themselves, and the existing capitalisms can have nothing to do with them except in so far as to support the activity when necessary. But there is a third aspect with which the continuance of the existing capitalisms is bound up. This is the aspect of the decreasing yield of colonial labour-hours in a world where no new colonies can be annexed and those that have been are jockeying to get into their own. This decreasing yield of the retarded peoples is depressing the highly mechanized industries of the free economies. Time there was when this mechanization proceeded triumphantly with each new annexation, but the reverse process, going on all the time, has now become irresistible; larger and larger masses of men are getting thrown on the rubble of the outer most rings of the colonial circle. These men just do not exist either as market for foreign manufactures or as field of investment for foreign capital. To raise their consumption has always been a moral and a human need; it has now become an economic need of the free capitalist economies. This can only be done by improving the productive equipment of the retarded peoples and by so reshaping their internal distribution that larger masses may get a share at least of the increased production. We have found the West-European capitalisms wholly unable to face this issue of the productive and distributive equipment of the retarded peoples, and Japanese capitalism has also no solution except the short expedient of cheap-selling goods. The closed Russian economy is not yet concerned in an economic way with this world issue. It will now be our task to find out how far, if at all, the leading capitalism of the U.S.A. may give a new twist to this paramount issue of world economy and

in what manner the retarded peoples themselves, as mirrored in Hindustan, may attempt to refashion their productive and distributive equipment.

Second only to this danger of retarded equipment in two-thirds of the world is the danger of prevailing technics. Heavy and large-unit technics have been the mode of a world in which application of science to industry is the exclusive privilege of a few powerful nations. These same technics cannot be spread throughout the world without being in some measure an act of simple displacement. If Hindustan and China are to build shipyards and make turbines and textile machinery of their own, they will no doubt add to their own wealth and in the process may add somewhat to the wealth of the world, but will also take away considerably from the productivity of the Japanese and British capitalisms that have so far supplied these needs for them. This however, is a question which we may set down as insoluble in any foreseeable human future; no free nation would ever reduce its own wealth in order that another's might not be reduced nor would all the nations of the world agree to share equally in the fruits of human toil. Simple displacement in the application of prevailing technics to economy, and with its displacements in the wealth of nations are therefore bound to occur.

The more serious aspect of the danger of prevailing technics lies elsewhere. It consists in the unequal application of science and mass production to man's various demands. If it were possible to produce unlimited quantities of all types of goods, this danger would not exist. But that is impossible in any economy of any age or type. Even for such first demands as bread and milk, man has not yet found the means for their free municipal supply. Perhaps in a very intelligently managed economy under social ownership he may make of bread and milk free supplies like water, although in fixed equal quotas, but that too will take a very long time to come. The economy as a whole, whatever the ownership and management, must remain an economy of scarcity and price, unless a benevolent God gives us again a *Kamadhenu* or places us back in Adam's paradise. We cannot escape the price mechanism. In capitalist economies this price mechanism coupled with the needs of war has made for a block-use of science, not an all round use. Science and mass production explore in any period a special bit of the territory of men's demands, this particular demand becomes most profitable to supply, and productive capacity in this sphere is pushed into great expansion. This is the basis of heavy mechanism, large-unit technics and mass production. The Soviet economy of Russia has indeed eliminated the profit motive, but has taken over the technical basis of capitalism, its block-use of science, its lop-sided large-unit technics. The problem of technics is therefore independent of the form of ownership in an economy and must be tackled separately. Otherwise it may make for specific industries, expanding and depressed by turn, for obstruction in changing over to better processes and materials, for foreign exploitation, for chimerical expansion for concentrated destruction in time of war, and, above all, for hopeless maldistribution of social understanding and intelligence and for an unequal distribution of wealth. An economy with large-unit technics and block-use of science cannot achieve balance.

This problem of technics is not to be confused with the demand to return to a simple life with few wants. Nor is it to be taken as an advocacy of simple spatial decentralization, now becoming quite a fashionable idea, in which all that is done is to break up prevailing technics into their several processes and to specialize these in different factories over different areas. It is as little to be taken for a denial of the machine or of mechanical and electrical power; it is not an advocacy of handicrafts. All these aspects are diversionary off shoots of the current problems of technics; the basic problem is not to cut down the use of mechanical or electrical power but to make it available for production in the same small units in the manner it is

today available for consumption in prosperous economies as light, ventilation, or heating. This may increase the total wattage and horsepower in use; most certainly it would do so among the retarded peoples. This power would be a kind of maid-of-all-work, and there would be corresponding small-unit machines to process, not one bit of an article, but to produce the whole article. This will require almost a new beginning in science, a kind of flexible small-unit technics. It cannot be achieved at once, nor does it today seem at all possible in spheres such as those of turbine and automobile manufacture. But an economy must steadily aim to realize flexible technics wherever possible. Only so can an economy hope to achieve real and undepressing expansion and an equal hope to distribution of wealth and social understanding. Only so can an economy acquire balance, in which man's various demands are orchestrated in a harmony of all round application of science. So may perhaps culture and economy become joint partners in an enterprise of all-round and unhurried development in place of the order where culture is subject to an economy of piecemeal but fevered expansion. We have found privileged and imperialist West Europe burdened too much with its own past of heavy mechanization to take up flexible technics and Soviet Russia does not seem inclined to experiment with any new patterns of science. It will be our task now to find out if the U.S. has any contribution to make in this direction: more particularly, if the retarded peoples can summon up enough understanding and courage to show a new way of technics.

The third danger to world economy consists in private ownership and the corresponding forms of distribution. Critics of capitalism have fixed this danger in such well-known phrases as 'the clash between forces of production and relations of production' or 'the lag between production and purchasing power' or consumption. Even those who reject the theoretical scaffolding of these phrases, namely, the labour theory of value and the theory of surplus value, continue to talk of the main malady of capitalism as the clash between expansive production and contractive consumption. Actually, however, there is no reason why there should be contracting consumption even in a society where a considerable part of the annual wealth is usurped by the small class of capitalists and landowners. Such differentiation of consumption will take place that luxury goods play an unduly large part in the economy. The purchasing power of wage-earners and little men is restricted; not so of the owners, so that there will be a greater consumption of luxury goods and no necessary lag between production and consumption. It is, of course, possible that not all the earnings of capital are consumed and a large part of these are saved. These savings may be larger than what is possible to invest in further production. In such a case there will be a falling-off in consumption. But, then, this will be under-investment or the inability of production to expand. Actually, this is how the apologists of capitalism, with the reason or unreason of its traditional critics, are styling trade cycles and slumps. They maintain that during periods when an old demand exhausts itself a scientific impulse runs out and no major inventions, take place; production cannot absorb savings. In other words, the forces of production are weakened. What thus started as the theory of low purchasing power and contracting consumption in the hands of the traditional critics of capitalism has now made its full circle as the theory of under-investment and weakened forces of production in the hands of its upholders. This is the fate of all theories which contain a partial truth. For a time they appear so true and brilliant, and then they are shown to be excessively wide-generalizations.

We know the origin of these errors and how wrong it is to think of production, consumption, and savings in abstract or as entities of an isolated capitalized economy. We have found them to be highly complex categories of a duality consisting of an inner capitalist circle and an

outer colonial circle. The basis of capitalist development has lain in the clash between the expanding equipment of the free economies and the contracting equipment of the annexed economies, between imperial production and colonial production.³⁰ As such, the dangerous consequences of capitalist ownership cannot be fixed in such abstract phrases as the clash between forces of production and forms of distribution. These dangers have to be viewed separately. The most important among these is the level of consumption among two, thirds of the human race. It is a consequence of the productive and distributive equipment of the retarded peoples, which is itself a consequence of capitalist rule over the world. We may merely note it here as one, the fact of colonial starvation, and two, the fact of blocked and falling consumption of quality goods of foreign manufacture.

When we confine our study to the distributive mechanism within the inner capitalist circle, most recent development discloses an increasing emphasis on luxury consumption in contrast to the consumption of necessities. In the measure that capitalist economies are unable to expand or even to make full use of their available productive capacity, there take place unemployment, seasonal employment, and price fluctuation that affect the wage-earners adversely. All this leads to under-consumption, both in quantity and quality, of the necessities of food, clothing, and housing; around-the-poverty-line consumption in the case of nearly 20 per cent of the West-European population. It is hardly likely that, so long as the profit structure and the world relationships of empire-colony production remain intact, any schemes of minimum wage and social security may offer an enduring solution of this vexing question. There is also a certain amount of voluntary foregoing of necessities in favour of fashion or entertainment, as in the case of the West-European girl who would deny herself a meal a day for a whole week so that she could get her dress laundered for the next ball. One can depend on capitalist civilization to keep up such expenditure. Essentially, however, the enormous earnings of capital in the highly-capitalized economies must partly spend themselves in luxury, as this is encouraged by lack of new fields of investment and by tax policies, and also because in its absence there would be a further fall in production and slumps would grow more acute. The structure of over-capitalized profits in the context of contracting economies turns luxury-expenditure almost into a kind of national virtue. There are, of course, various grades of luxury-expenditure, as of the low expenditure on necessities, but we may broadly describe this dangerous feature of capitalist distribution as the under-consumption of necessities and the growth of luxury-consumption.

But the distributive dangers of late capitalism go deeper than increased expenditure on luxury and blocked expenditure on necessities. The enormous earnings of late capitalism cannot be wholly reinvested or spent, and the larger part of these must perforce remain idle. It must be remembered that these earnings are the genii of a system by which the three West-European, U.S., and Japanese capitalisms meet almost wholly the world's demand in machine-tools, machines, transport, and power engines, and in a considerable range of manufactures. There is thus a concentric force that pushes the world's capitalist profits into these centres. But there is now no pushing back of these as profit-yielding new investments or manufactures. We are already familiar with the main argument of this increasing exhaustion of the external dynamic, and we will yet have to straighten out some tangles; we will here confine ourselves to that aspect of the external dynamic which does not permit the reinvestment of its profits. Let us take one by one the fields of investment in the retarded economies. It would be a highly dangerous undertaking to equip retarded economies with the industry of machine-tools, for, whatever the initial investment. Western capitalisms may thereby choke

the way to their own sales of machines and engines. Except under irresistible competitive and political pressure from a stronger cousin, no capitalism can ever want to sell machine-tools where it can sell their products, locomotives, textile-machines, turbines, printing-presses, autos, dynamos, and so forth. It would be the turning of an annual demand into a twenty-yearly demand, if even that.³¹ Likewise, imperial capital, except of the U.S., has got so mixed up with the sale of manufactures to retarded economies that it would seriously depress itself if it chose to sell machines instead or invest in them: this danger has got fixed into the well-known phrase of the clash between Birmingham and Lancashire. Only such machines have been installed in the retarded countries as followed a long and bitter fight or as were not competitive with manufactures. Imperial capital would have preferred to sell electricity rather than turbines, if it could somehow, on cables or in any other way, ship the current with profit; it prefers to sell continually the electrical accessories of bulbs, radios, refrigerators, and the like to a limited clientele rather than risk supplying them with the machines to manufacture these. Along the entire gamut of machine-tools, machines, engines, and manufactures there is an internal competition, and imperial capital therefore exerts its utmost to retain its areas of consumer goods rather than seek investment in new fields of colonial production.

This rear guard and fear-stricken policy of retention is further encouraged by the fact that major capitalism, including the U.S., have little capacity to absorb an increased produce from retarded economies. Their demand for food and raw materials is not capable of great expansion, and such developments as increased food production in England and the U.S. quest in Arabia in pursuance of its oil conservation policy are likely to cancel each other in their effects on world trade. Unless, therefore, the breath of freedom fructifies the science and technics of retarded economies so as to produce raw materials or quality goods, the problem of increasing their food and their primary produce remains an internal question, without effect on world trade. To increase the food and cloth supply of two-thirds of mankind may be man's greatest economic task, but world capitalism must remain indifferent to it as long as it offers no commodities for internationale exchange or return on investments. The colonial masses have interested imperial capital as low-wage producers of limited raw materials, as rate payers on its transport and public utility installations as consumers of its manufactures, and all this range of interest provides no scope for new investments. World capitalism has come to a dead end where new investments in the retarded economies threaten to choke off the source of its profits. The greatest distributive danger of late capitalism is thus the enormous accumulation of unproductive savings and the continued depression of the colonial equipment.

Aside from the distributive dangers, late capitalism continues the tradition of waste and deceit in production and, what is worse, deepens the element of chaos. As a principle we are already familiar with the industrial crises and trade cycles that are as old as capitalism itself, and we have also traced how the territorial blocking of the external dynamic has thrown it into a condition of general crisis. But even in this condition there is no gradual decline, but general disorderliness and ups and downs. Unable to find new profits in the industries of life's staple substance, the methods of capitalist production lead themselves profitably to new industries of tenuous living on a mas scale. It is not for nothing that the industries that could still greatly expand in the decade before the 1939 war were those of films, radio, alcohol, and low-price fashions. Air travel and televised entertainment seem now to be on the list and, though various pepfoods and vitamins might yet effect some improvement, the only staple demand that capitalism seems yet able to tackle and mas-produce is that of pre-fabricated houses. This will probably be capitalism's last useful contribution, not to the world, but to its

favoured peoples. Capitalism goes where it finds profits, and this productive impulse must further exaggerate the importance of luxury consumption, not alone of the high-income groups but also of the low-price mass-scale variety. In addition to this specific chaos of tenuous production, the general chaos of the regulation of an entire economy by the blind motive of profit remains. This motive expands the supply of certain demands beyond supportable dimensions, there is a scramble to contract just as there was a scramble to expand, and the sensitiveness of markets assisted by highly speculative expectations produces serious ups and downs.

A serious fall in the use of late-capitalism's productive capacity makes of war an almost irresistible temptation. When demand in producers goods and transport falls very much below the supply arrangements, there is temptation to shunt to war; if steel, autos, electrical equipment, and such like are not sufficiently purchasable for civilian use, their rate of consumption as tanks, jeeps, shots, and shells can be feverishly fast. The insecurity emanating from the unemployed millions disappears for a time, the victor hopes for enlarged exports to retarded peoples at the expense of the defeated capitalisms, and rationed consumption during the war serves to animate post-war civilian demand, just as it helps an imperial population to key up its war effort to a total pitch. If the index of producers' investment goods in a major capitalism is falling far too low, an experience to which late capitalism must be increasingly subject, and if it is elsewhere shooting up so high that armaments alone could have done this, the cunning of rulers has discovered no means other than war and its preparations as the way out. The greatest danger of late-capitalist production to world economy is its general and special chaos and its escape-mechanism in war.

It is surprising how late capitalism with its surfeit of savings and the comparative lack of new investment fields can still preserve a handsomely positive rate of profits. Should not capital flow into the available fields of investment and increase earnings or bring down prices and expand production, although in the process the rate of profit may fall so low that the rate of interest reaches the zero or the near-zero level? Against this natural development are operating the forces of monopoly, such monopoly as is the result of concentrated production as well as that which depends on the political rule of one country over another. The monopoly in production operates because of the huge amount of capital necessary to start rival and risky enterprises in the industries of producers' goods, because of government assistance, and of the national and international understandings of capitalists in the same industry. The monopoly in the foreign trade and investments of subject peoples can operate either nakedly or through the currency, tariff, purchase, and other policies through which an imperial government can easily shut out inconvenient competitors. These monopolies, arising out of imperial rule as also out of heavy mechanization, shut out rival capital, keep production low and prices high. Their aim is to maximize profits, while if they had not existed there would be expanding production, particularly among retarded peoples, at levels of nominal rate of interest. In fact, interest has about ceased its productive function in the major capitalisms. It still continues its distributive function of making the rich richer or of maintaining a rentier class. But its productive function is restricted to an expanding economy, when enterprises of old and new wants are continually added and interest serves as a regulator. In an overcapitalized economy that cannot further expand, interest is a dead weight and an obstruction to production. That the monopolies keep it up artificially prevents in particular the expansion of colonial equipment and does not allow late capitalism to face its distributive dangers. But such an artificial maintaining of interest is bound to lead to a clash between capital that is being used and capital that is idle, capital

that is tending towards extinction and capital that is artificially propped up to continue. This monopolistic maintaining of interest and profits as a productive factor in late-capitalist economies is thus a serious interference with normal development and the source and aggravation of the many dangers to which world economy is subjected.

The dangers of private ownership in late capitalism may now be enumerated as, in the sphere of colonial economies,³² the fact of starvation, the fact of falling consumption of foreign quality goods, the fact of enforced depression of the productive equipment, and, in the sphere of developed economies, the fact of under-consumption of necessities, the fact of growth of luxury consumption, the fact of unproductive savings, the fact of chaotic and war-making production, the fact of monopolist continuance of interest in an inexpensive economy. Some of these facts overlap each other and, in particular, the productive equipment of the retarded peoples. West Europe has been found to be wholly unable to overcome any of these dangers with the result that its classes are being transformed into castes and its economies are being relegated. By the abolition of private ownership, Russia has eliminated such of these dangers as have arisen in the inner circle of late capitalism but by virtue of being a self-sufficient closed economy has remained unconcerned with the outer circle of two-thirds of mankind. It will now be our task to find out how far the U.S., as the leader of late capitalism, and Hindustan, as the mirror and leader of the retarded economies, are likely to overcome these dangers in a constructive way.

Can the leader of capitalism assist in reviving the productive equipment of the retarded peoples? In one essential it is differently placed from its West-European or Japanese cousins. While these have acquired a pervading interest in retarded economies so that they can sell their machines only at the expense of their manufacturers and their machine-tools at the expense of their machines, U.S. capitalism has no such burdensome past except to some extent in the American hemisphere. Its trade in manufactured goods with the retarded peoples of Asia and Africa does not play a vital role in its economy. It is free to sell them machines and machine-tools. It is thus unfettered enough to transact such trade and investments with the retarded economies as would increase the yield of their labour-hour. This introduces a new factor in the fortunes of capitalism. The prospect is opened out of restoring, perhaps temporarily, the imperial dynamic, which has ceased to expand with the enmeshing of the whole world and which has started contracting due to colonial poverty and obstruction. In making such sales and investments to retarded economies as they need and not as are forced on them by West-European and Japanese capitalisms, the U.S. economy can develop their productive capacity, can assist them in producing a very much larger volume of goods. There is thus a theoretical possibility that capitalism may yet be able to expand through re-equipping the colonial economies, where alone expansion is still possible.

Against this theoretical possibility must be set the peculiarly self-sufficient character of the U.S. economy, which distinguishes it from that of its West-European and Japanese cousins. The U.S. has much to give, but it can take very little. It is the leading producer in the world not only of producer's goods and manufactures but also of food and raw materials. The other capitalisms are great consumers of food and processors of raw materials extracted from retarded economies; they thus maintain the gigantic town-village relationship between themselves and two-thirds of mankind. The U.S. economy has worked out this relationship largely within its own frontiers, beaten it into a kind of balance in the use of science, so that its great industrial production is matched by an equally great agricultural and mining production. The U.S. may be willing to sell machine-tools for the manufacture of locomotives of small dynamos, and

also it may be wanting to increase its export in radios or fountain pens; in this quest it would want an expansive economy in the retarded areas, but what would it take in exchange? Not food crops, not fruit, not meat, not cotton, not iron, not petrol, no manufacture of *mas-use*, not any kind of the staple goods that are the bulk of world trade. The U.S. can give, but it cannot take; this hamstring the leader of late capitalism in its effort to shunt world trade to the new rails of two way expansion. If other capitalisms are unable to expand world economy for fear that this would hurt them, the leader of late capitalism may find that, while it had little to fear, its hopes were also ill-founded. It is, however, possible to exaggerate the inability of the U.S. economy to take, as it appears to us in the immediate present. With an expanding equipment in the retarded areas, the furs of Sinking, the silks of China, the brocades of Hindustan may come into such *mas-use* by the U.S. population as to become articles of bulk-trade.⁴¹

It is also possible that the retarded peoples, through their scientific ingenuity and collective effort, may not produce new goods and raw materials to enliven world trade, but that can only come out of their free endeavour, and no outside agency can awaken it. The leader of the capitalism would, in addition, be unable to use to the full its capacity to re-equip the retarded economies. To the U.S. has fallen the leadership of an economic system that has reached maturity, and as such it would be unable to interfere too much with the existing arrangements. The West-European capitalisms, ably supported and rivalled by the Japanese, have knit up the larger part of the retarded world into a political rule that guarantees the working out of the town-villages relationship. The U.S. must accept these different imperialisms, as so many agents of stability, and when it is not at war with one or the other it must work in collaboration with them. There may be an under-current of hostile competition, there may at times be bitter clashes and wars may not always be avoidable, but, as a general measure, the U.S. must accept these imperialisms as stabilizing agents in an otherwise uncertain and unforeseeable world. The retarded peoples themselves may hold quite another view of what would really constitute a stable world, but the leader of late capitalism would need incalculable courage to experiment with a stability that is yet to emerge. Calculably, therefore, the U.S. would have to compromise with imperialistic trade policies, and its supply of producers' goods to retarded economies would be limited. In addition, U.S. capitalists would prefer to transact their sales and investments with groups of capitalists among the retarded peoples, rather than encourage a socialist reconstruction. Although this is a question which we will yet examine in greater detail, it is extremely doubtful if the re-equipping of retarded economies can be carried out by their capitalist classes.

But the U.S. economy will be forced, to whatever extent it can, to expand its dealing with retarded economies. Its state of continued slump will force it to do so. It cannot continue on a basis which compelled its index of producers' goods to fall from 100 in 1927 to 87 in 1937 and 54 in 1938, and certain intervening years were worse, while that of Britain rose to 133 in 1937 and 199 in 1938. Not all of America's fall or Britain's rise could be explained by the arms industries; a considerable part of it was due to the same condition which made the rate of industrial profits in the U.S. fall from 12.8 per cent in 1929 to 2 per cent in 1932, 6.7 per cent in 1937 and 3.8 per cent in 1938, while that in Britain was maintained at the comparatively steady levels of 10.5 per cent, 8.5 per cent, 11.2 per cent and 12 per cent in the same years. It is significant that the majority of U.S. manufacturing companies registered negative rates of profit for the years 1931 and 1932. The U.S. cannot fail to notice that Britain is able to steady its fall by the use of the external dynamic, which, although deteriorating, is still capable of

providing replacement orders and limited quality consumption. The U.S. economy, however, has completely exhausted its internal dynamic and also such as it could get from the American hemisphere, with the result that if it is to save itself it must hit out for an external dynamic, which may be enlarged while being used. Recent developments are arousing a kind of vigour, albeit naive, that aspires to cope with this task.³⁴

With regard to the productive equipment of retarded peoples, we may now sum up the U.S. position as the absolute need for an enlarging external dynamic and the willingness to supply producers' goods on the one hand and, on the other, the necessity to collaborate with existing imperialisms, for being agents of stability and the comparative inability to receive a large volume of goods from other economies. It is easy to see that this is an exceedingly divided position. The only positive results that may be expected from it are some displacements of the existing volume of world trade³⁵ and some expansion of the retarded economy of China such as is not politically enslaved. The pressure of the U.S. economy may also compel its capitalist-imperialist cousins to permit or undertake a very limited expansion of the colonial equipment. For the rest, the U.S. will play a pervadingly obstructive role. If it will obstruct the West-European and Japanese capitalisms in stabilizing the colonial peoples as the untouchables of the capitalist system, it will also obstruct the retarded peoples in availing themselves to such opportunities as make for a sharp break with the past. That it will thereby be unable to prevent successive fall in the use of its own productive capacity or genuinely expand the productive equipment of the retarded peoples can be said without hesitation. It will not have provided a positive dissipation of the severest danger to world economy. How long it will be able to delay the hardening of declining capitalism into a worldwide caste structure or the advent of a wholly liberated world economy is another question. The world index of production and its tendencies would show that either the one or the other must happen well before our century is out. Capitalism must either harden into a world-hierarchy of castes or it must be blown up with the advent of liberated economies, and the U.S. will meanwhile obstruct either solution and be generally negative. In its most recent development with regard to retarded equipment the U.S. economy is showing a tendency to divided interests and delaying action. The leader of late capitalism has thus already about relinquished its leadership of the colonial peoples; will they submit by becoming increasingly starved helots of a declining capitalism or will they rise into manhood?

The technical danger in the U.S. can be assessed from the fact that, while the index of total production fell from 100 in 1929 to 73 in 1938, the output per man-hour rose from 100 in the earlier to 116 in the later year. Scientific and organizational improvements are continually increasing the yield of the labour-hour, but there cannot obviously be a corresponding and unceasing increase in the production of known goods. The hours of work must therefore be reduced or men thrown out of work and it is usually the second alternative which materializes. The shock of continuous improvement in the known lines of heavy mechanization and mass-produced goods can only be observed if scientific vigour can at the same time create new mass-wants and the means to satisfy them. Aside from the question of whether each continuous expansion of wants is desirable, the U.S. experience shows that it is no longer possible. The great new line of which much is being made today is air traffic. According to a U.S. statement, the aircraft industry and traffic personnel would in coming years give work to any where between 6 per cent and 10 per cent of the entire population. This appears a highly inflated estimate, but, were it true, it could only be effected largely at the expense of rail and ship traffic. As such, it would not be the creation of a wholly new work. Although

scientific vigour is abundantly improving known lines and synthetics, there is not adequate evidence that U.S. economy could match it by hitting out into wholly new venues. This will cause a forced depression in technical progress from one industry to another; there will be no unhurried and balanced use of science, and stability will not come.

U.S. science is, however, not oblivious to the problem of flexible and small-unit technics. The war has, for instance, given it the jeep. This is a kind maid-of-all-work; it can plough the fields, furnish power for milking, in addition to being an auto. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has calculated that the jeep can do the job of a heavy tractor with the petrol consumption of a half gallon to the acre, in place of the tractor's 3.3 gallons. There can be no better illustration than the jeep of the new technics that we must strive for; all-purpose, small capitalization, low running expenses. In like manner, U.S. exporters are reported to be busy perfecting small dynamos for use in retarded economies, which would cost 15 dollars to the horsepower in place of the former 40 dollars. All these experiments in small-unit technics are, indeed, offshoots of an economy that promises to remain predominantly large scale and heavily mechanized. The U.S. can no more make a sharp break with traditional technics than West European can. Nevertheless, these experiments and others being made on the uses of low-watt units may inspire retarded economies to base their industrial renovation on a purposeful striving after small-unit technics.

The U.S. science will yet add to the amenities of life; it will give gas that heats and also cools; it will give new materials like plastics and new fibres to wear, new drugs and surgery, and, of course, new weapons of war when needed, and on the whole it will make life more comfortable, at least for the majority of its citizens. But, beyond grazing the problem of small-unit technics and thus maturing it slightly, U.S. science will not have provided a new technical base that can sustain a more purposeful production, distribution, and defence.

While West Europe pursues the policy of international understandings among capitalists without much talk and beyond the common gaze, the most talked-about anti-war measures are the abrogation of national sovereignty, the pursuit of disarmament or limited arms, and the establishment of a world league and a world police. One does not have to refer to their history in the past to be able to predict their ineffectiveness in the future. They go wholly counter to the existing economy based on imperial-colonial division of labour and on multiplying capitalisms within a territorially blocked imperialism. As such, these measures will remain barren of action so long as some great spurt of economic thinking does not concretely link up world justice with national welfare or the contending capitalisms do not reach a stage of utter inaction. Until then they will remain moral precepts, awakening, at best, a vague hope for the future and a vaguer attitude of criticisms toward the present. Much the same thing can be said of the concept of class struggle preached by West-European Marxists as a preventive of war. Twice has it failed, once in the case of the second International and again in that of the Third International, to turn an imperialist war into civil war, and thus into peace. This cannot be otherwise, for the West-European class struggle between capital and labour is cut across by the more deciding and worldwide empire-colony relationships and their results, the competing capitalisms. Until colonial economies can fully succeed in their obstruction, the Marxist concept of class struggle can, at best, act as a negative influence on West-European policies, a hamper and a source of confusion.

In respect to the insecurity of war, the effective activity of West Europe is thus the pursuit of international economic understanding and the preparedness for war. In fact, a deepening of this second aim goes noticeably with the steady deterioration of West-European capitalism;

the earlier aim to be able to wage war when it comes is being replaced by the newer aim to keep ever prepared for war. This need of preparedness for war can best be met by the institution of a stable military caste. Unless prevented by forces outside itself, West Europe is heading towards such an institution.³⁶

West Europe's purposive activity in respect of internal capital-labour relationships has shown an outward variety. Among other items, state action intended to ensure wider education, health schemes, unemployment, and pension benefits has grown in recent times. We are not at present concerned with the importance of such state action to the habits of a people or to their way of thinking. But its economic significance can, for instance, be grasped from the calculations of British economists who have estimated the redistribution of their national income from the rich to the poor caused by such state expenditure at around three per cent. While the attempt to extend such state action brings obvious benefits in other spheres, it must be understood that the little extension³⁹ that may still be possible can in no way alter the basic capitalist character of the West-European economy.

Some efforts towards social enterprise like the municipal London Transport or the Berlin workers houses have attracted considerable attention. The relevance of such socialization to the capitalist system is more controversial than real, for the economy as a whole is not affected by it. Immense sectors of the economy, almost the whole of it, continue to remain in capitalist hands as a result of such scrappy socialization. Further, while the bringing of London Transport under municipal ownership held public attention for a number of years, capitalist enterprise was meanwhile busy recovering many times larger sectors through its enlarged industries in automobiles, radio engineering, and airplanes. Socialization is scrappy unless it affects a majority of sectors in a capitalist economy and unless, while a single municipal or state-action is raising the heat of controversy, care is taken to prevent the springing up of great new sectors of capitalist enterprise. Present trends indicate that attempts at socialization in the West-European economy will continue to be scrappy and leave its capitalist base unaltered.

The movement to associate the working class with the management of industry gathered some force under the Weimar Constitution in Germany, but even during its brief existence it did not show much promise of causing any great change. Workers' councils can at best check deterioration in wages and conditions of work; for the rest, they persuade the working class to acquire similar perspective on foreign trade as those of the managers of industry. It is indeed surprising that West-European capitalists have not chosen to associate their working class with the management of industry; this may partly be due to the conflict between a rising or fixed wage and a shrinking economy, but it is also due to irrational class-prejudice.

We may now consider if the independent class action of West-European workers has fared any better than state action of various types in solving the internal conflict between capital and labour. The outstanding fact may first be noted that working class action in the three deciding West-European capitalisms has at one time or another been brought face to face with the possibility of a structural change in economy. There was a revolution in Germany, and the barest avoidance of another, there was a general strike in England; there was a Popular Front of progressive parties in France. But nowhere could the West-European working class seize such political power as to end capitalism. No doubt it was considerably hampered by the attitude of the numerically powerful middle classes of the West-European economy, which derive a substantial part of their income from the imperial-colonial division of labour. Could it not also be that the West-European working class itself stood paralyzed in its action because of international division of labour? What has been described as its betrayal by its leaders is

perhaps to some extent the awesomeness with which the West-European working class has beheld its heavily capitalized industries whenever it has come within an ace of political power. The dread that the whole structure might crumble to pieces in its hands has held it back. It could not, as in Russia, be the creator of a new development; it could only be the heir to a very heavy old development that depends on the rule over colonial masses. It has not unnaturally been steadily retreating from all ideals of a revolution or a general strike to capture power. Until West-Europeans can be made to see some new economic way that links up their national welfare with the destruction of imperialism, this retreat of the working class seems to be as unavoidable as the relegation and other phenomena of the West-European economy that we have hitherto noticed.

But the partial struggles and strikes of the working class have made a great difference to the most recent development of capitalism. They have made difficult the passage of West-European society from a class structure to a caste structure. It is not as if West-European workers are averse to stabilizing the class structure of their economy; what they have fought to achieve in their struggles for wages and a closed shop is a point of stability favourable to them. But the capitalists of the shrinking economy of West Europe have also been seeking for a point of stability most favourable to them. Herein lies the clash, and not in any dynamic struggle of larger objectives. At what point shall the classes be transformed into castes? West-European purposive activity has shown a duality in that point favourable to labour and unfavourable to capital.

The West-European tendency toward the transformation of classes into castes can be seen clearly in the Nazi movement of Germany. All kinds of internal mobility in the economic structure of Germany are stopped by the use of political power. Labour get wages fixed by the state, it moves from one place of work to another at the dictate of the state, its conditions of work and leisure and its corporate activities are determined by the state; in like manner, the state fixes the profits on capital, new investments are directed by the state, and the state determines the order in which different industries shall get priorities on capital, raw materials, and labour. To assert that this immobile arrangement has been generally irksome either to capital or to labour is to close one's eyes to the big fact that the demand for security in the West-European economy is rapidly ousting whatever demands there formerly were for great changes of system. Further, this internally immobile economic structure openly recognizes the need for external dynamic, the need, therefore, to stabilize the colonial masses of Eastern Europe and elsewhere into the untouchables of capitalism, and thus gives a united perspective to the entire people, whereas in other West-European countries this perspective is consciously held alone by the ruling classes and the working class is only dimly aware of it. In this manner, German economy has taken a big step towards the transformation of classes into castes, when other West-European economies are fumbling towards it.

Even in England, a miner's son is generally a miner's father, and a similar condition would obtain with a spinner or a smelter. Migrations of individuals from one class to another do indeed take place with greater ease than would be possible in a caste system, but what distinguishes a class structure from a caste structure is the economic movement of the class as a whole. A class is a group that moves economically; it aspires to better its position. A caste is a fixed economic entity; its aspiration lies in some kind of a debased religion and the doing of certain hierarchical duties. There is hardly doubt that the most recent fight of the West-European working class for a minimum wage, collective bargaining, the closed shop is no longer an attempt to move economically but is an effort to get fixed as a comparatively

favoured caste of capitalism. On the other hand, capitalists wish to fix the working class at a point low enough to ensure their own privileged position in the midst of a shrinking economy. A great drama of caste stratification is being played out in West Europe; the contestants themselves are often unaware of the significance of their roles; and it is doubtful if there will be a coherent ending at all. The contestants may break each other with their inability to find commonly agreeable points of stability. The liberal and Protestant ethic may prove too tough to be given a new slant. Some great new activity of conscious social change cannot be entirely ruled out. The colonial masses will probably refuse to be treated as the lowest caste of capitalism. It is also possible that the theatre of this drama will continually slide back into the backwaters of men's affairs so as to lose its exciting interest. Whatever may happen, the deciding effect of West Europe's purposive activity, no matter what the motives of men are, is to create a big movement for the transformation of classes into castes. That this movement, when it has fully matured, must mean cultural death is here irrelevant.³⁸

From this rapid survey of recent capitalist development, we find two major tendencies to the relegation of the West-European economy and to the transformation of classes into castes, and also some ineffectual attempts at conscious social change. The two tendencies are not inimical to each other, and unless one or the other of the stresses already indicated awakens a new thinking and activity, the West-European economy is fated to slide back with the attempt of its capitalism to stabilize and stratify.

Russia broke away from the capitalist system nearly three decades back, and on the surface her development should have little to tell us about the workings of capitalism. However, a study of her development will indicate not only possible ways in which it has affected capitalism adversely but also whatever capitalist traits it has carried within itself. A major difficulty is the lack of verified information on certain aspects of Russian economy. Even more so is it difficult to separate the essential from the marginal in a still considerably fluid economy.³⁹

Russian economy has pursued two objectives: to socialize and to modernize. In both these aims it has been guided essentially by Marxist theory. With regard to the objective of socialization, the initial step was economic, the establishment of social ownership and control over the means of production, while the rest has been left to political action, the liquidating of capitalist remnants or what are known as the counter-revolutionary elements. In pursuit of the objective of modernization Russian development has been given the definite character of large-scale production, of heavy capitalization. By 'modern', Russians have naturally enough understood the latest stage of capitalist production, which, in Marx's view of history, is also the highest, since out of it was to have arisen the socialist society, and which, within the capitalist world, has established its superiority in war as in peace. This is monopoly production, mass production, and Russians have apparently taken for granted that the economic and advantages of large-scale production, which place one capitalist firm in a preferential position over another, must also apply to a nation's economy as a whole. Out of this belief and the objective to modernize, the Russian economy has closely followed the latest capitalist technics of large-scale production and has thus produced certain traits which bear a family likeness to capitalism. How far this likeness is superficial and in what measure, if at all, the objective to socialize clashes with the objective to modernize is the intriguing question that comes out of Russia. For the present, let us grasp that the Russian economy has pursued the two distinct objectives to socialize and to modernize in a large-scale way.

The Russian five-year plans have in consequence been weighted excessively on the side of large-scale industries, of producers' goods, and of mechanized transport. Consumers' good

have been produced to a minimum extent. This was natural, as Russia had more or less to start from scratch in respect to the basic equipment of heavy industries and transport. It was intended to change the emphasis from equipment to consumption, beginning with the third plan. But the intentions remained unfulfilled, as war preparations did not permit industrial diversion to consumers' goods. The emphasis on production goods as also on war goods has therefore continued. Before we go on to examine the relevance of the Russian economy to world economy, let us fix a fact which is often lost sight of in controversy. The possibility of planning an entire economy has now been established beyond a doubt. There have been partial breakdowns and bottlenecks in the Russian economy, but the gloomy forecasts of a total breakdown have been proved to be wholly groundless. That the Russian planning has been wise may be disputed; what can no more be disputed is that social management can plan and work out the entire economy of a country. A major capitalist weapon, that a country's economy cannot be run without the mechanism of interest and profits on capital, has been hopelessly blunted. Drafting the plan of an entire economy is quite in vogue now, not alone with socialists, but also with hard-headed capitalists, who naturally arrange to keep their capital intact and flourishing.

War is the greatest prevailing test of a nation's economy, and unless it can endure that, its achievements in other spheres do not last. The Soviet economy has stood this test. It may indeed be suggested that without American lend-lease and British assistance of Germans might perhaps have forced the Russians out of Stalingrad and Moscow and beyond, but it can as well be suggested that without the Russian effort the British economy and its capacity to wage war might have been placed in a precarious position. The Soviet economy has stood the stress of war as successfully as most other capitalist economies. It has indeed not been a prime motivation in the war. The prophecies of a war between capitalism and socialism have been due to an excessive rating of the strength of Soviet economy, and there is little likelihood that world capitalism will ever meet its doom in a war with the Russian Socialism. Moreover, the manner in which the Russian economy has met the threat and actual ferocity of war is indistinguishable from that of any other capitalist economy. The reference here is not to the abandonment of the original anti-militarism of Lenin nor to the pursuit of foreign policies in the capitalist style. It is a purely economic fact that the Russian economy, admitting that war had to be prepared for, its defence in heavy industries, big arms, and massed armies. The economic defence of Russia against war is the same as that of any major capitalist power. Whether any other defence is possible or not is here irrelevant, and the fact remains that similarity of pattern in the economic defence of capitalist and communist economies reduced Russia to the status of one participant among many, more or less powerful, but not a warring camp in itself. This similarity entails other consequences of foreign policy and alliances. On the basis, therefore, of its possible vitality as also its economic defence, the Russian economy is likely to remain as one participant among many, but never a boost in itself so as to get into war against all the rest, much less to defeat them for a world victory of socialism.

The hopes as also the fears awakened by communist Russia have been far in excess of her actual strength. However much she may have deflected the thinking of capitalist powers and may yet continue doing so, her role in the war is subsidiary. Capitalism has continued to wage its wars, one member upon another, for whatever economic or moral reasons. Neither the strength of Russia nor the fear of it have been sufficiently strong to create a capitalist combination against her. It is possible that Russia may grow in strength and influence like any other power and, to the extent that she chooses to exercise political or economic pressure,

may be a source of embarrassment to neighbouring capitalisms. However, the break-up of world capitalism, if it is to come, will come not as a result of war with a socialist power but out of happenings within the capitalist-imperialist structures themselves. With these happenings Russia has had nothing to do in an economic way, whatever may have been her political intervention through the Communist International.

The ferocity of war on Russian soil has brought out a vital economic fact. As a result of the direct war destruction, but more so of the scorched-earth policy pursued by the two warring armies in their retreat, which is akin to the post-war incapacitation of a defeated economy, Russian productive capacity appears to have suffered severe losses. It is difficult to calculate the gaps caused by the destruction of the Dnieper Dam and of the group of industries around Dnepropetrovsk, together with such other loss of productive capacity in Leningrad and Stalingrad. One has only to recollect that the people were starved of consumers' goods so as to build up this productive equipment, and the process will in a considerable way have to be started again.⁴⁰ Large-scale equipment of this character is liable to concentrated destruction. And yet there seem to have been two errors of foresight in the Russian plan. There is hardly a doubt that the Russian planners did not admit the possibility of an enemy penetrating five hundred miles and beyond into their industrial concentration to the west of the Volga. Moreover, adequate foresight does not seem to have been shown in respect to the dispersal of production. Under the stress of war and its aerial destruction, West Europeans are now evolving the concept of a single firm with the lowest economically feasible capacity in place of the firm with the maximum capacity. Small-scale production with small-unit technics is becoming increasingly popular. It is difficult to say what part of a nation's basic equipment is capable of decentralization. But even as a measure of war, the Russian planners do not seem to have paid enough attention to this problem, and their large-scale industries have as such been liable to concentrated destruction.

What is now temporarily forced upon peoples as a war necessity appears, on other grounds, to be a necessary component of any national planning. In the measure that the advantages of heavy mechanization do not remain the restricted monopoly of a few peoples, and spread over from industry to agriculture, the problem of technics will assume a primary importance in economies. This problem could hitherto be slurred over, as the larger part of mankind and its largest occupation were kept in a state of dependence. With the conjoint mechanization of agriculture and industry that Russia is trying to put through, there must emerge large masses of men without occupation. As the objective of heavy mechanization is to go on shortening the time used in production, after a stage, the more a branch of industry or agriculture is mechanized and the larger the number of such branches, the greater will be the masses of men spewed out by these as necessary. As these men can stay in the old heavily mechanized industries only on condition that they produce for overseas markets or for war, Russia will probably at one stage or another enter into world trade on even more favourable conditions than those of West-European capitalisms. These men can also get absorbed into the vastly extended services of public health, education, and the like. It is even possible that new wants can be created, and thus, new industries to satisfy them. But the industries of these new wants and services may demand a new type of technics and the heavy mechanization of the old pattern may obstruct their emergence.⁴¹ Unless, therefore, Russia starts producing in the not-too-distant future for overseas markets on a town-village relationship, here heavy mechanization may prove too rigid for a new pattern of technics, thus leading to the emergence of large masses in her own population as a new submerged class of degraded humanity.⁴²

There is indeed some substitutability in the produce of industrial plants; a plant that produces tractors can produce automobiles or tanks. But the range is not unlimited; a ship building yard or an automobile plant cannot be turned into a factory for cement or bedsteads. In the Russian planning where whole blocks of demand have been given precedence over others, there is great danger that the comparative exhaustion of one set of demands coupled with the heavy mechanization of its industry may lead to serious maladjustment in changing over. There is also the possibility that heavy mechanization may check or even prevent the substitution of a new material for an old one; plastics may not replace iron or steel, even though this might mean loss of economic welfare. Even in a socialist economy, it would not be easy to scrap such heavy machinery as is the result of many years' labour. In addition, the lids on agricultural and on industrial consumption are different in nature; a man's demand for apparel is certain quantity. For economies such as the Russian this is at present an academic point. But the effect may start showing after some decades of expanded and mechanized agriculture, and unless flexible technics come to aid, serious maladjustment may as a result occur. It is doubtful if the Russians, with their dogma of heavy mechanization and unlimited expansion in the known fields, have paid enough attention to these various problems of substitution and change-over.

It must be emphasized that this problem of heavy mechanization in a socialist economy is not wholly similar to that under private management. Capital, under private ownership, has a double function. Its interests and profits serve, on the one hand, as a distribution mechanism for class-differentiations between the rich and the poor and, on the other, as a production mechanism for expansion and new development. A socialist economy does away with the distributive function of capital but it cannot avoid tackling and mastering its productive function. As an agent of production, capital with its numerous problems still remains in a socialist society. This capital is, of course, the saved labour of past years. But the problems raised by saved labour, which is concretized in heavy and intricate machinery, cannot be dismissed with the broad view that labour is the sole creator of value, and hence socialization of past labour puts an end to all difficulties. In a capitalist economy which is still not relegated, the operation of forces of stagnation and bankruptcy on the one hand and expansion on the other makes for changes, some good, some bad, and enables the use of new inventions. What is left to the operation of these blind forces in a capitalist economy is taken over by conscious direction in a socialist economy. The responsibilities of this direction become immense and cannot be fulfilled merely by accounting and allotments or routine checking of the efficiency of one concern against another. Such a direction must be freed of all dogmas. The Russian objective to modernize in the manner of concentrated production of monopoly capitalism appears to be a dogma.⁴³ It makes for, as we have already seen, rigid technics, maladjustments in change, over search for overseas markets or emergence of submerged classes, and an economic defence similar to that of capitalism. What it may mean to the ideal of socialist distribution we will presently examine. Even in the sphere of production, the rigid forms in which past labour is saved may act as a dead weight. Socialist planning must treat these two entities of saved labour and current labour as distinct; whether one calls them capital and labour, or equipment and labour, is a secondary question. An over-all examination of the national equipment with its system of technics necessitates the view that socialist planning does badly in taking over from late capitalism its production patterns; it must devise its own. Russian planning has been imitative; it has failed to devise patterns of production suited to a socialist ordering of economy.

We may now sum up the economic relevance, on the production side, of Russian economy to world capitalism. It has withdrawn nearly nine per cent of human race from the capitalist-

imperialist web, but, as the dynamic that West-European capitalism extracted from a none too dependent pre-communist Russia was not great, the impact of such a withdrawal has not affected capitalism fundamentally. It is possible that Russia may after some time enter the world market as a competitor of existing capitalisms; this will naturally harm them and cause their further decline. On the world view, however, this will not abolish town-village relationships but will merely shift the areas of their operation. At the same time, planned production in Russia has established the possibility of planning and working out a nation's entire economy and has thus forged a propagandist item which causes constant irritation to capitalists. But its effect is not as great as it might have been, for the production patterns evolved by Russia do not show the way to abolish world poverty or world war. Her closed economy has aimed exclusively at internal reconstruction, and Russia has neither had the socialist fervour nor the capitalist need to face the issue of the diminishing yield of colonial economies.

On the distribution side, the Russian experience has brought into sharp relief the two distinct aspects of distribution as power and as wealth. However difficult it still is to express a categorical opinion on the distribution of wealth in Russia, there is no doubt as to the distribution of power and understanding. Power and wealth can be so wholly unrelated that an economy with an enormously maldistributed power can dole out a comparatively well-distributed wealth. The heavy mechanization of the Russian economy with its concentrated production is beyond the grasp of the common man in Russia. He has to depend on an elite for the management of this intricate mechanism as also for his general ideas regarding its internal and external needs. He has always to be told what his country needs internally and when and on what side to get into awar. His mental conditioning is the same as elsewhere; he has his broad ideas on patriotism and socialism and so forth; for their particular applications in specific situations, he has to depend wholly on an elite. Out of such a maldistributed understanding and the power that goes with it, a stateless society cannot arise. Whether a critical understanding, a ripened culture, and an over-all view can ever be imparted to the common man is another question; Russia with her centralized economic mechanism has not done so and cannot do so.

In respect to the distribution of wealth, let us briefly acquaint ourselves with the Marxian bases formulated from time to time with out going too deeply into an argument that belongs elsewhere. The original formulation was, 'from every one according to his capacity, to every one according to his needs'. The first half is a straight formulation, for, aside from deliberate slackness, there is not much ambiguity about a person's capacity, and that too can be found out. The second half is an ambiguous formulation, for, which needs are here meant, the basically equal human needs of body and spirit or the conventional needs of various types of toilers? What again are these conventional needs? For that depends very much on one's standards of measurement, and these may approximate to basic equality. The formula was actually meant to convey the simple socialist faith of approximation to equal distribution of wealth, and if it was ambiguously worded that was perhaps an intellectual trick to use language which could bear a shifting economic argument. In its early stages, the Soviet economy tried zealously to work out his faith. Then came the medals and the stripes and the bits of ribbon. Finally came the formulation, announced as of transitional application, that every one was to be paid according to his labour. If there were one single stream of produce and one simple block of work, a person's labour could be measured by the quantity either of the produce or the hours of work. In the mixed streams of modern production with its thousand different labour-processes such single-rod calculations are impossible. There must either be an arbitrary

standard or the law of supply and demand will operate. Soviet economy has fixed a ceiling and a bottom within which wealth may be unevenly distributed on the usual economic basis of obtaining the best supply of different types of labour and corresponding scales of wages.

Broadly speaking, the bottom and the lid of this wage differentiation is around the ratio of 1 to 20. There are certain freak incomes, which are larger. These wages vary according to whether one is a single-process worker, a technician, an engineer, or a manager, according to industry, as between agriculture and industry, and even according to special performances in the arts and sciences and in civil service. There are also certain privileges attached to office in the Communist Party or in government service, which, whatever the grounds such as security and despatch on which they are conferred, make for a comfortable life. A fairly radical innovation is the institution of public bonds bearing interest. To dismiss these bonds as a device for making the citizen feel that his income is larger than his consumption would be to under rate the honesty or the self-confidence of the Soviet system. In a socialist economy such interest-bearing bonds have no purpose other than to create an exclusively personal stake of the citizen in the fortunes of his State. And in Russia today every citizen has acquired a stake in his State. But the rub comes in where the stake of some citizens is higher than that of certain others. These varying scales of interest-bearing patriotism must reflect themselves, in one wise or another, in some restricted laws of bequests. Already university education bears tuition fees. And yet to group together these wage, privilege, and stake differentiations as a class-formation would be to read more into the facts than is warranted. As long as Russia does not permit private ownership in the means of production, and there will have to be some sort of a revolution before this is done, formation of classes in the capitalist style cannot take place. Whether these wages and other differentiation will be dissolved or get stabilized will depend on the outcome of the clash between the production patterns of Soviet economy and the socialist faith of approximately equal distribution. The present tendencies are towards stabilization of differences.

These wage and other differences go to show that there are after all such things as higher and lower skills. But we have already seen that the concept of varying degrees of skill is highly illusory. What is not illusory is the concept of comparative scarcity. A rickshaw-driver's skill and use of muscle-power may be the same as, or even more than, those of a managerial performance at a desk, but the former can be had in a larger number of people than the latter. Some jobs will be scarcer than certain others; fewer persons will be able to do them, and a scarcity value will therefore always attach to them. This scarcity would also obtain in other spheres. The basic rent on land, for instance, is a property phenomenon, but the differential rent is an economic reality. Some plots of land would be more fertile than others or better located or abound in minerals. Moreover, there will always be a time-lag between the first user of a new item of comfort and the last, so that the occupation of newer built locations would be in a preferential position over others. This problem of comparative scarcity, therefore, as among different types of labour or among different sites would appear to endure in all economies. That it endures in Russia is not due to lack of will on the part of Soviet statesmen; they could not master it. For there can be no economic solution of these wage and comfort differentiations caused by comparative scarcity; there can only be an extra-economic faith. The socialist faith of approximation to equal distribution of wealth will ever have to master economic realities; it cannot come naturally out of them. To be effective, it cannot be a mere political imposition from without; it will have to devise its appropriate production patterns. Marxism has not attempted to evolve the production patterns suited to socialism, and it has weakened the human will behind the socialist faith of distribution by turning it into

an automatic outcome of economic development. Socialist distribution is not the immanent law of a post-capitalist development; it is the result of an effort of will acting in unity with an appropriate economy.⁴⁴

Whatever our later examination of her political development may disclose to us, this rapid economic survey has made it clear that Russia is not likely to change into a stateless society nor is she the instrument of a socialist victory over capitalism. Her withdrawal from the capitalist system has not mortally affected it. As long as her production patterns, in particular her economic defence, remain what they are, her wage and power differentiations will continue, and she will be unable to show the way to abolition of the state or of world poverty and wars. What she has demonstrated is the possibility of planned economy under social ownership and of the tremendous power that a retarded nation may speedily achieve. The war with Germany has also steeled the Russians into a powerful nation, for whose hand of friendship other States would be eager. From this may flow influences of good or evil import, but the prime actors of world history will have to be searched for elsewhere.

1. Sometimes known as Marxism-Leninism, as Lenin was the first man to put Marxism into practice in a State, and also made partial additions to its general theory.
2. Not to be confused with the profits of the entrepreneur. These are the sum of the rent, interest and high earnings of the entire system.
3. In the elaboration of this law, Engels and Lenin have played a greater part than Marx. Although 26 years before the 1914 war Engels foresaw 'the creation of the conditions for the final victory of the working class' through the 'general exhaustion' of capitalism in a war, it was left to Lenin and his theoreticians to deepen the law of the periodic crisis into the general crisis of capitalism and of the World Revolution. Should the World Revolution not materialize 60 years after Engel's prediction and 30 years after Lenin's and should world capitalism recover sufficiently from its exhaustion to be able to wage a third world war, what further laws would be elaborated is difficult to tell.
4. The reader must pardon the use of these terms which communism and the German language have put into the mouth of large numbers but which have no further use except as means of re-education.
5. A vast lore has been written on these crises, their periodicity and nature, their causes, and so forth. Attempts have been made to number these crises and the regular intervals at which they have occurred. We may also not worry overmuch about the university professors' characterization of these as monetary crises, production crises, crises in confidence, and so forth, for such categories express external forms and do not go to the root of the matter. Marx partly goes to the root when he traces these crises to the conflict between production and consumption, between the higher yield of mechanized labour power and the constant or decreasing total wages of the working class. But then Marx traces the overcoming of the crises to the same source which is their cause. He and his disciples emphasise the period of improvement in the means of production, building better machinery and so forth, during which goods of consumption do not immediately appear in the market but wages are still paid. They indeed drop phrases about the pressing of the peasantry, improvement in agriculture, enmeshing of the whole world in the capitalist net but these facts have not been properly digested in the general Marxist theory on industrial crises. In fact, capitalist politicians and economists have elaborated a medicine-book for industrial crises, and this is none other than the New Deal, works programmes, war industries, and, perhaps in an unwilling measure, war followed by post war reconstruction. Quite a few of these programmes like draining of marshes, fighting malaria, building of town halls for assemblies, do not at all enter the consumption market but add to the health and entertainment of the people and also pay out wages to the labourers. Even among the means of production a distinction is made between the machines to manufacture machines which enter into consumption at a late stage and the machines which do so earlier. The industry of housing on a capitalist-cum-municipal basis can also tide over a crises for some time, as it does not immediately enter the market. Capitalism is groping towards various combinations of industries which produce no or slow effect on the market. Unless the undigested facts of socialist theory on crises are properly understood, we are forced to look upon the capitalist crises, periodic or general, as upon the simple cold, highly unpleasant but not fatal.

6. Of late, books from the Marxist angle have appeared on the treason of the technical and free professions, salaried classes, the white collar worker. Unable to understand why they should be so numerous or powerful, Marxism in Europe alternates between looking upon them as annexe of the bourgeoisie and wooing them as its own allies.
7. For 70 years from the publication of the Communist Manifesto to the Russian Revolution, Marxists, including Lenin, expected the revolution to take place in western Europe, particularly Germany. An odd reference by Marx or Lenin to the possibility of a revolution first in Russia or elsewhere is no more than a side-remark. The prophecy was about Germany and western Europe. For 70 years Marxists lived on this prophecy and after the brief interlude of the Russian revolution returned to it again.
8. To suggest that machine-manufacturers must inevitably drive out hand-manufacturers is here irrelevant. We are concerned with the course of history as it has actually developed and not as one or another theoretician can conceive it to do. History's record shows that, unsupported by British rule over India, not the Indian artisans, but the Lancashire industry would have died in its infancy.
9. This is perhaps the most remarkable financial transaction in world history, unless another one is in the making, according to which British investors got a guaranteed half-yearly interest, and, whenever profits rose above this, got them too. Incidentally, the problem is not whether railway development was a boon to India; the fact is that without British-ruled Indian railways the British railroad industry could hardly have gone beyond an infantile stage. Britain did not give railways to India; India gave Britain her railways and the engineering industry. History is full of such truths which seems to go counter to outward appearances.
10. Already in the midst of the 1939 war, orders for locomotives worth Rs 42 crores have been placed, and unless something goes wrong more will of course follow.
11. The commercial activity of the Hansa towns like Hamburg, as of the East India Company or of the crafts and guilds, is precapitalism. Marxists emphasize, and quite properly, that capitalism should not be confused with other forms of exploitation which might bear some resemblance to it. German capitalism begins around the middle of the nineteenth century with the Customs Union and the Lusatian economy according to which free trade has meaning only after unequal historical conditions have been removed, (to the European, German, or British, western Europe is his world), and it really comes into shape with the Bismarckian unification of Germany.
12. The old inhabitants of these territories, the Red Indians, were almost exterminated in wars and skirmishes. For one big chunk, which was finally acquired by purchase, the United States President sent his negotiators armed, quite in the modern style, with two sets of orders, to buy if possible, to wage a shooting war.
13. The story of these paupers goes counter to Marx's analysis. Until capitalism arose in England and France paupers came principally from these two countries. Graphic stories are told of how British men kidnapped British women in the streets of London and of marriage-at first sight bargainings in the New York Harbour. The growth of capitalism in England put an end to it. Then came the turn of Germany, Italy, and Ireland before they turned capitalist. Last came the Slavs. Negro Labour had been brought as slaves in the earlier century.
14. Lenin has devoted a whole book to the thesis that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism. This astounding phrase is meant to convey the fact of increasing capital investments in the colonies and semi-colonies. If we limit imperialism to capital investments, what of the factory goods that capitalism right at its start forced on the colonies and has been forcing ever since, not to talk of the other tribute of salaries and pensions and currency tricks. Moreover, even as capital investments go, Britain had already made the first of these in India around 1850, very much in the middle stage of her capitalism. Lenin's tables of statistics of increasing capital investments in the colonies from decade to decade have no more than a book-keeping significance on this issue, for if colonial investments have increased, so has capitalist production. Keener students will find it worth their while to publish the respective ratios of Britain's total industrial production to her colonial investments and to her exports in the decade 1850-60 or 1860-70, and also in the decade 1900-10. If Lenin had made such a study he would have found that the total volumes of each of the three categories increase but the ratios are not vastly altered. Such a misuse of the term 'imperialism' has further confused it. As a Russian, Lenin was probably influenced by the fact that his nation's first contact with capitalist was by way of West-European investments, and he might also have wanted to give a clever turn to the phrase 'finance-capital' popularized by Hilferding. Curiously enough, Indian Socialists have also unthinkingly repeated this phrase. What Lenin and these others have probably meant to convey is that capitalism has already covered the whole world in its net and therefore it must either war and die or find a new dynamic in the more intensive

exploitation of the colonies. It is also possible that in their anxiety to discover a proletariat in every country on Marx's pattern of the class struggle they have tended to equate imperialism with large imperialist investments.

15. Like a culture-pearl, which incidentally is not an artificial pearl, capitalism is sterile on colonial soil, whatever be the volume of its trade with or investments in the colonies; if this were not so, we should have had a capitalism much sooner in India than we had it in Japan or Germany or even the U.S.A. Capitalism sells the machines to manufacture machines to cousins, that is, to such free countries as have the forces for capitalist growth; one might almost say that it is conscious of pedigree and wants no nonsense of half-breeds. That these cousins alternate between being partners and enemies of each other is rather unfortunate; but it is better than having a litter of children who might all come of age. But this fact of culture-capitalism opens out other vistas of inquiry. Is it possible that any new system of economy that establishes its superiority in war and obvious wealth has a tendency to produce cousins? Is it possible that the submerged countries in any world-phase yearn to produce such a culture system? Is it finally possible that even opposing systems, for instance, the socialist to the capitalist, tend to produce cultured-pearl traits of each other?
16. Some persons will here remark that the two dynamics are present in Marxist studies of capitalism. Nobody questions that. The issue is whether the two dynamics are so interconnected and the basic laws of this interconnection so discovered as to give a consistent understanding of the world. It is this interconnection that socialism must study. For a type of intellect which can only be satisfied by crude evaluations, let it be said here that of all other Europeans, Karl Marx is the greatest economist of European history. But we must not be satisfied with that, for we need the economics of world history.
17. University economics has tried to understand the present distribution of wealth among various countries of the world, and is preserving this understanding with the help of a few concepts. Let us examine the major concepts.
 - (a) **Necessary Requirements of Labour:** The requirements of labour are supposed to vary from country to country. Colder climates like those of England and Germany are believed to necessitate richer food, better housing, more clothing, and so forth, than tropical climates like those of Africa and India. As a result of these higher calories of food and so forth, labour in colder climate is also believed to be more productive. Thus the teaching has sprung up of the greater productivity and also the greater requirements of labour in colder climates. This teaching is wholly erroneous. There is no reason why the German should not be able to make do with the food of the Tibetan and carry a charcoal fire stove bound to his back or live the winters of his entire lifetime in a single Eskimo coat. There is likewise no reason why the Indian can naturally labour without electric fans and air-conditioning and fruit juice and similarly nourishing food to fight the rigours of a tropical sun. If climate has any economic relevance, the coal fire and central heating of colder climates has its opposite number in the fans and air-conditioning of warmer climates, the heavy meat-and-drink diet, in the fruit-and-milk diet, so that one might legitimately say that the requirements of labour in warmer climates are naturally higher than those in colder climates. But to be able to say that one would require an excess of political power in warmer climates as compared to that in colder. In fact, Europeans have in the past been able to do with Eskimo coats and without baths and the like. Quite obviously, therefore, there are no such things as the necessary requirements of labour; there are only such requirements as varying political fortunes have bestowed upon this country or that. The Indian peasant who is today supposed naturally to sleep in the open and work may as naturally be supposed, in a different political climate, to require for his labour a pukka house lighted and ventilated by electricity. This brings us to the question of what labour produces.
 - (b) **Productivity of Labour:** The teaching that credited labour in colder countries with a higher productivity by virtue of the climate itself is so patently untrue that it has almost been given up. It is now clothed in different garments. Such concepts as the lack of proper food or of training and skill are introduced to explain the low produce of colonial labour. Indian economists and businessmen make free use of these concepts. When for instance, the low yield of the Indian steel worker is compared with the high yield of the British steel worker, this is naturally put down to the ill-fed and ill-trained condition of the former. Thus do our capitalists and economists hide their own shame and dishonour. For the West-European capitalist economy, Karl Marx proved conclusively that the concepts of skilled and unskilled labour are highly transitory: what is skilled today may become unskilled tomorrow and the labour that can be got dirt-cheap today may require good wages tomorrow. Let us look at our own rickshaw driver. It is difficult to imagine a more exacting or a more skilled type of labour. In like

manner, if there were some way to measure the labour-power spent by the Indian metal-worker and by his British opposite number, it would be found that the former has performed no less exacting labour. The economic fact is that the ill-fed Indian worker or peasant has to do as exacting a labour, in some cases even more so and use as much of his muscle-power as the better-fed British worker. Is it then the higher skill of the European labourer that does the trick? We have already commented upon the skill of the rickshaw driver, than which there can be nothing higher in the steel industry. The motor or bus driver in India is certainly as skilled as his opposite number in Europe. Perhaps what is meant is a particular type of skill required for a particular type of machinery, there being no suggestion that any one is higher than the other. Even here it will be difficult to prove how the skill of the rivet-driver in our country differs from that of the British. What may be possible is that adaptation to a particular kind of machinery may require a few years so that the labour that has the earlier run enjoys a short-lived advantage. But conditions are soon equalized. Therefore, despite the concept of ill-fed and ill-skilled labour as an explanation of the low produce in our industry Indian workers use as much, if not more, muscle power and skill as labour elsewhere. Is it then their own incompetence which Indian capitalists seek to transfer to our labour?

- (c) Capitalist Enterprise: Capacity to mix in the most profitable proportions the three factors of production, land, labour, and capital, and the readiness to take risks or to break out into unexplored regions of technique and industry are regarded as a part of the entrepreneur's skill in text book economics. Aside from the question of why this skill should get higher profits than, say, the skill of the school teacher, it would be wholly absurd to suggest that the entrepreneur's skill in the more important countries is of higher or lower order. The Indian capitalist is as skillful in the selection of sites for his industries and in marketing as the European; if anything, he is even more skilled in the manipulation of labour. He can also take enormous risks, as evidenced by his bold speculations. This explains why the Indian capitalist, while he takes the most fantastic risks in commercial speculation, is wholly crippled when it comes to breaking out into new techniques and industry. On industrial risks he is as dishonourable as the tortoise, probably because he knows that the moment he takes out his head he will be decapitated. It is to this dishonour of a colonial economic structure, and not to the supposed lower yield or lower needs of our labour, nor even to entrepreneur's skill, that our low economic productivity should be traced.
- (d) National Resources: Attempt is often made to refer to a country's natural resources to explain and justify what in university economics is known as the geographical division of labour. For instance, the presence of humidity in the Lancashire atmosphere, and therefore Manchester textiles are brought in some sort of a mutually beneficial connection with the cotton growing black-soil of Maharashtra. The actual use of artificial sprays in Indian textile mills has completely busted up this connection, for the cost of these sprays is not even an infinitesimal fraction of the earlier two-way freight charges. This does not however, mean that there are no such things as differing natural resources. It is to these resources that the United States owes, in part, its preponderant position in the world; with 6 per cent of the world's population, it controls nearly 25 per cent of the world's resources. Here again one has to be very careful. The factor of scientific inventiveness can almost equalize differing natural resources. The present estimate of a country's resources is made on the basis of factor such as coal, iron, petrol, water-power, and so forth, which have already acquired key importance. But one can depend on science to produce petrol out of coal, and sugar out of wood, and if these erstz industries may with some reason be regarded as a waste in the perspective of world economy, there are remarkable new inventions in fields such as plastics or electronics which open out the prospect of wholly new industries. Firmly entrenched vested interests of iron and steel in the already industrialized countries may make it impossible for the plastic industry to grow, whereas another country with less resources in iron may develop this new industry with great profit to itself. Scientific inventiveness can thus add to the great variety of key natural resources and equalize the differences among various countries. No doubt applied science will have to be more alert and alive and diversified as between one country and another than it has been so far; it must not blindly follow already explored lines. In this way differences in natural resources can be equalized and a country poor on the present showing may even aspire to gain a lead, however short lived, over others. In order that we can have a really beneficial world trade and obtain a true teaching of the geographical division of labour, science must have unfettered scope in various parts of the world and also make intelligent, human use of its possibilities. Until this is done text book

teaching on natural resources must be viewed with suspicion and be looked upon as a justification of the existing geographical division of labour, that is, of imperial structures on the one hand and colonial structure on the other.

We have found that the concept of the necessary requirements of labour, of the productivity of labour, of capitalist skill and of natural resources, when used to distinguish one country from another, are either meaningless or harmful to proper understanding. To understand world economy, as it is and as it has travelled through the past two centuries, we need such concepts as the politically effective requirements of labour, the productivity of the total economic structure, the imperial-colonial division of labour.

What we have hitherto had as the science of economics are nothing else but the rules of accountancy, industrial management, trade and banking. The science of economics is yet to mature. This is further illustrated by the pitiful use that economics makes of statistics.

Fairly copious statistics are now available of the total annual production in various countries, their national incomes, foreign trade, capital investments, and so forth. What does economics do with them? It just establishes surface ratios. For instance, we know that in a normal year 20 per cent of Britain's production enters into export trade; around 3 per cent comes to India; the total of investment dividends and home charges going out of India do not make more than 2 or 3 per cent of Britain's national income. According to these surface calculations, India contributes, at best, 5 per cent to Britain's national income. The politician, Mr Churchill, is nearer the truth than these calculations of economists are, when he puts down India's contribution to Britain's national income as a round 15 to 20 per cent. In fact, it might even be more. For Mr Churchill is aware that money expressions of economic values greatly obscure the dynamics that go on underneath, that the loss of dynamic in one region leads to losses in other regions, and so forth.

Let us evaluate the statistics of India's foreign trade as the science of economics ought to. We would find that, in a normal year, 5,000 crores of labour-hours spent on our farms and fields are exchanged for 250 crores of labour-hours spent in British factories. German and Japanese factories have also their share. These calculations are easily made. If, out of our production estimated at Rs 2,000 crores in a normal year, Rs 100 crores worth of agricultural goods enter our export trade, 1/20th of our entire population, that is, 2 crores of men, have been at the jobs of producing these exported goods. For the purpose of ensuring complete comparison, the entire population and not the working population is here regarded. At the estimate of 2,500 labour-hours per man per year, we get a total of 5,000 crore labour-hours spent on the production of our exported agricultural goods. Likewise, if out of the British production estimated at Rs 4,000 crores in a normal year Rs 100 crores worth of industrial goods enter the export trade, 1/40th of the British population, that is, 10 lakhs of men, have been at the job of producing these exported goods. Thus 250 crores of labour-hours are spent on the production of industrial goods imported into India. This is the real story, which money statistics, of India's foreign trade are so shy of revealing, that the labour of 2 crores of men is exchanged against that of 10 lakhs of men; 5,000 crores of labour-hours are exchanged for 250 crores of labour-hours. It will not do to summon the exploded concepts of labour productivity or of natural resources to explain this fantastic exchange. The concept of the imperial-colonial division of labour, of the productivity of the total economic structure alone can explain it. Behind this fantastic exchange lies the history of layer upon layer of saved labour from generations of tillers and miners of India, China, Java, Malaya, Africa, South America, and other lands, which has continually been converted into the gigantic machines of England, Germany and Japan.

How then to disentangle the two surplus values, that which capitalism extracts from labour in its home factories and that which it extracts from colonial labour? There is so much of history, so much of continually changing dynamics wrapped up with this problem that one despairs of evolving an adequate mathematical formula. And yet, cannot perhaps this terrific flux of surplus value be grasped by a simple formula, if we bear in mind that labour's use of muscle-power and skill is the same all the world over and granted equal conditions of technique, would yield equal produce? In fact, university economists who believe in exchange of equal values should have no difficulty in accepting this formula. Let us then convert the world's entire production of a year into the currency of any one country. Care should be taken to convert not the nominal values, but the real values. We may then divide this production equally among the world's working population. For the rough calculation that follows the world's entire population is taken into account. In our own currency, this would roughly work out at Rs 100 per head per year. Whoever receive less than this as his income, and to the extent that he does so, man, woman or their child, is a contributor to the surplus value of capitalism; whoever receives more than this, and to the extent that he does so, is a recipient. This will perhaps show

that nearly 90 per cent of colonial labour and not more than 10 per cent of imperial labour are the victims from whom capitalism extracts its profits, although, perhaps another 10 per cent of imperial labour are the victims from whom capitalism extracts its profits, although perhaps another 10 per cent of imperial labour lives on the margin. The accountants, misnamed economists, will perhaps wilt at this calculation. They might suggest that this calculation steps up India's two appear where there is only one. They have to be reminded that the one their eyes are unable to see has for generations been crossing India's frontiers and appearing in the products of West-European and Japanese factories. They have also to be reminded that the spending of muscle-power and skill is the same all the world over, and if it today yields less in India, China, or Africa, that is because its previous yields of many generations lie congealed in the machines of other lands.

- 18 If an attempt were made to pair off Stephenson's steam engine or the Bessemer process or the internal combustion engine with such events as the conquest of Bengal or the opening of the Suez canal and the consequent commercialization of Indian agriculture or the conquest of Africa, the results would prove that a crisis set in largely as old colonial areas started proving inadequate and capitalism got restored to health with new political or economic annexations. Incidentally, this theory of capitalist crises might mean that such heavy capitalization as in European industry would, even under socialist conditions, be impossible without imperialist exploitation. We will consider this question later.

P.S. I have now come to believe in the utter impossibility of such heavy capitalization for the whole world, not alone because of the unavailability of imperialist exploitation, but also because most of the retarded two-thirds of the world possesses a tremendous density of population-1952.

- 19 Landless labour in Indian agriculture has risen from being less than 200 of each 1,000 agricultures at the end of the last century to nearly 400 in each 1,000. This is the most important result of the commercialization of agriculture. Nevertheless, men can still say that India has been enriched through commercial agriculture. It would be hard to find a more obvious stream of blood that has flown from a huge mass of population to a foreign economy or to a section in its own. The receivers of this stream alone can talk of the enriching of the people from whom it is taken. There is no greater collapse of human intelligence than when an Indian or any other colonial repeats parrot-like the Marxist formula that capitalism was at one time progressive but has now ceased to be so. Capitalism has at no time been progressive to the colonial masses, it has increasingly wasted their economic and spiritual welfare. If only some one with sympathy and a historical sense could write 'the History of Colonial Labour in India', it would not only be a service to knowledge but would break like a thriller. The materials of such a history may have to be found in the indenture records of such far-off lands as Fiji and Trinidad; they will have to be ferreted out of the numerous British commissions and reports; old budgets and prices will have to be discovered, and, in part, they may have to be reconstructed out of such evidence as is available from men who are before our eyes fading into skeletons. This might take a whole lifetime, but it would be a great work. Such a history would relate the repeated auctioning of Bengal lands by Hastings, the speedy reduction of craftsmen into landless labourers, the roads, to be followed by successive gazes on its flooded fields and its own creation, the story of its fascinating women quickly fading into wrinkles and gawkiness or of a rare flower picked up by the zamindar's son and the indigo saheb only to be thrown away, the occasional revolts, the resignation and pain of indenture slaves on ramshackle ships and on lands thousands of miles away, the arrival of jute and tea and cotton with Bessemer and this Suez canal with them-the piteous cry for food, famines, the stifled moan, the wondrous victory of the loin cloth over nakedness, the background of the huge factories in foreign lands and their spawns in Bombay, Calcutta, and like towns, and through all this story of vanishing food and vanishing cloth, running like a red thread, the disgrace of caste and the songs of Palta and other Bhagats that spoke of the dissolving happiness in the Great Absolute.
20. Whatever Marxists may say about the impossibility of regarding the colonial toilers as a single class, even under Marx's tests of community, political consciousness, and national organization, the colonial toilers as a whole are more justifiably a class than is the working class of capitalist countries.
- 21 At the peak of the 1929-33 depressions, nearly 10 per cent of the British and nearly 17 per cent of German populations were the unemployed and their dependents. At the time world trade also fell to about half its pre-depression size.
22. Of the world's seven Great Powers, at the beginning of the 1914 war, the ratio in favour of Europe was 5:2. Of the five European powers, the three West-European lands England, Germany, and France, were, in view of their developed economies and productive capacities, genuinely Great Powers, while of the two East-European powers, Czarist Russia fell something short of a Great Power and the Austrian Empire was only

the end of the 1914 war saw no visible alteration in the world ratio, except that the nominally great role of Austria was taken up by Italy while Russia started making strides towards being a genuine Great Power. But back of this seeming stability in the world ratio a great change had taken place. The two extra-European powers, the U.S.A. and Japan, were so rapidly expanding their productive capacities and influence that one of them was preparing to be the world's greatest power while the other was amassing quite handsome chunks of power. At the beginning of the 1939 war, the ratio of world powers was nominally maintained, as before, at 5:2 in favour of Europe, although real strength could best be measured by the ratio 3:2. The progress of the 1939 war has already seen Italy knocked down so badly that she may not again find it possible to strut about in view of her defeat and for other reasons, unlikely to regain her productive or world-power position. Whatever may be the outcome of this war and whatever shifts may yet take place, Europe will have, with the most favourable ending, two Great Powers against two in the rest of the world. If Soviet Russia is to be one of these powers, her intervention in world affairs may continue in the political sphere, but is hardly likely, at least for sometime, to spread over to foreign trade and investments. That leaves just one Great Power for the whole of Europe whose productive capacity is relevant to the future of capitalism. Which ever this power may be, it will not only have defeated its other West-European competitors in war but will take care to see, at the end of the war, that not alone the military possibilities, but more so the industrial possibilities of its defeated foes are destroyed, or at least considerably curtailed. What this may mean to Europe's share in world trade is not difficult to foresee. Although competing with each other, West-European capitalisms, in their clustering, were able to dominate world trade. Europe took over 51 per cent of world trade. The three West-European powers, England, Germany, and France, took over 35 per cent of world trade. West Europe before the 1939 war was undoubtedly the economic centre and therefore also the military and political centre of the world. West Europe has irretrievably lost this position. This is so, not only because one West European power has already lost its productive position and one more must follow suit, but also because the American hemisphere is coming up. The productive capacity of the U.S.A. has gone on expanding even in the midst of war, as illustrated by its fantastic aircraft production and Henry Kaiser's a-ship-a-day programme.

This expanded productive capacity is already manoeuvring for a corresponding position in the world's trade, air traffic, oil, and other arrangements. Furthermore the U.S. economy has now used up its internal dynamic and must have recourse to an expanded world trade. The pre-war ratio in world trade between Europe and the Americas that stood at 51 per cent to 23 per cent in favour of Europe is likely in the post-war period to be reversed in America's favour, though perhaps not immediately to the same extent. At the same time the position of Asia in world economy might perhaps improve slightly. If Japan loses the war, the legacy of her productive capacity will to a considerable extent be taken over by China, and so., in any case, there will be one great power in Asia. A number of other economic and political movements are maturing whose course will to a large extent determine Asiatic development. The pre-war share of Asia in world trade was around 14 per cent and whether it greatly improves or not depends very much on extra-economic and unknown considerations. What these great continental drifts in world economy may mean to the future of capitalism will in some measure be considered elsewhere. Before we inquire in to their significance, let us be aware of their existence. Suffice it to say here, therefore, that great continental drifts in world economy are taking place.

23. West Europe nearly trebled itself during the 19th century, exclusive of the paupers who went to the U.S.A., Britain quadrupled her population; Germany trebled herself; France more than doubled herself. These vast increases in population were helpful to West-European capitalisms in tiding over their industrial crises, as they offered enlarged markets and also supplied manpower for heavy capitalization. France's population has remained constant for over two decades now. The failure of Germany's deliberate effort to reverse population trends indicates that statistical calculations putting Britain's population at around 25 millions in place of the present 45 millions and Germany's at 35 millions by the end of the 20th century may not prove entirely unfounded. There seems to be great deal of truth in a British novelist's suggestion made about the imagined Forsyte family that the birth rate under capitalist conditions corresponds to the rate of interest. The falling rate of interest is threatening to become negative, and it seems hardly possible to check the accompanying decline in population. This reduction in population, however, does not by itself imply a reduction in West Europe's economic power against the colonial masses. As it is, in terms of the horse-power used, the German population is greatly in excess of India's and so is Britain's. Horsepower is a great determinant in existing forms of economic and political power. Nevertheless, one has to beware of the concentration of horsepower in the British or German style, for concentrated horsepower is a reason, among others, for population decline, and so forth. If the age that is passing belonged to concentrated horsepower, the age that is coming will belong to diffused, perhaps increased, horsepower.

24. Whether the acoustic torpedoes, radio-directed bombs etcetera, of West Europe's war machine are indicative of continuing scientific vigour or are the achievements of an old craft is difficult to tell. Perhaps Europe may yet take the lead in the sciences of small-unit horsepower and low-wattage electricity. As it is the U.S.A. was already before the war the leading country in industries of electrical engineering, and the new science of electronics seems to be making great headway there. As the Asiatic countries are not burdened with the heavy capitalization of an old technique, there seems to be no reason why Asian scientists should not take the lead in the new sciences of dispersed technics of electronics, plastics, and so forth. They have, however, not yet shown adequate scientific vigour and are dominated by the urge to ape European technics of the industrial sciences. All this, however, should not in any way obscure the outstanding fact that West Europe is still the leader in the highest branch of science, that of mathematical physics.
25. A colonial population can determine the origin of consumer's goods even while it may be politically enslaved, but it cannot do that with regard to producers' goods, as the capitalization under existing technics is heavy and the market is almost entirely confined to a foreign government and native capitalists, so that it is influenced more by considerations of risks and prices and non-national interests than by national sentiment of interest. The repair and locomotive shops of India, for instance, have, in spite of 30 years' talk, remained assembly and repair shops, nor are they likely to become effective manufacturing centres for locomotives and automobiles. However, the economic movement in producers' goods industries begins when political movements have matured into success, and therefore this is hardly the place to predict how soon or how late colonial obstruction may start affecting the West-European industries in producers' goods. Incidentally, the Mexican confiscation with some compensation to American and British oil companies, although the result largely of Mexico's own national vigour, was partly facilitated by the attitude of certain influential interests in the U.S.A.
26. Recent West-European activity in the colonies has been of little economic consequence. The recent expenditure on canals, for instance, in Sind, Rajputana, and the Punjab, although big in its own way, has in no way given a new dynamic either to Indian or to British economy. If there is any increased agricultural production, it is either just sufficient to cover the canal rates, that is, the interest and profits on government-owned canal capital, or it flows into the pockets of a very small section of big landowners without further productive use. At the same time, West-European activity in the colonies is assuming more and more a luxury character, as in, for instance, the Bombay Backbay Reclamation, the new Howrah Bridge, the Tanganyika Hunting Preserves, the Kenya Highlands, and so forth. These may make life more pleasant and beautiful for the west Europeans and a section of the native rich; they may even give a little retentive support to the West-European engineering industries; but they are absolutely powerless to revive capitalist or colonial economies. There is no likelihood of West-European economic activity acquiring a different character. Recent trends indicate that the West-European drift towards public works, transport, and what is now becoming known as agricultural mechanization will continue. Whatever their value as political or propagandist expedients, these measures of road-making, canal-making, electrified agriculture, and the like cannot revive colonial economies nor can they assist capitalist economies beyond making a small demand on the engineering industries. Until the internal relationships of colonial agriculture, among landless labour, poor peasantry, and big land-owners are radically altered and, what is more important, until colonial villages can undertake certain co-operative activities without much capital expenditure and can also reinvigorate themselves by some new type of small-unit technics, there is no hope for colonial economies. All this is beyond the reach of a foreign authority. There has indeed been some stray talk of a vigorous colonial policy, as, for instance, when a Secretary of the British Federation of Industries, speaking at a meeting of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, proposed the development of Africa and other colonies at a negative rate of interest. In the first place, such talk is more an adventure in thought than a working policy, for West-European capitalism will far sooner battle against the inevitable than accept such a vigorous policy full of grave and unknown risks; in the second place, it shows that even the most foresighted of West-European economists can only think of colonial development on the basis of old technics and therefore on the basis of diminishing capital. West-European capitalism, therefore, is likely to continue fighting a rearguard action on the colonial front; even more in the economic than in the political sphere must it forego all positive ideas and stick to the negative policy of non-liquidation. It can at best try to prevent the deterioration of the colonial dynamic to the extent that is possible by the employment of political methods. This will be so whether conservatives are in office or communists or any other variety between these two extremes. Marxism has no solution for the heavy capitalization of West-European industry. Its ready-made answers that, with the socialization of industry, everything will be all right, must appear strikingly

irresponsible not only to the owners and managers of West-European industry but also to imperial labour with its subconscious insight into the need for colonial annexes. That is why Marxism has so far proved unacceptable to West-Europeans and their working class and should it under some stress capture power it must, with its present understanding of the class struggle and technics stick to the economic policy of colonial non-liquidation or, else, if it chooses to fulfil, loosely held ideals, sent, the West-European economy hurtling along the path or relegation, of low production and unemployment.

27. Incidentally, this liberal conscience of freedom and justice is not to be confused with West-European communism. On account of its mistaken understanding of the world struggle, West-European communism, when it is not irritating its own nationals, is busy exasperating the colonial masses whose struggles it chooses to look upon as the expression of bourgeois and petite-bourgeois interests. It is thus ineffective and, to the extent that it befogs men's minds, somewhat harmful.
28. The study of West-European economies has disclosed the main directions in which the capitalist system is developing among which is the shift in favour of the North American continent. We have now to find out if this shift alters or modifies any of the main directions. There is not much need, for our purposes, to study in detail the remaining major capitalism, that of Japan, as it is developing more or less along West-European lines, only that the caste-stratification is easier and the relegation slower. With respect to the two-thirds of the human race, the colonial adjunct of the capitalist system, our study of Hindustan will apply more or less to China, to practically the whole of Asia, to Africa, to the broad masses in the South and Central American Republics. Hindustan has become, so to say a mirror to these other economies. The chief among the colonial adjuncts has come to such a point of saturation that it reveals the many facets of colonial economy better than any other.
29. The enormous production of the U.S.A., as reflected in its yearly national income, which, with round Rs 1,400 per head in a population of 13 crores, works out at one and three-fourths of the total in the three West-European lands, Britain, France, and Germany, with an average of Rs 750 per head in a population of 10 crores. It may be suggested that a higher cost of living and the greater range of services in the U.S.A. vitiate these figures and the productive capacity of the country should be assessed on firm grounds. Of the world's entire primary produce in 1937, Europe shared 21 billion dollars, Europe including the U.S.S.R. shared 28 billion dollars, while North America, comprising, the U.S. and Canada, shared 15 billion dollars. These figures, however, do not give an adequate idea, as they are made up largely of food and other agricultural products. Confining ourselves to non-agricultural products, we find that Europe including Russia produced 39 per cent, Europe excluding Russia produced 30 per cent, while North America shared 40 per cent of the world's total. These non-agricultural products used in industry and manufacture give a true idea of the U.S. productive capacity, which is thus shown to outstrip that of the whole of Europe including Russia. That the Canadian productive capacity is here merged in that of the United States does not introduce a new factor, as it is comparatively small and is more or less an annexe of the U.S. Further evidence of the preponderance of U.S. productive capacity in the world economy can be had from certain figures of production in 1937; it may be remembered that, this year was particularly favourable to Europe in view of its hectic rearmament.

	<i>Europe minus Russia</i>	<i>Europe plus Russia</i>	<i>North America</i>
Raw Material	24%	34%	35%
Fuels and Power	30%	38%	47%
Metals	24%	36%	34%

It is well known that the U.S. produced over 65 per cent of the world's petroleum in 1929, and has not allowed the ratio to fall very much lower; at one time it produced nearly 80 per cent of the world's automobiles; its production of steel and cotton was almost half of the world's. The 1939 war must have further expanded U.S. productive capacity; U.S. leadership in the world economy must now be without parallel.

If U.S. productive capacity has on the one hand reached such amazing heights, it has on the other arrived at its peaks from where the downward passage is already showing. On the basis of 1929 being 100, the North American mining and manufacturing position had deteriorated to 93 in 1937 and 73 in 1938, automobiles had sunk to 89 and 46, while the index of producers' investment goods fell to 87 in 1939 and 54 in 1938.

The U.S. has exhausted its internal dynamic. The expansion in rail roads and allied industries, in internal roads and the automobile industry appears to have reached its limits; the 1929 production of 50 lakhs automobiles in a world total of 63 lakhs is an all-time record. Even the production of electricity can only be extended more with a view to tide over a depression than to satisfy real needs of expansion. There is also not much scope for expansion in the internal consumption of food or cloth. It may be remembered that the U.S. has used up whatever dynamic it could get from the South American Republics without going too far in the way of West-European empire-colony relationships.

What stares the U.S. in the face is that, despite almost ten years between 1929 and 1938 of increased population and scientific improvements, its production-index of capital goods fell to 87 while that of Europe rose to 111. It would appear that the leader of capitalist economies is fated even more than the other members to suffer speedy contraction and relegation. When the 1939 war has ended, some of the West European capitalisms at any rate will have a lot of internal reconstruction to put through while the U.S. will have no such additional incentives in repairing war-destruction. There may be, a few years of animated demand in consumption and in the produce of limited new industries. The United States will thus be wholly unable to make use of its expanded productive capacity unless it chooses to utilize for post-war world trade the shifts caused in mid-war. Herein lies a reason for the decay of U.S. isolationism stronger than any articles of faith. The U.S. productive capacity demands involvement in world trade. It demands a world in which trade shall freely grow. Aside from the question of what a largely self-sufficient economy can exchange for its produce, the United States will have a still greater menace in the poverty and obstruction of two-thirds of the human race. If colonial poverty is primarily causing the relegation of West-European capitalism, it also remains to cause a lower use of the U.S. productive capacity. The most outstanding question, for capitalist survival, therefore, is whether the leader of capitalist economies will be able to face any better than West-European capitalisms the issue of colonial poverty.

- 30 We must continue to avoid all questions relating to the general theory of value. If in earlier parts of this study the term value 'has been used, it was more with a view to explain Marx's' economic thought. And where the conception of surplus value has been attempted to be set right, it has stood for nothing else but the source and extent of exploitation that takes place in a world of political and armed inequality. One of the most prolific subjects of economic enquiry is value and its measurement. But the results attained are hardly in keeping with the enormous labour spent on the subject. All the current theories of value are variations either of the labor theory of the supply and demand theory. No formulation helps us to understand life's economic substance, for the formulation is rigid and eternal, while the substance is fluid and historical. We have seen how Marx's socially necessary labour-hour as the measurement of value is all upside down in view of the imperial colonial inequality in the application of science. The only thing really worthwhile in this theory is its ideal, its norm, that the labour-hour should be enabled to produce approximately equally, whether in Timbuc too or in Sydney, and that it should be given approximately equal consumption. In like manner, the supply and demand theory, also in its form of marginal units and preference-scales, deliberately ignores the forced conditions within which the narrow act of buying and selling takes place. This theory is perhaps good enough as a principle of accounting and industrial management, but as a mirror to value in changing economies based on changing forms of ownership and rule, it is hopelessly anaemic. All this discussion has perhaps proceeded from a question that does not exist; 'What is value?' is like asking 'What is God?' This may be a good enough question for metaphysics, but for economics the proper question relates to the price-mechanism through which a set of historical conditions translates itself into money-expressions. We must therefore avoid this discussion on value and retrieve from its debris the only article of value, that labour-hour, which, whatever its land, should be enabled to produce approximately equally and, whatever its form, should be assisted to consume approximately equally. For the rest, economics must study man as a producer under certain conditions and as a consumer under certain conditions. Our inquiry has related to the conditions of capitalist development. We have studied capitalism as a process in time. This has yielded certain results both as to the past and as to current tendencies that run into the future, but more so it is important as a method of inquiry. It maybe possible, and perhaps worthwhile, to erect a logic of theoretical economics based on this method and the results, but that would be a vast and independent undertaking. Such a logic would presumably deal in detail with five entities: man in his economic dealings, productive equipment in its relative yield, world relationships, political rule, and economic ownership. Essentially these would be the two entities of labour and productive equipment, and they would act and react upon each other in the context of the three other entities.

31. In the year 1942, of around 1,000 per cent machine-tools expansion, the U.S. produced less than 2,000 million dollars worth of machine-tools against a total machine production 30 to 40 times as much. The U.S. machine-tools industry is likely to slump severely in the post-war period. for machine tools last 10 to 40 years.
32. The concepts, 'related economies', 'colonial economies', 'outer circles', on the one hand and 'major capitalisms', 'imperial economies', 'capitalist economies', on the other have been here used more or less synonymously. It might appear some what extravagant to lump together Hindustan, China, Iran, Sinhal, Misre, or the Congo under one category, in view of their varying political status. But on the deciding issue of capitalist development their status is similar, that of a retarded, colonial equipment which acts as an external dynamic to the major capitalisms. Without a doubt, there are two main economic camps in the world today and the basis of the division lies in the use of science and technics and in the yield and fruits of the labour-hour. Such an economy as that of South Africa is obviously colonial, with this difference that there is a very numerous middle class in the shape of the South African whites. The Australian economy, however, has slipped out of the colonial field, not because it is rapidly industrializing itself, but because the free application of science to its agriculture and sheep-rearing has enabled it to enter the world market with a raised status of the labour-hour. Nevertheless, it has certain mixed features, not the least important of which is its imperialistic exclusion of new settlers from a land almost twice as big as Hindustan with less than 1/40th of its population, and a corresponding dependence on a stronger capitalism, that used to be Britain but is now changing into the U.S.
33. It wouldn't be such a fanciful thing if the U.S. handed out scrips to its citizens for travel and stay in those areas from which it would not otherwise receive payment. Such travel ships could be granted on the close of secondary studies or marriage or some such general occasion applying to all citizens, and the internal arrangements between the U.S. government and the investors and exporters would not be impossible to make. It is, however, doubtful if even the U.S. could summon up sufficient courage to do this for the mass of its citizens. Likelier it is that the U.S. would want to become monopolist, the collector of old treasures and the user of new luxuries of the wide world. That travelships or treasures would raise the U.S. so in famously as the rest of the world in luxury and in what is known as culture is a moral fact with which we are not here concerned. But, while we may think out all the possible ways in which U.S. could receive payment from other economies, let us not forget that the debts and reparations owed by post 1919 Europe were defaulted, partly because Britain and Germany were not over-particular about their credit, but more so because the U.S. had no use for their manufactures or raw materials.
34. Let us first acquaint ourselves with the vast increase in U.S. productive capacity that has taken place as a result of the war. A Federal Reserve Board index places industrial production in 1943 at 3.4 times the average of 1935-39. It is thus roughly three-quarters over again of the 1929 production. Less than 30 per cent of this production is for civilian use, while the rest is war goods, which have gone to different parts of the world. What will happen to this enormous productive capacity when it is reconverted to peace use? It will naturally burst to make use of the world routes that it discovered in war.

Quite surprising are the opinions expressed by U.S. businessmen, chief among whom is the President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He is reported to have said some time in 1944 that the only way to achieve an expansionist economy in the U.S. is to supply producers' goods, capital, and skill to the backward economies. Without awareness of the basis of capitalist development, the U.S. Chamber President has, through sheer electric observation, come to a conclusion to which our analysis of capitalism has brought us. Mr Eric Johnston also talked to the British people in October, 1943 on the function of capital: 'In its British-American intermingling, it shall include an intermingling with whatever capital may volunteer itself in the regions of new investments. And, finally, it will not recoil but rejoice on the day when every such region stands up alive and alert on its own business feet.' In the course of a revealing conversation with the chairman of the British Imperial Chemicals, who thought that American anti-monopoly legislation stood in the way of a wide Anglo-American international understanding, Mr Johnston maintained that American capital still believed in individualism and competition and that even a concern like the General Motors could not depend on state action to pull it through in peacetime. British capital is too wise to be able to rejoice; American capital is too innocently robust to recoil. We are not here concerned with who is right, whether or not the prospect of a producers' goods industry in Hindustan or China should frighten the Americans as much as it already frightens the British. And we have already indicated the severe limitations upon any American attempt to develop backward economies, which are likely to turn it into more talk than activity. The robustness, nevertheless, stands out with which Americans are trying to grasp that the only way to achieve an expansionist world economy is to supply producers' goods to the retarded economies.

In this connection, it would be worthwhile to disabuse our minds of the complex issues raised to elaborate the American attitude towards retarded peoples. Much is made of the Declaration of Independence and the articles of the Constitution or even of the American's inability to wear a dinner jacket while dining alone in the tropics, and these spiritual and psychological traits are adduced to prove that U.S. citizens are opposed to imperialism. It is not yet our scope to examine the values of spiritual and psychological qualities in human affairs, although we may be permitted to doubt how far such qualities can withstand the pressure of other forces in international dealings. It is with these other forces, in so far as they are economic, that we are here concerned. Incidentally, the Russian economy enjoys a position similar to that of the American, in so far as neither has acquired such a vested interest in the consumption of retarded peoples as to be unable to supply them with producers' goods. The difference comes in where the Americans are forced in their own interest to exploit their position, while the Russians have yet a lot to do with their internal expansion.

- 35 In an earlier chapter, we have seen how the war is causing shifts in world trade and productive capacities and how this, combined with other factors, is causing the relegation of the West-European economy. There seems hardly a doubt that the U.S. will try to make full use of these shifts for its post-war economy; its world shipping, air traffic, trade in machines and goods, foreign investments are bound to grow at the expense of the West-European economies. At the same time, this growth will be unequal to the needs of the American economy, so that, in spite of the continental shifts in favour of the U.S., the major fact of colonial poverty and obstruction in conjunction with the heavy mechanization of capitalist economies will be there to cause the relegation of the U.S. economy. That the process of this relegation will be different and will produce different consequences has already been indicated.
- 36 Should it be possible to destroy the productive capacity of any of the free capitalist structures after the 1939 war has ended, there will be need to hold these in subjection, and consequently the need for war-preparedness will grow. A kind of officers' caste already exists in West Europe. All that is needed is to broaden its base. How exactly this will be done or whether it can be done at all will depend on several factors outside of West Europe. Incidentally, the introduction of a caste system seems to be done only as a palliative against the declining birth rate in a capitalist economy. What capitalism with its falling rate of interest does to the numbers of a population can only be undone by religion and the absence of any recreation save that of producing children. Such an increase of population may in the earlier stages act as a dynamic force, but that it will, in later stages, fall a victim to the cultural and even military sloth that a caste system causes should not be disputed. Also, a caste system with a good birth-rate cannot exist without child labour. West Europe will have to devise some means where by its once-payable bonus to fertile parents may be turned into a recurrent income.
- 37 The small scope for extension may be seen from their government's opposition to the Beveridge Scheme for the people of Britain. It has been calculated that the cost of this scheme would not be more than that incurred in the destruction of Hamburg. This expenditure would no doubt be recurrent, but has not the war as a whole already cost hundreds of times as much? Again, the very minor expenditure on the destruction of rats in the London sewage system could only be thought of in wartime.
- 38 Already, a blight has settled on West-European thought, in particular on its various sociological sciences. In fact, it is doubtful if, outside of the Dionysian clash of arms and the presentation of drama, there is anything great still left in West Europe. The economic man is ending, not to be replaced by a healthier faith or ideals, but in utter despair, as he is no longer able to rule over the world. West-European philosophy, sociology, economics, politics, literature are going scholastic and are increasingly concerning themselves with marginal phenomena. However, the proper place to discuss the cultural relegation of Europe would be when we take up the general problem of history. We may here confine ourselves to economic thought by way of illustration. In the two most important West-European countries, economic thought was proceeded along revealing lines: in Germany, it has become photostatically historical and has lost the creative urge; in England, its discussion of economic phenomena is proceeding in an increasingly rarer air. The German Werner Sombart, perhaps the greatest West-European economist of the century, has cutely described the current economic movement as tending towards social pluralism. Incidentally, this social pluralism in economy is not to be confused with the philosophical pluralism in thought. It only means a kind of balanced economy in which industry, handicrafts, agriculture, the captains of industry and its workers all have their fixed places, duties, and rewards. So far, this is a correct historical observation; we have already seen how the West-European economy is attempting to achieve fixity and caste. But, when Sombart goes on to add that this economy of social pluralism will by itself endure in a state of prosperity, he is unhistorical,

and therefore uncreative. His unhistoricity proceeds from his unawareness of the deteriorating colonial dynamic and of the continental shifts; his lack of creative solutions is also to be ascribed to this unawareness. Nevertheless, Sombart will enable the student of the future to understand a part of the world of today and its aspirations. British economists, statisticians excluded, are, on the other hand, discussing phenomena of money, interest, wages more or less in scholastic way and with a view to refine their definitions. Thus one of these, Mr T.R. Hicks, pleads, in respect to consumers' demand, for a change from the method of 'total utility' to 'scales of preference', from 'marginal utility' to 'marginal rate of substitution' among preferences, from 'diminishing marginal utility' to 'diminishing marginal rate of substitution'. These newer terms indeed make better sense than the old categories. Precision should always be welcome, but there is just a possibility that in the search for it economics might be turning into grammar. Mr Hicks goes on to describe the conditions of equilibrium in a dynamic production plan '(1) The marginal rate of substitution between outputs of any two dates must equal the ratio of their discounted prices; (2) the marginal rate of substitution between inputs of any two dates must equal the ratio of their discounted prices. (3) The marginal rate of transformation of any input into any output must equal the ratio of their discounted prices.' Mr J.M. Keynes's definition that 'Short period supply price is the sum of marginal factor cost and marginal user cost' is on a par with this. All this is Panini with a vengeance, without his brevity and without the easy-to-remember rhythm of the language whose grammar he refined. Precise simplicity is something entirely different from complex precision. The crux of the complex writing just quoted is that calculations of future costs and prices, or income should be so made that the interest payable during the period is deducted from them, and that a production plan must take account of the most profitable substitutions between present output and future output, between present input and future output. Innocently unaware of the political and historical world in which their economic phenomena move, British economists have in recent years discussed the problems of money and interest in such isolation as to give them a kind of self-movement. This is not to say that their findings are all useless. Mr Hick's definitions, for instance, of the simple term 'income', though to some extent delightfully virtuos, are penetrating and should persuade the creative economist and the economic historian to be wary of certain pitfalls. Is income, 'the maximum amount which can be spent during a period if there is to be an expectation of maintaining in act the capital value of prospective receipts'? No. Is income then 'the maximum amount the individual can spend this week, and still expect to be able to spend the same amount in each ensuing week'? No. Is income 'the maximum amount of money the individual can spend this week, and still expect to be able to spend the same amount in real terms in each ensuing week'? No. Income is what a person 'can consume during the week and still expect to be as well off at the end of the week as he was at the beginning'. The week is only a convenient period, and it may be noted the first definition is incorrect in view of changing rates of interests, the second in view of changing prices, the third because it is concerned with expenditure and not with consumption, while the fourth, although correct, is indeterminate. Such is British economic thought today, not creative, not historical, not even logically simple, but perhaps negatively helpful.

39. In Marxian language, the study of the West-European economy discloses three laws in operation: the law of relegation, the law of transformation of classes into castes, and the law of conscious social change. The first two laws are prevailing over the third, and will in all likelihood continue doing so. The Marxian law of class struggle, which is a rather misshapen effort at social change, embraces only a small part of world realities. In attempting to raise this bit to the status of a whole, Marxians are to some extent strengthening their class enemies. The communist illusion that the world has already been mapped out by the Marxian laws of capitalist development, that socialism is an inevitable outcome of highly capitalized economies, and that all there is to do is to evolve a ruthless will is causing considerable harm. Socialism requires a great new effort at renewed understanding of capitalism as much as it requires an effort of will. To believe that the task of understanding was completed by Marx is the gravest communist error. Unless the West-European peoples, in particular their working classes, can work out their class struggle in subsidiary alliance with the struggle of the colonial masses and unless they review the problem of technicals in the world-character of an equal attack on poverty, they are heading towards a relapse.
40. The anti-imperialism of Russia will be severely tested on this issue. In the event of an outright victory, there will be great temptation to throw the burden of this not-immediately-productive activity on the backs of the defeated populations. This can be done through direct political control and in the form of indemnities or low-paid labour. It can also be achieved through establishing a town-village relationship in the exchange of goods with other East-european countries. Russian nationalism has already acquired the aggressive equipment of an excessive national religion, a militarist anthem, and a fine army with a love for extended defensive

frontiers, and is developing other features with which we are not concerned here. whether this nationalism will also persuade Russia to bring other populations into a town-village relationship economically, if not politically, is more than we can answer; the basis for it will be there and the temptation as well. Else, the Russian people will again, to some extent, have to be starved of consumers' goods. Incidentally, Russian activity in outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, in Poland and the Baltic States has shown such mixed features that whether it is imperialism for economic purposes or for defensive frontiers is difficult to say.

41. Corresponding to this dispersal of production has taken place a like development in warfare. The importance of the small unit in the regular army and of guerillas has grown. These units are very lightly equipped with small arms and operate in groups of a few persons. Nevertheless, their action is complementary to the main movement of the massed armies. They have shown the possibility of a new pattern of economic defence. But this possibility cannot be fully explored until a consciously planned economy chooses to experiment, not as a complementary but as a primary measure, with the small unit in production as also in warfare. Needless to say, these small units in order to be effective over concentrated production and defence, must have all the advantages that science and technics can give them. It does not seem likely that the Russian economy will have any more creativity, than the West-European economies have the latitude, to pursue conscious policy of small-unit technics as the primary, and the heavy mechanization as the secondary base.
42. Such a class, apparently for political reasons, is already in existence. The numbers of men in the various labour camps of Siberia and elsewhere are sometimes estimated at millions. When the political reasons for the continuance of these labour camps have disappeared, it is doubtful if the economic reasons will not be as important. Besides labour camps, there is also the possibility of low and menial service.
43. Unless information has been withheld, the Russian economy has not been too fruitful in the sphere of new inventions. There have indeed been projections and perfections of an old technique, and these may continue or increase. But no new items of economic welfare have been invented, no new industries created, no altering of an old industry into more pleasurable and healthful forms of labour. It is largely a copy of the best technics available from West Europe and the United States. Perhaps it is too early to judge. In any case, Russian planning seems to give an impression of pursuit of statistics. A retarded economy must undoubtedly pursue expanded statistics of production, but there is just a possibility that such a pursuit of statistics may at some points militate against the pursuit of welfare. Let us take an imaginary example.
A hundred-acre farm, with an optimum use of technics, can be made to produce X quantity with the labour of a hundred persons. With the maximum use of heavy technics and the quantity remaining unchanged, the labour on the farm can be cut down to fifty persons. The other fifty persons are drafted into making these heavy technics possible, into mining coal and iron, into machine-manufacture, into transport. Production has thus registered an all round increase; more agricultural production per head, more tonnage of iron, more mileage covered. Actually, however, there has been no real increase, X has remained X, and the other activity has been like the jinn's going up and coming down. This is, of course, an extreme example but it illustrates the possibility of statistical expansion being merely a chimera. In actual life real expansion is interwoven with chimerical expansion, and an overall national planning must very carefully disentangle the one from the other and might even have to pursue a policy of healthful stability in certain directions.
44. In passing, we may here refer to the violent swings of the Russian economic policy, occasioned partly by the varying concepts of socialist distribution. There was the early pure communism followed by the New Economic Policy of limited private ownership in production and trade. Then came the dizzy period of collective agriculture, followed once again by a kind of new economic policy in distribution with complete ownership in production. Despite these swings, Russian economic expansion has proceeded with a good speed, in some ways better than the best American speed. The Russian expansion is not questioned nor its speed, and we are not directly concerned here with the political ruthlessness that has gone with it; the only question is whether this same speed, or even better, could not have been attained by a more consistent and continuous policy. Perhaps the first land to come under social ownership had to go through these experiences. Perhaps, also some violent swings of policy are unavoidable when private property is beaten into a social shape. One has, therefore, to beware of superficial criticisms of Russia and of the mere analogies now so popularly drawn between the Russian and the West-European economies. Only such critical understanding of Russia has meaning as reinforces the need for social ownership and as is informed by the desire to extract certain over-all principles for the planning of a socialist economy. And here the Russian experience has shown that progress can have two rates, an optimum rate and an intermittently ruthless rate. The optimum rate of progress may actually be more revolutionary than a ruthless rate.

28: Editorial in *Free Press Journal*

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143
[NMML]

Bombay, Wednesday, January 19, 1944

A Barter — Not a Plan

A memorandum of Barter by Indian Big Business to bait the British and the American Big Business into a transfer of political power into its hands, miscalled as a Plan of Economic Development of India — has been released to the Press.

The sponsors are, principally, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, Mr J.R.D. Tata, Mr G.D. Birla, Sir Shri Ram and Mr Kasturba Lalbhai.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Mr A.D. Shroff and Dr John Mathai, constituting the Brains Trust of Indian Big Business, lend glamour to the plan, by their association. The Plan relates to post-war reconstruction, under a National Government, with a unitary control over the economic life of India.

The Plan claims a limited scope under the cover of an economic Plan only; in reality, however, the planning is ambitious in the field, that it covers.

Diet, cloth, housing, health, sanitation, medical relief, education, roads, railways, are all covered by the Plan.

The Plan provides for three five year plans for the expansion of power and Capital Goods, involving the employment of a capital of Rs 10,000 crores.

Of the said capital, Rs 400 crores are to be employed in the first five years, Rs 2,900 crores in the second five years and Rs 5,700 crores, in the third five years.

Rs 2,600 crores are to be provided by External Finance, of which Rs 700 crores are to be represented by borrowings.

That is, for a major period of the fifteen years of Planning, External Finance will be preponderating.

To impart a popular character to the Planning, the principal objective is stated to be to double the present annual per capita income and to raise the net output of agriculture to a little over twice the present figure, at the end of fifteen years.

The barrenness of the objective is revealed when it is recalled, that on the basis of 1939 figures, as against an annual per capita income of Rs 1,406 in U.S.A. and Rs 980 in the United Kingdom, the per capita income in British India is Rs 65 only.

No nation of four hundred millions can uplift itself, while struggling to keep body and soul together, on an annual per capita income of Rs 65, increasing in fifteen years, to Rs 130, assuming that the miscalled Planning yields its maximum results.

The Plan is really in the nature of a scheme of Barter. The entire concept is based on the realization, that in Britain and America, the two Big Powers that count today in the counsels of the world, it is MONEY or in other words, Big Business that governs and not Democracy.

The Money Barons of India, the shrewd, practical men, that they are, have realized, that, when the war is over, it is Big Business again, that will pull the strings.

Big Business will demand safe markets, assured return for investments and a guarantee of vested interests that are peculiar to MONEY POWER.

The miscalled Plan of Economic Development of India is, in its essence, an offer by Indian Big Business, that if it be trusted with the Governance of India, in the post-war world, it would assure British and American Big Business of the beneficial employment of External Finance in India to the extent of not less than Rs 2,600 crores.

That is, in other words, a self-governing India, with Indian Big Business in Power, sustained in the seat of Power, by British and American Might, both financial and military, the latter being more implicit than explicit, would be a pillar of strength to British and American Big Business.

The concept of National Government by Big Business is only a Government of India by itself.

This rests on the assumption, that, what India rebels against, is alien exploitation, and not indigenous exploitation.

We would only say to India's Big Business: So far as India is concerned, your days are as much numbered, as those of alien Big Business.

Big Business may have a chance in a million in Britain and America, to continue in the saddle because with an annual per capita income of Rs 1,406 in the United States and Rs 980 in the United Kingdom, the urge to an immediate violent revolution is least pressing.

Big Business in India has, however, one chance of survival, in a Free India, because, with an annual per capita income of Rs 65, there can be no regeneration for India's million, except on the ashes of India's Big Business.

India's four hundred millions are entitled to a civilized standard of living under a National government.

That can be attained only by the abolition of private wealth, that is, all private rights in poverty.

All wealth will have to belong to the State and a minimum annual per capita income, at least five times the present scale, will have to be assured to India's hungry millions, before there is any recognition of the right of any individual or class to an income larger than the minimum.

India's four hundred millions will not let themselves to be bartered, as if they were chattels, by India's Big Business.

India's Big Business can serve itself and the country only through its voluntary surrender of nine-tenths of its MONEY POWER to the cause of India's hungry millions.

29: Article in *The Statesman* dt 19.1.1944

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143

[NMML]

India Not Yet Committed to Post-war Monetary Plans

Problem of Sterling Balances

The Government of India has not yet undertaken the formulation of its official views on the merits of either the American or British Post-War monetary plan, still less committed itself in anyway. This was made clear by the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, addressing a

meeting of the General Policy Committee (Post-War Reconstructions) in New Delhi in November. Sir Jeremy pointed out that the time was approaching when finally drafting would have been reached and then the time for decision would have arrived. It was in anticipation of that time that he invited discussion on the subject although the Govt. would not reach a final decision without further consulting the Legislature. The discussion would proceed on the assumption that India would in the last resort have to take decisions on her own behalf in the sphere of monetary policy in the same manner to the same extent as other members of the United Nations. The general intention behind the schemes was clear, he went on. That was to advise a generally acceptable means of payment but nations to facilitate the provision of internal purchasing power to prevent the recurrence of such currency crises as arose in the inter war-period and so to promote a steady expansion in the flow of international trade and an improvement in the standard of life of the participating countries. The price to be paid was some limitation upon the right to vary exchange rates autonomously and a willingness to accept some degree of international control of advice, when remedies were required for a serious disequilibrium in a country's balance of payments.

An international monetary union is a great experiment which if it is successful may confer enormous benefits upon the world and it would appear desirable to give it a chance to succeed, but it does not follow from this that any country would be justified in committing its future irrevocably to such a union. There shall be an escape clause if things do not turn out well, the Finance Member said.

This brings me to another matter. These monetary proposals are long term proposals. But it is precisely in the early post-War months or years that conditions are most likely to be confused and difficult. You may perhaps come to the conclusion that in the circumstances which are likely to prevail at that time, Government requires the maximum degree of freedom to act so as to be able to adjust its policy as closely as possible to circumstances which cannot all be foreseen. In other words, whilst it may be desirable to adhere to an international monetary organisation, it may not be desirable to adhere to it at any arbitrary moment of time. Before India is finally committed it may be well to ascertain at what time and under what conditions, it is proposed to inaugurate the full working of the scheme. *Sterling Balances* – Dealing with the Sterling Balance, the Finance member said. 'Our Sterling balances are not the only case with which the world will have to deal. S. American Committee for instance have been building up impressive balances in New York and some have built up balances in London as well. It would appear obvious that there will have to be some plan by which these balances can be liquidated in an orderly way, since the amounts involved are so great that unless liquidation is carefully handled, a most serious situation will be thrown upon rates of exchange and the mechanism of transfer and this strain would occur at the very time when the transition from war to peace conditions would in any case be creating quite considerable difficulties.

In the case of India, it will clearly be necessary in the first instance to negotiate with HMG, but it may be thought desirable that common principles should be adopted in dealing with this type of problems. Whether or not the schemes now before the world formally incorporate principles of procedure for dealing with the matters, it is clarified. The existence or non-existence of an international monetary organisation will affect the situation. For if such an organisation did exist, the countries concerned would find their general monetary policy undermined, if such an organisation is not brought into existence, the strain proves considerably greater. In view of the magnitude of our interests, I suggest that this aspect of the matter requires careful consideration.

30: Editorial in *Free Press Journal* (dt 20.1.1944)

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143

[NMML]

Bombay, Thursday, January 20, 1944

A Plan of Sabotage

The Plan of Economic Development for India launched by Sir Purushottamdas and his colleagues is a pure and simple Plan of Sabotage.

It is no Plan of Economic Progress, not of Progress in the political, cultural, or any other nation-building department.

The Plan aims at its highest situation the manufacture of a large body of industrial and agricultural working class, whose sweated toil can bring more millions to the limited millionaires of India.

The Beveridge Plan¹ is a kind of dope for the British working class.

The Purushottamdas-Tata Plan is a feeble Indian edition of that dope for the Indian masses.

The implications are clear.

Let Independence alone; concentrate on more income, more food, more cloth, more shelter, more health, more medical relief, more education – all of which can be attained through the Purushottamdas-Tata Plan, dependent in all its vital stages on the co-operation of foreign capital and foreign rule.

It may be argued, that the Sponsors are only submitting to the inevitable.

British Rule is a reality; the failure of the Congress to wrest political power is real; the continuance of British dominance over India in a post-war world is a certainty.

Confronted with a bad situation, the Sponsors are only making the best of a bad situation.

We regret that we cannot accept this doctrine of inevitability.

Neither Life nor history knows any Settled Fact; Settled Facts become Unsettled, only when the will to resist inequity and injustice is developed.

That India's chosen leaders are in prison, by their own choice, refusing to recant the national creed, that tens of thousands are in prison, consequent to the National Will to resistance, these are indications enough, that the Nation describing a vast section of the population, continues to refuse to accept as Settled Fact, what the Sponsors of the Plan have chosen to accept and to submit to, as Settled fact.

That Sons of India, who have not failed to bask in the sunshine of the support and the patronage of the National Movement, are permitted to render co-operation to an unrepresentative, unnational Administration, impelled thereto chiefly, by profit-making motives, in the present conditions, without any stigma without any approach, is the measure of tolerance that Indian Nationalism has cultivated, under a Gandhian philosophy.

The tolerance should be understood and it should be respected; it should not be so flagrantly abused, as the Sponsors tend to do.

The references to regional Governments is a sop to the Pakistanists.

The Plan throws a sop to British rulers, to British capitalists, to Pakistanists; only there is no sop to the freedom Movement.

The concept of a National Government for India under British tutelage, in a post-war world is a mockery.

That only is a National Government, in which the Sovereignty of the people is vested; which acknowledges no duties and no obligations, except to its own nationals.

A Sovereign Government of India responsible to the people, would consider it, its first duty, to abolish hunger, to abolish literacy, to abolish ill-health, to abolish nakedness, to abolish shelterlessness, to abolish unemployment, to abolish all iniquities and injustice.

India's hungry naked, suffering millions cannot wait for five years after the war, for the formulation of a Plan, and wait again for a morsel of food, for a piece of clothing and other necessities of life, for the major part of the planned fifteen years.

India wants Freedom, not after the war; India wants it today.

A Free India is a condition precedent to Allied victory in the war.

The Sponsors do not know the make up of the British Mind.

It is a great virtue of the British Mind to stoop to conquer.

No sooner Britain recognizes the essentiality of a Free India to victory in the war, Britain will make India free.

Britain can be left to make her own choice, in her own time, at her own convenience.

To Sons of India, there is but only one choice to make.

That choice is to remain firm like a rock in their faith in the right of India to be a free Sovereign nation and in the ultimate victory of India, in attaining her goal.

It may not be permitted to all sons and to all daughters of India, to suffer in the degree in which the leaders and the active workers of the Freedom Movement are suffering.

Such as are unable to resist the temptation to make money in the present abnormal conditions, however ingloriously, may engage in money-making.

The Purushottamdas-Tata Plan is deemed to an inglorious end; it can achieve nothing; it may achieve at the highest, more money-making and more personal advancement. for a few.

We grudge none the crumbs, that they can pick; we grudge, however, even a remote risk of the misguidance of even a single person.

That accounts for a our emphatic dissent

1. This refers to *Full Employment in a Free Society* (1942) by Sir William Beveridge, a report commissioned by the War Cabinet to examine existing schemes of social insurance in Britain, and make recommendations — Ed.

31: Editorial in *The Hindu* (dt 20.1.1944)

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143

[NMML]

Thursday January 20, 1944

Planning

It is a pity that the General Policy Committee on post war Reconstruction, which met at New Delhi, this week should have dispersed without coming to any specific decisions on the broad

line which post-war planning should take. The Committee, we are told, was of the view that planning should be on all-India basis, with the Central Govt. taking the initiative, but did not venture to make any suggestions as to how the plan should be evolved. The case for Central control of planning needs no elaborate arguing. Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer set it forth powerfully in his address to the Committee, which was a vigorous call for action. He went so far as to suggest that the Central Govt. must have no qualms about enforcing its decision on Provinces or States even against their will, if the decisions were in the interests of India as a whole. How far lack of machinery to reconsider local autonomy with the needs of the country at large can stand in the way of decisive action for promoting public need is evident from the example he gave of the manner in which negotiations between Mysore, Hyderabad and Madras over the Tungabhadra project had dragged on endlessly while millions of people were being condemned needlessly to famine and economic backwardness. Large scale planning whether in regard to irrigation, roads, electricity or forests must involve schemes which cannot be confined in every case to the arbitrary boundaries of the existing Provinces & States. They are bound to cover a number of areas and long and tedious negotiations to safeguard the interests of every unit might mean denial of relief to the people of all the areas. The Travancore Dewan's appeal to Indian States and British India to work together and to reconcile themselves to Central Control in all India policies, apart from local and state policies and governance is thus timely.

There is a primary obligation cast on the Provinces and States in regard to planning. It is their duty to carry out a thorough survey of the needs of the people in their respective areas, of the resources available for development and to draw up in the first instance, plans for their areas. Such plans would comprise schemes ranging from roads for individual villages to a Provincial or State wise scheme of electrification. It is only when the all-India plan is built on such local schemes that we can have the assurance that planning is not something imposed from the top but a response to the real needs of the people. Sir J.P. Srivastava revealed in his opening speech to the General Policy Committee that Provinces and States were engaged in the preparation of plans and that considerable data had been collected by the Centre on question such as land for demobilized soldiers, civil aviation, electrical development, education etc. Full time development officers had been appointed, he said, to tour the various States and Provinces for the purpose of co-ordinating the different local plans and fitting them into the All-India Plan.

Whether these efforts emerge finally in the formulation of a great All-India Plan for economic development and social improvement will depend partly on the earnestness with which they are pushed through, but more on the extent to which popular co-operation and sanction are secured. Nothing perhaps is more disheartening in the Indian situation today than the fact that great issues of policy are being decided by a bureaucracy so utterly divorced from the people that the real representatives of the people have no part or role in the shaping of policies which vitally affect them. It is extremely doubtful whether any planning can be successful if it does not from the very start mobilize the enthusiasm of the people. It was the Russian leaders ability to evoke much enthusiasm that contributed so greatly to the success of their five year plans. In India the first condition of success is, as was urged by prominent industrialists in their recent memorandum outlining a 10,000 crore development plan for India, the establishment of a democratic National Govt. in this country.

So long this is not done it will be difficult to persuade the people that whatever is being planned or done will adequately subserve their interests.

32

Article in *The Times of India* (dt 20.1.1944)

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143
[NMML]

Industrial Leaders on 15 Year Plan — National Govt. — A Pre-requisite

The view that the establishment of a national Govt. in India is a pre-requisite for the extension of the 15 year plan prepared by 8 Indian industrialists and economists for the economic development of India was expressed by Sir P. Thakurdas, presiding over a press conference at the Bombay House, Bombay, on Wednesday, when signatories to the plan explained the background. Mr J.R.D. Tata, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Mr Kasturbhai Lalbhai and Dr John Mathai were present.

They made it clear that without the establishment of a national Govt., a plan of that magnitude could not be put into action. Sir Purushottamdas thought that there was no need to take a pessimistic view of the present political situation which was brought to improve and felt that only a national Govt. enjoying the confidence of the people could take bold measures to mobilize the resources of the country and even resort to providing currency notes with a view to finding the additional finance for the economic development of the country without disturbing the confidence of the public in currency.

Mr Tata affirmed that the plan was only meant to be a basis for discussion with a view to facilitating the working out a detailed plan for which about 3 years would be necessary. It was essentially a plan to the economic development of the country and not a post-war reconstruction plan; the latter assumed that there was something to reconstruct.

Per Capita Income

Dr Mathai said that he and his colleagues had taken Dr Rao's estimate of the national income¹ as the basis to proceed with a fixed goal of the per capita income as Rs 135. It was, however, to be distinctly understood that the estimate of cost were in terms of their equivalent to the commodity values prevailing in 1931-39. He thought that there was no need for India necessarily to pursue a policy of isolation for the execution of the plan.

Replying to a question about the estimate of clothing requirements under the Plan, Mr Kasturbhai Lalbhai said that the figure was arrived at on the basis of the average pre-war price of cloth at 3.6 per yard. He also thought that the productive capacity of the industrially advanced countries had increased during the war to an extent which would enable them to supply the necessary machinery to start basic industries in India, under the Plan without affecting the post-war requirements of China and other countries, provided they had the will to do so.

In regard to the weightage given to the production of consumption goods in the Plan, Dr Mathai explained that the framers of the proposal visualised that there would be greater emphasis on cottage and small scale industries in that respect. Mr Tata stated in reply to a question that, in a way, the plan served as an answer to those who had been thinking that Indian industrialists had no plan of their own for the economic regeneration of their country during the post-war period.

1. This refers to V.K.R.V. Rao, *An Essay on Indian National Income, 1924-29* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1939)

33: News item in *The Times of India* (dt 22.1.44)

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143

[NMML]

Economic Plan For India Delhi Reaction

From Our Special Correspondent

New Delhi. January 21: The non-official 'masterplan' for economic development of India was the talk of the town today, causing varied reactions. All commentators admit its boldness, and the general feeling is that it has exploded like a cracker under the chair of official planners and will certainly expedite the preparation of the official blue print.

The reaction in official quarters may be summed up thus: 'It is an interesting document but needs very critical analysis'. Such questions are posed in these quarters:

Is it not a large assumption that the land will double its yield in 15 years and that the industrial population can, increase from 2,500,000 to 12,500,000?

Is it not assumed that a third of the capital will be raised by inflation?

Considering that the total investment of Rs 10,000 crores is estimated on the 1931-39 price level, which was the lowest in the present century, will not the actual capital needed be Rs 15,000 crores?

Does not the plan suffer from lack of concrete suggestions about agriculture, because its authors, representing big business, have no real background to the practical side of agricultural problems?

These posers suggest that the official side is as suspicious of the non-official motive as the latter is of the former's. The first essential of proper planning is that both sides should remove distrust and frankly recognise merits of each and then attempt a practical solution.

Common Ground

The common ground between the official and non-official sides is that both recognise that the enforcement of post-war development will be the concern of an Indian Government and that the development of power resources must receive priority, in the interest of both agriculture and industry. Non-official leaders have produced their plan, and it is now for Government to announce its policy and ask the industries and the general public to play up by promising the necessary sacrifices in the form of taxation and savings.

Though the non-official plan does not state it, the fact remains that industry must be prepared to be taxed heavily and so also all earnings above Rs 1,000.

The reaction in Indian political and commercial quarters and among Indian economists is one of enthusiasm for the Purshotamdas Plan, which they say is conceived on modern lines and is lucidly expressed. They are glad its authors have learnt lessons of the past decade and that an orthodox financier like Sir Purshotamdas has joined hands with Mr A.D. Shroff,* who believes in expansionist economy.

It is pointed out by supporters of the scheme that the total of Rs 10,000 crores merely indicates the level of investment and will embrace both State and private enterprise. The

present high level of agricultural prices is due to war-time employment and in order to prevent depression, it would be necessary to keep up employment.

Government could do this by starting hydro-electric schemes, building wells and roads, and private enterprise could do it by clearing slums and by importing such capital goods as would be available to start industries. Without such co-operation between Government and industry the post-war plan would not work.

It is argued that if India wants to revolutionize her productive structure she must resort to expanding economy and that if the flow of goods could be extended to an equal flow of money the monetary expansion envisaged in the Purshotamdas Plan would not be inflationary. The effect of such finance in the depreciating rupee in international exchange would have to be watched, but that danger could be avoided partly because other countries would be simultaneously adopting similar financial measures for reconstruction, and partly because India's Sterling balances and gold reserve would be her sheet anchor in the early days of reconstruction.

A criticism of the Purshotamdas Plan is that it is in some respects visionary and fritters away the resources in a multiplicity of small schemes. For instance, Rs 2,200 crores provided for housing can be substantially reduced and the plan of a hospital for each village is impractical, since Rs 2,000 a year would certainly not secure the services of a doctor and two nurses and the cost of medicine.

The plan also omits to take note that India lacks technical and professional men and that it would take years to train such men.

Thus the entire plan needs to be made more concrete. On the other hand the official planning is definitely backward. The industrial side has not yet been touched, a memorandum on agriculture has been lying with the printers for three months, the Health Commission is still drawing up its questionnaire, housing, and though Mr Sargent and Mr Vasugar have on individual enterprise produced schemes for national education and roads, there are no detailed plans on the subjects. All that has happened is that Government has collected data on various topics.

Thus, while the non-official plan has a lot of 'if's' the officials are still struggling with a lot of 'but's'. The general public feeling is that it is time Government made up its mind on broad policies and that official and non-official planners got together to hammer out a workable scheme.

'Very Good Scheme'

The ten thousand crore plan for the economic development of India, sponsored by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr J.R.D. Tata and other leading Indian industrialists, is welcomed by Sir M. Visveswaraya*. 'It is indeed a very good scheme', he said adding that he would any day prefer this scheme to Government's approach to the problem.

'Government's anxiety to proceed with the huge road programme of Rs 400 crores', said Sir M. Visveswaraya, 'is an indication of that wrong approach, for an outlay on roads to start with entail not only that outlay and an annual maintenance charge to boot, but also the prospect of little or no return, whereas a similar outlay on industries will yield a substantial return. This is said to be the reason why America did not have even as recently as 20 years ago, its vast roads of today'.

Sir M. Visveswaraya also welcomed the scheme because it had emanated from practical industrialists handling high finance and it was bound to receive wide attention, 'Much will depend upon the power the future Government of the country will wield', he thought.

34: News item in *The Times of India* (dt 24.1.1944)

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143

[NMML]

Post-war Industrialization of India Delhi's Attitude

From Our Special Correspondent

New Delhi, January 22: The Government of India intend to prepare plans for post-war development, based on the greatest denominator of opinion in India as a whole, according to an official spokesman. While the present Government's role is that of caretaker, they will not merely collect data and leave it to their successor to frame plans of reconstruction. Government's plan will be based on economic and social considerations and will avoid political issues, but Government must take decisions because India expects it to do so as an administrative duty. The future Government can adopt the blue print or modify it.

Now that official quarters have had time to study the non-official 'master plan' for the economic development of India, their reactions are available in some detail. The plan prepared by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and his colleagues is welcomed here as being educative to the Government and public alike. Its advantage is that it will make people think in a big way, instead of in terms of very small expenditure and corresponding small results. A good deal of the non-official plan is considered sound, and officials think it possible to work some of its parts into Government schemes.

While agreeing with the report that finance is the servant and not the master, officials wish to guard against the danger of launching schemes lacking a sound foundation. It is pointed out that non-officials having no resources to plan a project from bottom to top had to set out board objectives, whereas Government's plan has to be the sum total of schemes prepared by experts and worked out in full details. For instance, the problem of raising finance is most difficult as also the need for a technically qualified administration to carry out the plan. It takes a long time to select and train personnel, and even foreign staff engaged for short periods would need time to study and assimilate Indian conditions.

Time for Decision

Official quarters admit that the time has arrived to take decisions on broad policies. At present, Government have taken no decision either on the post-war plan as a whole or on the relative importance of social and other services. When the Viceroy spoke in Calcutta suggesting communications be given priority No. 1 and when recently Sir Jogendra Singh*, stood for full implementation of the scheme of national education, both expressed individual views and did not voice the conclusion of Government.

It is explained that the line drawn between social and other services is due merely to the fact that the latter involve capital expenditure on productive works, and the former would be a burden on revenue. It is difficult at this stage for officials to indicate how financial relations between the Centre and provinces would emerge from present discussions. But probably the

final scheme would provide more elastic revenue for the provinces and also recurring grants from the Centre.

Similarly, in the sphere of industrialization it is difficult to forecast how much of industrialization will be taken over by the State, but the State will probably embark on certain enterprises and leave the major part of industrial development to private capital. It is clear that the State will not go in for socialization of industries even though it may take a special interest in such matters as aviation, the development of mineral resources and the regulation of the coal industry a serious omission in the non-official plan is the absence of any mention of civil aviation. The danger of power being concentrated in the hands of big business is realized by Government, but it is pointed out that if India is to progress industrially big business must also be mobilized for the achievement of efficient and speedy progress.

The non-official plan does not mention the problem of demobilization. It may be asked why demobilization and the disposal of military stores are put on the top of Government's plans. The official answer is that these two problems are not relatively most important, but administratively most urgent. Demobilization of Indian soldiers will probably be in two main stages. In the early stage Indian troops may be called upon to perform garrison duties abroad in the interests of the United Nations but later when the peace-time strength of the Indian Army is fixed, final demobilization will occur.

35: News item in *The Free Press Journal* (dt 25.1.44)

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143

[NMML]

A Totalitarian Bid Purushottamdas — Tata Plan

Madras

Commenting on the Prushottamdas Tata Plan, the Madras 'Mail' says:

What they actually propose is something that can scarcely be distinguished from totalitarianism, or Sovietism. Agriculture would be collectivized, industry either nationalized or centralized, and distribution subject to the direction of an all-powerful Central Government. There are some who think that the industrial barons of India have already displaced the Princes from their pre-eminent position in this country. The evolution of this Rs 10,000 crore Plan would surely strengthen the position of the Industrial barons unless the people decided that if India is to be regimented it were better that the beneficiary should be the State, as in Russia.

The Opposing Forces

When they speak of 'prejudice and traditions' they misname the things they will be up against. The opposition they would encounter will spring from a determination to be free and to sacrifice none of the rights and privileges which have been hardly won by men and women in the past. This is not prejudice, it is something much more noable. And the traditions founded upon a love of freedom are worth preserving.

36: Editorial of *The Times of India* (dt 5.2.1944)

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143

[NMML]

Agriculture's Claim

Are India's planners in danger of over-stressing industrialization as the cure for the country's poverty? This question has been brought to the forefront by discussion of the recently published 15-Year Plan for Economic Development. The development Plan has been criticised as the child of big business; it provides for a 500 per cent increase in the national income from industry and an increase of only 130 per cent. from agriculture. This, in the view of many, is too small a benefit to the cultivator.

A striking comment on this problem is made by Sir Tracy Gavin-Jones* in his recently published pamphlet, *Musings of an Industrialist on the Economic Future of India*, in which he points out that during the past twenty years India has changed from an exporter of food grains to an importer because, although her population increased by 27 per cent, in that period, the total area under food crops rose by only one per cent. His conclusion is that 'low productivity per head in agriculture is the outstanding economic problem in India. Unless 'this can be remedied, all industrial expansion will be based on a hollow foundation'. . . . Other Bombay schemes include the reclamation of coastal lands and the irrigation of the Konkan to enable it to be double-cropped. In Madras somewhat similar plans are in progress, though in that province the main emphasis is laid on improving the fertility of the land by increasing the manure supply. For this purpose very large sums have been made available and an elaborate plan for the distribution of 250,000 tons of Madras-grown oil cake is now operating. Though these operations only touch the fringe of the all-India problem, they are indicative not only of the scale of improvement which has become necessary, but of a clearer understanding of what is involved. The industrialists would do well to overhaul the agricultural part of their plan.

37: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

One commissioner mentions his surprise when he went to attend a war meeting at a sugar mill and saw a large Congress flag on the top of the building. The owner of the mill was not only attending the war meeting but presented a cheque. When the Commissioner drew his attention to the Congress flag, the mill-owner said that it had remained forgotten since the time of the Congress Ministry, for which he hastily apologised and had it removed. The flag cannot have been forgotten as the Commissioner remarks that it was a landmark for mills

around and this incident is possibly merely indicative of the general attitude of many at the present time, who wish to have a foot in both camps.

38: Editorial in *Bombay Sentinel*

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143
[NMML]

Bombay: Wednesday, March 1, 1944

Profit Planners

There has been much talk about the 10,000 crore plan made by a few Bombay capitalists secretly and suddenly sprung on a wondering public. Now we are told that the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce has accepted it and has drafted resolutions in support.

For that purpose Mr G.D. Birla and Mr A.D. Shroff, two of the major-planners, have been invited to New Delhi to explain it to a gathering of receptive and sympathetic Indian capitalists between whom and the foreigner there is little difference.

Just Imagine!

Many of the signatories of this master-plan, as they claim to call it, are the very persons who issued a strong manifesto against the Congress on the eve of its taking office. These selfless patriots then envisaged the great dangers of such a catastrophe to the country, meaning themselves, mainly owing to the Mahatma's weakness for the forgotten village and the man who lives in the humble cottage in the midst of chronic and grinding poverty.

Now those very capitalists have come forward as nation-builders under the auspices of a 'national Government', for they know that they can only get the necessary help from a truly Indian Government and not from the present one.

According to draft resolution which has been given advance publicity in the columns of the Anglo-Indian Press-perhaps because the Indian Press is not very sympathetic to the scheme and the planners, one of the first objectives is to raise the 'national income to such a level that after meeting the minimum requirements, every individual would be left with enough resources for the nourishment of life and for cultural activities.

Just imagine our Bombay mill owners looking after the 'nourishment of life and cultural activities' of their workers by paying them adequate wages:

The Indian mill industry is more than two generations old and yet it is unable to maintain itself independently or to improve itself. It has to be kept alive in ordinary times by a high protecting wall against Japan and other countries who have to buy their cotton in India and then ship it to their own countries and then reshape it as finished products.

National Industry

Even now when fabulous profits are being made by the mill industry, there is not the least suggestion of looking after the 'nourishment of life and for the cultural activities' of the workers, and they are to be given no rise in their wages.

Both the workers and the public are to be exploited equally heartlessly and the profits are to be returned to the Finance Member for war efforts.

But for the protection given by the public to the mill industry, one can unhesitatingly say, it would have been wiped out of existence long ago. Yet Indians are invited to treat this as a great national industry.

Then there is the iron and steel industry, which was on the verge of collapse, but was saved by protection at the expense of the country. We believe the working conditions in this industry are appreciably better though some years ago, their American Manager had to complain of workers being paid in some of the mines at the rate of two annas or even less per day, most of them being aborigines.

Sole Business

Even here there is not the least suggestion that either their nourishment or their cultural development is being looked after by these capitalists, who are gathering together such a surplus of wealth in a few hands that it is likely to become a positive danger to the whole country.

There is not a single large scale industry in India which is able to meet foreign competition on equal terms, and what is true of the cotton mill and steel industries is equally true of other war-Industries which have sprung into existence lately.

It is all very well to speak of 'balanced economy between agriculture and industry in the country'. We would like to know what has been done by these capitalists to maintain the balance during all these years? Their one and only thought is to exploit the agriculturists, exploit the public, and fill their own pockets. Hardly a single Indian capitalist has ever shown any breadth of vision or disinterested love for freedom or patriotism.

They believe their sole business now is to make plans for the future exploitation of their country, and for this purpose they want the help of a 'National Government'. And yet the Congress Government was not treated favourably by these capitalists during the short term it was in office.

Hopeless

Some planning has actually been done by the National Planning Committee appointed by the Congress, and it has already prepared blue-prints for future industrial planning.

In the preparation of those plans it had the assistance of some of the finest Indian brains-industrialists, economists, scientists and also Congressmen who feel and work for the masses more than rich capitalists.

There is still time, for the establishment of 'National Government' is not likely to be achieved by the methods adopted by these capitalists.

If one judged these planners by past records, one might feel hopeless of the future of a country likely to be dominated by these men with their money power and their extraordinary influence over politicians, whether Congressmen or otherwise.

All this preliminary tub-thumping is intended to popularize the 10,000 crore plan, but we imagine the effect of it on the public mind is likely to be the reverse.



39: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Delhi for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The budget proposals formed the chief topic of discussion. The *Statesman* welcomed them and said that they would check inflation, increase India's sterling balances, build up for her a Dollar Fund in the United States, and provide relief to incomes below Rs 2000. It, however, observed that black marketeers would still escape as they kept no accounts. It also criticised the increase of taxes on tea, tobacco and betel nuts. *The Hindustan Times*, the *National Call* and the *Dawn* criticised the budget for its colossal war expenditure and its failure to provide avenues for increasing the productive resources of the country. They also criticised the imposition of new taxes on tea, tobacco betel-nuts etc. Regarding the sterling balances of India in Great Britain they expressed doubts whether they would be used after the war for developing Indian industries and otherwise for the benefit of India. The Urdu and Hindi papers expressed similar views.

40 News item in *The Times of India* (dt 20.3.1944)

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143
[NMML]

15,000 Crore Plan for India

Mr Roy on Future of Agriculture

New Delhi, March 18: A 10-year Plan, costing Rs 15,000 crores, for the economic development of India, drawn up by the Post-War Reconstruction Committee of the Indian Federation of Labour, was explained to press correspondents by Mr M.N. Roy, the General Secretary of the federation to whom the report has been submitted. The essential features of the plan, of which the full text is not yet ready for release are that it places emphasis on agriculture first, regards the supply of the people's requirements as the primary motive of production and distinguishes between raising the standard of living and increasing purchasing power.

The plan gives priority to a 400 per cent expansion of agriculture production through mechanization, modernization and collectivization.

Mr Roy explained that the plan was more analogous to the Soviet plan than to any other. It depended on the export of surplus agricultural goods and aimed at building up industries with the aid of capital goods, which could be imported against the credit built up in manufacturing countries against these exports. That, in his view, was the only practical way, and was one of the fundamental differences between this plan and the Bombay plan.

Other features of the plan are explained to be:

- (1) Expansion of agricultural production being conditional upon rationalization of agricultural economy, the burden of the peasantry will be relieved by nationalizing land and liquidating indebtedness;
- (2) State financing of the mechanization of agriculture and expansion of industries for supplying the requirements of the people;

State Control of Industries

- (3) State control of industries financed with public funds;
- (4) Three per cent guaranteed profit from industries financed with private capital;
- (5) To relieve the pressure of labour on land. New land to the extent of 50 per cent of the land now under cultivation will be cultivated; railway mileage will be increased by 50 per cent. Roads enlarged by 150 per cent. extensive public works, particularly irrigation, construction of houses to provide decent living conditions to the rural population and the working and middle classes in cities and towns; building of schools and hospitals;
- (6) The standard of living to increase three fold; free education and free health services;
- (7) Agricultural production to be increased four times and industrial production six times;
- (8) Initial sources of finance; sterling balances income from nationalized land; estate duty and inheritance tax, borrowing to bring into the process of production the accumulated wealth not used productively at present.
- (9) Initial capital expenditure of Rs 2,000 crores during the first two years; thereafter the plan will finance itself with income from expanded agricultural production as well as industries; and
- (10) Circulation of commodities through producers' and consumers' co-operatives. — *Associated Press*.

41: Official Notings on the theory that big business financed rebellion (dt 22.3.1944) (extracts)

File No. 3/17/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

D.I.B. should see para 3 of the letter from Bengal.¹ If the Government 'know' that Big Business financed the Rebellion they presumably have some evidence that would be useful to us. Or perhaps D.I.B. has it already?

R. Tottenham. 22/3

D.I.B.

H.D. U/o No. 3/17/43 – Poll (I), dated 22-3-44
(Intelligence Bureau)

Presumably the reference in para-3 of the Bengal letter is to the activities of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta group, the activities of which are known to the Bureau and have been described in our 'Congress – Big Business' note dated 28-2-44², If the Bengal Govt. are in

possession of any further evidence to supplement that contained in our note, a copy of which has been forwarded to the I.B. Bengal such evidence would be very useful.

Signed
(E.J. Beveridge)
Asst. Director (S)
1.4.44

Home Deptt. (Shri. R. Tottenham)
DIR U/o No. 3/Cong/44, Dt.

We might make a D.O. reference to C.S. Bengal accordingly.

1. Doc. 109 in Chapter I – Sect. B.
2. Not printed.

42 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Agra for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The Banias of Ajmer are in a panicky state as a result of the conviction of Ram Charan, grain dealer, who has been sentenced to 18 months R.I. and a fine of Rs 700 (or in default to a further 7 months R.I.) under Defence of India Rules 38(5) and 81(4) for impeding the supply . . .

43: News item in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (dt 28.5.1944)

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143
(NMML)

Schuster Welcomes 15 –Year Plan But the Idea of Sidetracking the Political Issue Ridiculed

(From Our London Office)

Thursday, May 25: It is greatly to be regretted that war-time conditions have hampered the early publication as anticipated of the English edition by Penguin¹ of the Indian industrialists' plan for economic reconstruction of India. A few copies of the Indian edition reached Britain a few days ago and only a few people have had the opportunity of studying it. Several members of both houses of Parliament expressed to me their eagerness to study the plan when it is available.

Those who have had the opportunity of reading the Indian edition undoubtedly welcome the plan. One of them is Sir George Schuster*, the noted financial authority in Britain. He is

regarded by all sections of the House of Commons as a man of liberal mind. His Parliamentary colleagues know him as a commoner who intervenes in Commons debates only when the occasion demands it or when he feels he has something really worth-while to contribute. He has studied the Indian plan very closely and when I asked him what he thought of it he said, 'I truly welcome the plan very warmly'. But Sir George Schuster then added, 'An Englishman asked to comment on a matter of this kind must guard against certain possible misunderstandings'.

'First of all then let me say that this is an Indian plan prepared by Indians of great experience and acute minds who understand their subject fully. They know quite well what the difficulties are and it would be unwarrantable conceit on my part to suggest that I have any wisdom to offer which is not at their command. If I give my views it is because I have been asked to do so and also because I am still so greatly interested in India that I feel a strong wish to give an encouraging cheer as a friend to any Indians who are already to give a lead to thought on plans for increasing the welfare of Indian people.

'The second possible misunderstanding is this that there are some people who are inclined now to use the phrase that problems of the world in general and India in particular are economic rather than political. I think that this is a stupid phrase. Man is a political animal, as Aristotle said. Political problems come first. Unless they can be solved there can be no solution of the economic problems. Therefore I am not one of those who think that by getting India interested in her economic problems we can sidetrack the political issue. What I do think and what I ventured to urge in my book on India is that it is extremely desirable that economic problems of India should take a more prominent place in the field of India politics. I further believe that if it were to happen the nature of Indian political controversies might change and they might become more realistic and perhaps easier of solution.

Plan Welcomed

My assurance to Sir George that India wants a frank and critical expression of opinion on the plan provoked him to observe, 'it follows from what I have said that I greatly welcome the appearance of this plan. I find it intensely interesting. That does not mean I accept all its estimates as exactly accurate. The authors of the plan make no such claim. I could sit down with pen and paper and recalculate many of the figures and show that the cost of this or that item has been underestimated. So could the authors. But that is not the point. The point is that they have had the courage to set out the target for national endeavour. They do not profess to show all the steps whereby the target is to be reached and we are promised a further instalment to tell us that. But to have set up a target on which public discussion and interest can focus seems to me a courageous act for which all Indians-even those who do not agree with the target-ought to be grateful.

'Beyond this I will venture on a few comments. Firstly, although the figures given seem to be colossal, this plan is really quite a modest plan. India is a colossal country and even a small increase in the productive power of India's crores of people would have a colossal result. The aim is to treble India's total national income, which if allowance is to be made for increase in population means increasing the per capita income for each inhabitant by hundred per cent. The period allowed is fifteen years to which must be added three or five years for preparation. Is that an unreasonable aim? I find looking back to other countries that in Australia between 1915 and 1938 real income per head was increased by 70 to 80 per cent and population increased by 41 per cent. So that real national income increased to 2 1/2 times of its original

amount. I find also that in Japan between 1913 and 1934 population increased by about 21 per cent and real income per head by 170 and 180 per cent. Japan's total and real national income therefore, increased more than threefold. So these things 'can' be done. The questions are 'Can Indian do them?' and how?

'Secondly, the plan would not fundamentally alter the Indian economic structure. India would still remain predominantly an agricultural country. That seems to me to show a wise vision. I only want to urge as I have urged often before that India should try to avoid huge urban and industrial concentrations and any development should aim at enabling the industrial workers still to remain in touch with the land with small holdings of their own to cultivate in their leisure hours.

Problem is Human One

'Thirdly, as I see it the essential problem is a human and political one. The authors rightly say that the whole thing depends upon material resources and human labour rather than on money. Let us look at the matter in this way; when a country sets out to improve its capital equipment and productivity (as Russia did) that really means all its people get down to work for a period of years on the understanding that large proportion of their work will go not to feed or clothe themselves, but would build up capital goods—power plants, factories, railways, roads etc.

'International effort may be helped out by getting some capital goods from other countries either on loan or as India could do by way of repayment of her sterling balances. That will help, but even allowing for that there will have to be great effort by the Indian people of which a large part will be directed to future and not used for present consumption. The essential question then is 'can you get people to do it?' It can be done either by Government ordering everybody what they must make and settling how much they can consume immediately — as Russia did. Or the voluntary system can continue with everybody being paid salaries and wages and by their voluntary action achieving the result that requested proportion of money paid out is not spent on consumption but is invested in right kind of capital goods. That voluntary process can be assisted by limiting the amount that is available for private purchase and for immediate consumption. In England, we have worked out war production and rationing in that way and probably got as near to voluntary system as is possible. A great deal can be done in war emergency. The real question is 'Can the whole people be induced to work in this kind of way in peace? Even if a system of Government control is used that will not work unless the mass of people accepts it. If they do that they must understand the purpose and believe in it.

National Campaign Required

If that is to be in India it will require a great national campaign, inspired by real leadership and enthusiasm. Education is necessary. Then there is another aspect, the human side. The building up of industry will require great numbers of engineers, managers and skilled foreman. Agriculture will require many skilled advisers, veterinary surgeons etc. The education drive will require great numbers of teachers. The health drive require numbers of doctors. The plan recognizes this and Mr Birla specially emphasised that this is the real core of the problem in his address on March 4 to the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce. If we say as many people do today 'mere financial difficulties do not matter' that does not mean, therefore, that everything is easy. It only means that we must think of the problem not in terms of financial obstacles, but in terms of organizing human effort that may be more realistic but it does not make the problem an easy one.

Therefore the question are: Can Indian leaders arise who will get the whole people behind an effort of this kind? Will they have the patience to start with the great educational drive with the careful working out of plans? And then will the people see it through to the end? No one can say that the authors of the plan have not appreciated all this. They can say 'you cannot have planning without tears'; that in initial stages it will call for a very large measure of personal discomfort and sacrifice; that in order to develop a system of co-operative farming some measure of compulsion will be necessary' and between the period of the plan practically every aspect of economic life will have to be so rigorously controlled by the Government that individual liberty and freedom of enterprise will suffer a temporary eclipse.

Start Should be Made

'I appreciate their courage in stating these things, but I hope if Indian national opinion can be mobilized behind the ideas it can be carried out with spontaneous enthusiasm rather than by forced discipline. I have always believed that could be done if it is clearly understood that the whole object is national welfare and not private profit. Space does not permit me to discuss the matter more fully and in any case I should like to see the further instalment which is promised which will show in more detailed lines the industrial development proposed. What seems to me important is that all steps of exploratory nature which can be undertaken now even while the war continues should be started at once.

A close study of how similar plans have been worked out not only in Russia but in Turkey and Japan would be very valuable. I should like to know also the preparations which were being started for a more complete geological survey of India to the need for which the authors call attention. The educational programme could be worked out too finally. I still feel that there is value in the suggestion which I have made before namely, without interfering with the preparations for the general plan, a start should be made with a large scale experiment for development in chosen areas, something on the basis of what has been done under the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States. There is a great deal to be learnt from that. My final word is 'Good luck to all those who have the courage to plan boldly for the welfare of the Indian People'.

1. Later on in the year, the 'Bombay Plan' was published as a Penguin Special under the title 'A Plan for the Economic Development of India'.

44: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The plea made by Lord Keynes, the *Manchester Guardian* and some financial papers in England for a re-negotiation of the Indo-British financial settlement has come in for very strong criticism in this province. In some quarters it is apprehended that Great Britain might eventually repudiate her debt. Financial circles in Bombay City have been considerably agitated over the matter as a result of the recent statements of Sir Puruchottamdas Thakurdas, Mr Birla, Mr A.D. Shroff and others.

45: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Sir Ardeshir Dalal's appointment as an Executive Councillor was well received in moderate sections of the press but was generally criticised in the 'nationalist' Press. While recognising his high qualifications for economic and industrial planning, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* frankly confessed that it was not happy over the appointment as it marked a 'new device' by the Government to resolve conflicts between British and Indian vested interests and isolate, if possible, the Congress and the progressive forces it represents and the paper regretted that the Member-designate had become a convert to the 'Wavell strategy . . . to divert the public mind from the political issues to the problems of economic reconstruction as conceived by Authority'. The *Hindustan* (Mr Gopi Nath Srivastava's weekly paper) regarded Sir Ardeshir's acceptance of the appointment as a 'desertion which was both a warning and a lesson' as the Editor's suspicion was that the Indian magnates 'had clinched a deal with British imperialism which must inevitably be at the expense of the Congress and the National demand. This paper also referred to the Wavell strategy to wean away Indian capitalists from their stand beside the Congress, by throwing the bait of planning. They also regretted that a delusive scheme of post-war economic re-construction was being prepared to divert the attention for the public from the main political problem.

46: Talks with the British Trade Commissioner. — Extracts from Casey's Diary (dt 3.8.1944)

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 9-10
[NMML]

August 3rd

I saw A. Schofield (British Trade Commissioner)

He is optimistic about the prospects for British trade in India post-war. He thinks there will be a world wide seller's market for 3 or 4 years post-war (possibly followed by a buyers' market)

Pre-war, America was predominant in certain lines of her export trade, agricultural machinery, motor cars, commercial vehicles, some drugs, oil and petrol, certain specialized typed of machinery, road-making machinery. Her colossal war expenditure, with inadequate home economic controls, have resulted in considerable inflation, which keep U.S. price-levels high post-war-and so give U.K. considerable world trade advantage.

Schofield believes that India will be well-advised to maintain the existing British commercial connections and not to be stampeded into adopting the Indian industrialists' demand for an unhealthy and unnatural growth of big Indian industry which means nothing in the lives of

ordinary people, and which can do nothing to uplift the agricultural millions, who must rely on the profitable sale of their cash crops (jute, groundnuts, cotton, linseed and other oils) whose sales are largely arranged through the London market.

The most painless revenue in India comes from import duties. India cannot sell her crops abroad (principally U.K.) without importing from U.K. — and so producing customs revenues.

He believes there is a conflict between the excessive industrial policy of the Congress right wing and the agricultural policy (plus social uplift) of the bulk of Congress supporters. To do something adequate to help the agricultural millions of India will need revenue which can most easily come through a liberal policy of customs duties on imports, largely from U.K. Every Finance Member will come up against the need for revenue. Mudaliar* realises this and takes a reasonable liberal view, not the view of the sponsors of the Bombay plan.

The only vocal side of Congress is the 'money' side not the agriculturists' or the consumers' voices are hardly heard.

Schofield believes that the link between the rupee and the sterling is a very valuable and stabilizing one for India, and that they would think very hard before breaking

47: Extracts from evidence by Mr M.A. Ispahani before Famine Enquiry Commission on 17.8.44

Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 2.b.2

Al]

Views on Village Committee's Effectiveness Which were Different from CPI

K.B. Mian Afzal Hussaini: Is there sufficient rice in Bengal to last the whole population if there are not imports from outside? — I don't think so. There is shortage.

Chairman: Can you suggest a way? — To me there are two possibilities. One, to bring down the price of rice. Thereby he will have to sell more to meet his other needs e.g. of sugar, kerosene and so on. He may then sell more than he does today. Two, purchases not be at high prices but there should be round surplus areas. Such areas should be turned into zones and the price there should be dictated. If we succeed, we can bring rice down to ten rupees. Our cordon has been very poor. We have not had sufficient police staff to maintain an effective cordon.

Is there difficulty in cordoning? — In some districts it is difficult and in some it is easier. We have not got honest bodies to do cordoning effectively in places where there are waterways. Moreover, there is paucity of boats and there is no coal where boats are available. In big broad rivers they put high sails and there is chase between the police and the smugglers and generally smugglers get off.

Chairman : Would not the village committees bring necessary pressure? — They will always give false figures. Big provincial Governments working under section 93 have fought this tooth and nail and they have failed. What can we therefore expect from little village Committees or Union Boards? Do you think they will give correct figures? Certainly not. They will always give very small figures. If they have fifty maunds they will say that they have five maunds. If these Union Boards of village committees are given some power of this kind, then they will

say, 'We declare that it is five maunds, how are we going to produce 50 maunds'. They will further say, 'it is now your responsibility to feed the village'. It will thus recoil on you. Invariably they will give wrong figures. The only way to procure is to get whatever the trader brings out and sells. The price control here has not been effective.

48: Talks with G.D. Birla, extracts from Casey's Diary (dt 18.8.1944)

R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 33

[NMML]

Mr G.D. Birla called. A Marwari and the grandson of the founder of the business. Clearly a most able and clear headed man. Aged about 48 or so. Great supporter of Congress and of Gandhi. Has no trace of the Marwari habit of excessive politeness and shower of sickly compliments. Admits that Ispahani is a great friend of his. Deplores the extravagances of statement of S.P. Mookerjee. Says that he believes that the British connection is essential for India. I asked him why, if he believes this, he does not say so publicly – as the general impression that we are getting is the opposite. He says that when the proper time comes he will say so and loudly. I told him my views about Mrs Pandit's recent mischievous statement about the food conditions in Bengal, which he deplored as the political statement of a woman. He agrees that Pakistan is inevitable, but that it will be a devastating failure, he doesn't think it possible to achieve an All-India Government of both communities, except after the failure of Pakistan. He thinks that the Viceroy should see Gandhi and discuss face to face. No agreement, he says, was ever reached by discussion through newspapers.

Mr Birla produced the usual remark about Mr Gandhi that he was a 'Statesman and a Saint'. I said that although I had never done business with Mr Gandhi and so really had no basis on which to speak – I judged statesmanship on the positive evidence of good political judgement. Had Mr Gandhi shown this? I ventured to doubt it.

He ended by saying that he hoped that I would not fail to let him know if there was any way in which I thought he could help.

49: Extracts from evidence of Dr N. Sanyal, Chief Whip of the official Congress party and Dr A.C. Ukil before Famine Inquiry Commission on 1.9.1944

Nanavati Papers – Vol. III

[NAI]

143. *Chairman* I suppose they were given that. You think the agents were suitable – Well, I would not say that, but there was not so much clamour against these agents who were then

appointed possibly because they were in larger number. Complaints were numerous when there was one agent associated with a particular political party, appointed. The main complaint was during the free trade period, when there was single agency. The greatest amount of complaint about Ispahanis arose during free trade period and single agency period.

144. Was there so much complaint against agents in the January and February period – There was, but not to that extent, in fact, in the Denial policy period also the agency system was complained of. As you know, the manner in which Ispahanis were originally appointed was severely criticised both in the Legislature as well as by the Ministry. Mr Fazlul Huq wrote a very strong letter to the Governor, in that the same was done by the Joint Secretary, Mr Kirpalani, without the knowledge of Ministers, and Governor wanted to have it done straightaway. He wanted it arranged, in fact, in 24 hours time. Ispahanis were not themselves directly appointed then, but they put up one of their nominees Mirza Ali Akbar. Ispahanis were only the guarantors. If you are interested to know I can give you the details of the complaints. I have been responsible for criticising them severely.

145. *Mr Ramamurthy*: What is the main basis of complaint? Is it because they were single agency? – My first charge was that the Ispahanis were appointed in a shady and secretive way and were advanced large sums of money. I invite your attention to the actual complaints which we had lodged in course of my speech in the Bengal Assembly on 23rd September 1943. Our main complaint against Ispahanis was, as stated during the free trade period. There were five stages in which the Ispahanis figured, first was in the Denial period; the second in the free trade period as one of the buying agents; then the third as the single buying agent both for procurement within the province as well as procurement outside the province in the free trade period and the fourth was during the 'Aus' procurement scheme period and the fifth is the present period of 'Aman' procurement scheme. Practically Ispahanis have been functioning in all these five different periods and any casual examination of the arrangements during each period would reveal obvious grounds for complaint. The Ispahanis had practically been functioning during all these five different periods. Our main grievances about the Ispahanis and without actually having any terms drawn up before they were appointed and that advances were recklessly given to them without scrutiny.

146. *Chairman*: That was under the denial policy scheme. Not only the denial policy scheme but it was also during the free period. The terms on which Ispahanis had to buy were settled long afterwards and even before the terms were settled, lakhs and crores of rupees were advanced. I am talking of free trade period. Even then the terms were signed long afterwards. In the course of discussion on a cut motion in the Assembly on this I made a short speech on the 23rd of September 1943. What I said was this:

(Dr Sanyal quoted from his speech in the Bengal Legislative Assembly dated 23rd of September 1943 pp: 170/171, beginning with words 'Sir, there have been three district stages of Government schemes' . . . and ending with the words . . . supposed purchases as well as on advances'). Here I would like too explain briefly the position. Dr S.P. Mookherji had complained in the previous session, that large advances were made to Ispahanis to which the Hon'ble Minister in charge retorted that Ispahanis were not given any advance. We actually knew that money was being drawn by the firm. I enquired and found out that Ispahanis were making certain purchases at different places in Orissa, Raipur, Bihar and so on. They said, 'We have purchased so many thousand maunds of grains at such and such a place' and against such declarations money was paid. So the payment was not against delivery, but payment against statement of purchases made. The Hon'ble Mr Suhrawardy thought that this was not

a case of advance but it was a case of payment against purchases, deliveries to come later. Their argument was that as the provinces were imposing embargo and not encouraging movements out of the provinces, they, the Ispahanis, had to buy stock and keep it there. Moreover, while large amounts were being advanced to this firm no check was devised to ascertain whether this firm had actually purchased stock at any particular place. I would again refer you to my speech of 23rd September, 1943. I had pointed out therein that Ispahanis had no large stock with them before the free trade period and in fact Hon'ble Mr Suhrawardy, in one of his statements, made it clear that they had no large stocks towards end of March 1943, but shortly thereafter they simply showed huge stocks. Either they had that stock before the announcement of free trade or they had not. At that time price ruling in Orissa were near about 8 to 10 rupees per maund and Mr McInnes as Food grains Purchasing Officer was buying Orissa rice-delivered at Calcutta — for Rs 11 to 13. I know of Chandbali area in Orissa. Ispahanis bought there before from between 14 rupees 15 rupees but they had, as I came to learn, billed at the rate of something like Rs 17-12-0 or more. No machinery was devised by the Government to ascertain at what price they were buying at the place of purchase and numerous abuses in this connection were reported. The machinery that I suggest is that there should have been a certificate from the local magistrate or some other high officer. The Government of India have an organisation of that nature everywhere. The District Magistrate could make day to day enquiry about the ruling prices and if he had any doubt, he could even send for the merchants concerned and ask for the prices. Ispahanis system of procurement is by setting up a large number of brokers, through whom the purchases were generally made. It was impossible to find out the actual price paid to the ultimate seller in such circumstances.

It is difficult to find from their audit report or from their Head Office accounts whether they were actually making a large margin of profit. They got vouchers from their brokers. These brokers were their own men set up by them. These brokers would actually buy at say Rs 12 but when they would send up the vouchers the price would be shown as Rs 20 per maund. So no body could be in a position to find whether behind that there was any large margin left or not. My grievance is that even when these large purchases were made there was no machinery set up to find out whether they were being delivered to Government duly and checked at the time regarding quality or quantity.

As was revealed later on, large quantities were actually lying all over the Eastern States area on Government of Bengal account, but really lying on Ispahanis' hands. Many of this stock were not even lying on Ispahani's godowns, they were kept in the godowns of local dealers.

147. So long as it was bought it is alright. — But my point is that even if the malpractice was occurring it was not possible to check that.

148. Well, what system would you propose, because at that time the Bengal Government were in urgent need of rice to feed Calcutta. — The case was made out that on the 20th of May, 1943 the Ispahanis had volunteered to offer all their stock thereby generously forgoing a profit of 40 lakhs of rupees calculated at the lowest price then prevailing. I gave a suitable reply to that contention and this reply was published in the local papers. (Here witness handed over and referred to his statements published in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on 3rd November 1943) My reply was that on the 15th of March 1943, the total stock of rice and paddy of Messrs. Ispahanis Ltd., did not exceed 5,350 maunds and with the commencement of the free trade on 18th May they were reported to have purchased 2,35,557 maunds of rice outside Bengal at an average cost price of Rs 14-12-9 per maunds. This entire quantity was surrendered to

the Bengal Government on the 20th of May, i.e., two days after the commencement of free trade. It is claimed that through this transaction Messrs. Ispahani Ltd., sacrificed a certain net profit of about Rs 49 lakhs. My point was this, and I know that it is a fact. Sir Azizul Haq*, the Commerce Member, came to Calcutta before the 18th of May, and the Ispahanis were given information before hand about the coming introduction of free trade, and they were asked to go and buy elsewhere.

It was on the 17th of May that Government decided upon free trade, and the announcement was made on the 18th of May 1943. Long before that, almost a week before, Ispahanis were given information and they began purchasing.

149. How do you know that? — Because Ispahanis suddenly began to purchase from Orissa, and this was proved by the fact that though at the end of March, 1943 Ispahanis had not more than a stock of 5,350 maunds of rice in all, they suddenly showed more than 2,35,550 maunds on 20th May 1943.

150. Your argument is this that you have information that Ispahanis were buying for reserve before the date of the announcement of the free trade and secondly you say that they bought within two or three days of the opening of free trade a very large quantity, and that if they had bought before that date they must have bought the rice at a much cheaper price.

Yes. The true character of Ispahani's generosity will be realized if one remembers that before the lifting of the inter-provincial barriers the average price of rice in Orissa, C.P. and the states in the Eastern Agency ranged between Rs 6 to Rs 10 only per maund and the foodgrains purchasing officer of the Bengal Government had been regularly receiving Orissa rice at rates between Rs 11 and Rs 13 per maund delivered in Calcutta. Presumably these stocks of Messrs. Ispahani Ltd. were purchased in the Eastern Region before they were appointed Government agents and they knew perfectly well that without the active assistance of the Government they would not be able to move even one bag into Bengal. Then I came to the conclusion that if the Government of Bengal would not come to the aid of the Ispahanis that firm would have to deliver all the purchases to the respective local Governments who were determined to stop such exports and the loss to that firm would have been more than Rs 8 lakhs on the basis of Mr Suhrawardy's own figures, from which they were saved.

151. It looks to me that the position was that they had bought at cheap rate before the embargo was lifted. — Yes. These have been cases in which the Ispahanis bought in C.P. and the C.P. Government set their foot down and made them unload. The C.P. Government said that they would not sell rice through a Bengal Government agent, but through their own agents.

152. That is nothing. The criticism is that they should not have gone to buy from the C.P. without the sanction of the C.P. Government — Well, Sir, the last point I would like to make is that there were different stages when selling prices were brought down by the Bengal Government, and one stage was on the 9th of September 1943. Here I have a true copy of a bill of Ispahanis certified and sanctioned by the District Magistrate of Burdwan which would go to show that even when the price was brought down they were paid a higher price. You will see from this that these buying agents in my opinion were sometimes showing to Government large purchases as though these were made just immediately before the date on which the prices were brought down but actually the purchases were made after the price came down and thus by ante-dating their bills, they were getting money at the higher rate.

50

Extracts from evidence from Mr Somnath Lahiri, Mr Bhowani Sen and Mr Bhupesh Gupta, of the Communist Party before Famine Inquiry Commission on 2.9.1944

Nanavati Papers – Vol. III
[NAI]

32.. *Mr Ramamurthy*: Lack of regulation if purchases by the bigger industrial concern, led them to make unduly large purchases and that had this effect? – Yes. *Mr Lahiri*: I may add that it gave an opportunity to the employers to purchase large quantities of grain, and they themselves became black marketeers. There was no check and generally people believed that they did use part of the grain bought for the purpose of selling to their employees in the black market. *Mr Gupta*; I may add that the industrial concerns used to purchase more than their requirements. For instance, the Lily Biscuit Co. (managed by the Bengalis, Mr Seth & Co. perhaps are the proprietors), used to draw ration far larger than the number of workers in their firm required. This was an open secret.

31. Who were supplying them? The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce were also distributing food. The surplus they used to put on the black market.

34. *Chairman*: Don't you think it was an exception rather than the rule? – It was suspected that many of these big industrialists were doing the same thing. There was a terrible suspicion that the E.I.R.¹ also was doing the same thing. It was practically buying from different sources, and building up stocks.

35. Building up stocks for feeding its employees? – But it was buying far beyond its needs. It was rumoured in business circles that they were misusing them.

36. You cannot listen to all rumours? – *Mr Sen*: The point is that the matter was never investigated.

37. *Mr Ramamurthy*: Were there different chambers of commerce?

Chairman: The National Chamber of Commerce had one scheme. The Indian Chamber of Commerce has its own scheme and the Muslim Chamber of Commerce has its own scheme. – *Mr Gupta*: But I think all these chambers combined and there was co-ordination for this purpose. They pooled together and worked out as one scheme.

38. *Mr Ramamurthy*: For how long did they work together? – I cannot tell you the exact period. But I think they worked for some months and it continued up to the beginning of rationing in Calcutta.

39. You refer to some prominent businessmen and banking institutions. What had the banking institutions to do? – This matter cannot be proved but we had strong reasons to believe that institutions like the Nath Bank and bankers like Hemen Datta² were concerned in it.

40. What did they do? The suspicion is that these bankers invested for the purpose of procuring stocks of rice which they sold at higher rates. *Mr Gupta*: He is the owner of Mahalakshmi Cotton Mills. *Mr Sen*: The matter was not investigated properly. They have branches in most of the rice producing districts of Bengal especially in the Eastern Bengal districts. They instructed local agents to buy investing bank money and the bank money was

used for speculative purchases. Since it requires large amount of money to buy huge quantities of rice, it was not possible for individuals to advance money but the bank money was used.

41. *Mr Ramamurthy*: You say that all these are rumours? — *Mr Sen*: They are not rumours. We have strong ground to say that. These matters were not formally investigated. Our idea is that it is true. If any officer was able to accompany us, we could show the stocks and we could show how they were being disposed off. But I cannot produce any document.

42. *Chairman*. Were stocks lying in Calcutta then? — Yes, they were there at the time when anti-hoarding drive was launched and when embargo was imposed on districts.

43. But there was tremendous difficulty of transport in June? — In spite of this, honest traders could not get transport facilities but dishonest traders could get those facilities. At that time transport crises was not so serious as it was this year.

44. It was very serious in 1943. The Bengal Government had difficulty in getting stocks out in August and September. Transport difficulty was certainly very great in June 1943. — Take for example districts near about Calcutta.

45. We are told that the denial policy reduced large number of boats. — That was in coastal areas.

46. People are blowing hot and cold and say that the denial policy with regard to boats had adversely affected the transport system, while, on the other hand, you assure me that people were able to obtain boats easily in June 1943. — *Mr Gupta*: What we are saying is this. Certain rich people in those areas could lay their hands on sufficient number of boats. It does not mean that people who had been deprived of their boats had plenty of boats going. — (*Mr Sen*): In spite of tremendous difficulties of transport in East Bengal, the District Magistrate of Barisal had to admit that large stocks had been taken out by hoarders. They were able to get steamers, wagons etc. I say that in spite of transport difficulties, whatever transport was available, was made use of by the hoarders by means of bribery etc.

I E I R. -- East Indian Railway.

51: Extracts from evidence by Mr L.G. Pinnell before Famine Enquiry Commission on 4th September 1944

Nanavati Papers – Vol. III

[NAI]

1. *Chairman*: We were concentrating on the period from 1st January, 1943, and the first week of March 1943. That seems to be most critical period. It has been said that during that period there was tremendous speculation, people were buying heavily in order to hoard, where they were hoarding is not perfectly clear. All the commercial firms were buying very heavily in order to keep stock, all these factors were largely responsible for the increase in prices which was taking place by March 1943. Can you throw any light in a few minutes on that? — I will mention a few points to indicate what further information I can give to the Commission. In the statements put in regarding that period, for which I am responsible, I have given what I considered to be the main causes of the trouble.

As regards these other points, I would like to deal first of all with the question of purchases by industrial firms. It is true that we recognised they were dangerous; we knew they had un-limited buying capacity because their losses would be written off against E.P.T.¹ We frankly took advantage of that fact later on, when we had to buy rice dearly and sell it cheaply, we did not want to lose money on the transaction as a whole and we frankly charged the industrialists high prices, because we knew that they could afford to pay and that was a method of obtaining a subvention from the Government of India. We told the Government of India so informally.

We started first with a gentlemen's agreement not to buy that did not work because we could not promise to supply their requirements and they (the Chambers) could not control their firms from buying individually. All the Chambers were invited to set up supply organisation in September 1942 but the Bengal Chamber was the only one which had organised complete system. Others organised rapidly after the crisis. In both cases individual firms had been buying also. When our embargoes were on, they did operate as a means of preventing the industrialists buying to an unlimited extent.

2. This was sometime in January? — It was on January 20th. I propose to give the Commission informally copies of two papers. We used to have a weekly conference to decide how to feed Calcutta during the next week. All the papers of these conferences were secret and the secrets of the actual stock position was well kept which is fortunate as otherwise there would have been a much more serious panic. Possibly that is the reason why I cannot now trace them but I have managed to get hold of two. Here is a copy of one of the meetings of 22nd January. I will just state the conclusion. It goes,

'This excludes the Bengal Chamber of Commerce some of whose member firms are holding stocks, Mr McInnes has information that one of the member firms has bought 30,000 maunds in the mufossil which cannot be moved in owing to our embargoes. If we insist on this being put into the Chamber quota we should be able to keep them going up to 10th February without insisting on mutual transfer of stocks between members by giving them another 20,000 maunds from our resources.

This is an indication of the line we took with Chamber. That is the only case I have got on record now where their purchases have been held up by our embargoes. We said 'you cannot have this individually; you should put this into the pool. We will give you another 20,000 maunds and with that you could get through till the 10th February without insisting on mutual transfer between the members'. Why we were reluctant to insist on mutual transfer was the danger of badly upsetting the labour. They would have got very restless if they had seen rice going away from the mills.

3. Away from the manufacturing concerns? — Yes. Everybody was afraid of the effect on labour. Labour was in a critical situation at that time. One mill in Howrah succeeded in running into its own sidings some trucks of rice intended for the District Magistrate, Howrah. He (the District Magistrate) could not get them away in daylight; tried to move them but the attitude of the labour was so menacing that it looked as though there was going to be a riot. He got them away subsequently.

4. *Sir M. Nanavati*: This was in a jute mill? — Yes. That will illustrate at any rate that we were keeping this factor in mind. We used the embargoes to keep down the deliveries to the Chamber as far as possible and make them as far as possible live on their resources. What we did not do, certainly to my knowledge, was to insist on this mutual transfer between firms. It may have been done later on, I cannot say.

I have another one (copy of record of a conference) at the end of March. I have not got the conclusions, but I have got the papers that were discussed. They show that we were expecting Orissa rice and we were planning its distribution so as to cover the whole of the needs of Calcutta as far as possible. It shows that our plan for distribution in Calcutta and Howrah was 9.10 lakhs of maunds a month, including wheat and millets, on a basis of 12 seer per month, which is less than 3 seers a week. In the case of the Chambers I considered that what we should allow them was 12 seers a head per employee per month and then, if possible, we should double that so as to include their whole population including dependents.

1. E.P.T. — Excess Profit Tax.

52: News item in *The Times of India*(dt 15.9.44)

Walchand Hirachand Papers
[NMML]

Progress in Reconstruction Plans for India

Sir A. Dalal on Need for Immediate Action

'This is not merely all paper talks; not our plans made only for the demobilized soldier, though we recognised that he is an important factor in the scheme of things', said Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning and Development, replying to questions about his department's planning at his first press conference since assuming office.

Sir Ardeshir added: 'Should we sit still and do nothing? Unless we go ahead with our schemes, instead of doing any good we will do tremendous harm.

'The war is coming to an end and we will be confronted with a slump. We want to safeguard the country from its evil effects. There are certain things which only a National Government can do, but on that account we cannot afford to stand still'.

There were also other things, he added, which did not need an actual plan and could be done without a National Government. For example, no plan was required to say that a fertilizer industry was necessary. They were taking prompt measures in such matters.

Answering another question, Sir Ardeshir said: It is certainly good to control capitalism and see that it is so managed that it will do good. We do not propose to make any fundamental change in the economic system of the country. There is no doubt that the existing order should be modified in a more socialistic way. When we bring out our booklet you will see that it tends more and more towards socialism'.

'I do not think however, that many people will question the fact that industry is much better managed in private hands'.

Social Security Plan

Sir Ardeshir explained that Government had a social security plan under contemplation. The Finance Department were in sympathy with the Planning and Development Department.

The Member for Planning and Development gave an outline of his work of reconstruction, and stressed the necessity for regionalization and dispersal of industries in the future. He said the training of personnel was an essential preliminary to planning.

Regionalization Plans

Sir Ardeshir said considerable progress had been made already in planning. The Sargent report¹ had been issued long ago and was under the active consideration of the provinces. A report on road transport had also been issued, and one on railways was being considered at the Centre. Most of the subjects to be dealt with by his department were the responsibility of the provinces. 'While we would plan for the development of the country as a whole' said Sri Ardeshir, 'it would necessarily proceed on the basis of the existing constitution'. But whatever political affinities the future provinces or states of India might have, we would all profit by the measures of development now being contemplated. The Government is keen on regionalization and the dispersal of industries as widely as possible, subject of course to the availability of natural resources such as fuel, power, water, as well as markets. 'The provinces have been requested to form development committees and officers of their own and most of them had already done so. In fact, the province of Bombay has prepared a five year plan which in many respects is worthy of emulation'.

Regarding industries, Sir Ardeshir explained that it was proposed from the present Policy committee for industries, as distinct from the present policy committee on commerce and industry consisting of a number of prominent industrialists and representatives of the provinces and States. While questions of policy would be discussed with this committee, the planning of different industries would be carried out by a number of panels for different industries, or groups of industries. Each of these panels would consist of two or three industrialists concerned with those industries, together with one or two representatives of provinces. To them would be attached one or more experts as required and an officer of the industrial branch of the Planning Department.

The province had also been requested to form industries committees of their own, so that their own special needs should not be lost sight of. The reports of the panels, together with those of the provincial committees would then be co-ordinated for the purpose of general planning. This would not prevent the provinces from proceeding immediately with such industrial schemes as they might have ready. The Government of India would examine such schemes from the point of view of the controls and assistance that might be required.

Serious Difficulty

'To my mind', said Sir Ardeshir 'the question of personnel is probably the most serious of the difficulties in the way of planning and is likely to impose well-defined limits to the pace of development'. The most essential preliminary step, therefore, was the training of our future scientists, engineers, geologists, doctors, agriculturists, educationists, administrators, etc., in the innumerable different jobs for which they would be required. Our educational institutions would have to be expanded and multiplied, and a generous system of scholarships and research studentships would have to be devised for the training of our men, both in India and abroad.

It was intended to send a large number of such men for training in the near future to Britain and the United States. Mr Sargent, Educational Advisor to Government had been making investigations in both those countries for that purpose, and a detailed scheme would be worked out after his return. One of the most urgent needs of the country was the training

of geologists and an increase in the existing personnel of the Geological Department. Our universities should take up the question of geological teaching as an urgent measure. The establishment of a very high grade technological institute on the lines of the M.I.T. in America as well as of an All-India medical centre were under consideration.

Sir Ardeshir stated that he had been busy with the organisation of money department and that his secretariat would soon be fully staffed. He would be taking over the detailed planning and development of industries and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research from the Industries and Supplies Department on September, 18.

The organisation of the industrial branch of his department still remained to be done and experienced personnel for the purpose was extremely difficult to secure. Very little progress with industrial planning had been made so far, and he was disappointed to find that the response from industrialists to the two questionnaires issued months ago was very poor. He would appeal to the industrialist to co-operate with him by supplying the information called for, the sole object of which was to afford a basis for further development of industries.

Sir Ardeshir added that he would also shortly be dealing with the planning and development side of the Geological Survey and the utilization branch of that survey in co-operation with the Labour Department, so as to expedite further exploration and utilization of the mineral resources of the country.

As regards the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research the establishment of national laboratories for chemistry, physics and metallurgy, and research institutes for fuel and glass, which was approved some time ago, was being actively pursued.

Sir Ardeshir said that it would be seen that in spite of the pre-occupations with the war, satisfactory progress had already been made. The rate of progress and the ultimate success of the measures contemplated would depend to a very large extent on the co-operation received from the public and in that respect he appealed for help from the press-*Associated Press*.

1 This was the report of a committee headed by Sir John Sargent, Educational Advisor to the Govt. of India entitled Post war Educational Development in India (1944).

53: Editorial in *The Times of India* (dt 16.9.1944)

Walchand Hirachand Papers, File No. 143

[NMML]

Planning Goes Ahead

Sir Ardeshir Dalal's outline of the activities of his new Department of Planning and Development is valuable not only as the first authoritative statement we have had since he began work, but because the main lines of activity are now revealed. No time is to be wasted in proceeding with the groundwork for a planned India, even if the main changes have to await a national Government. The most urgent need is, of course, acceleration in the training of personnel. Whatever plans are finally adopted, and whatever the agency responsible for their execution, the country must have men capable of carrying them out. The Planning Member

was able to announce some progress in this direction when he referred to investigations regarding the training of large numbers of men in Britain and America.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal's statement makes it clear that industrial plans have lagged behind other schemes partly, partly it appears because industrialists have been slow to provide the authorities with information essential for planning. The Department is also handicapped by the difficulty of securing men of sufficient experience to handle the work. Nevertheless the proposal to form a separate industries Committee, consisting of representatives of existing industries and the provinces and states should ensure that when work begins the all-India plan will develop as a harmonious whole. In the meantime the provinces are to be encouraged to go ahead with such industrial schemes as they may have ready. In this way risks which delay may cause, can be obviated. As Sir Ardeshir Dalal points out, India cannot afford to sit still and do nothing. The war is coming to an end and the country must be safeguarded against the slump which appears to be inevitable if the public as well as Government are not ready in time.

As for the trend which planning will take, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, while denying that any fundamental changes in the economic system were contemplated, admitted that there would be a tendency towards socialism and possibly more control of capital, though he believed that industry was much better managed in private hands. The extension of the Central Government's power to organise operations on an All-India basis is also suggested by proposals to set up Central Boards for irrigation and Power. While planning must fit into the framework of the present constitution, the development of regionalism rather than provincialism is a healthy sign. For too long have artificial boundaries prevented the development of areas which are economic if not political units.

54: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The *Sentinel* of Ranchi criticised the support that the *Searchlight* had given to the Tata-Birla Plan: In its leading article of the 26th November, it observed 'Our worthy contemporary could not of course hold it up as the cross of salvation in the sky for the miserable millions. To do so would have been sheer brazen facedness. The rich are expected to get richer under the plan and the poor, poorer. Yet the *Searchlight* has showered its benedictions upon the plan. . . . Let it be a rotten plan, but the execution of it shall be in the hands of the National Government of our dreams. So in spite of its pro-rich design, it ought to be received kneeling. The argument indeed. Nor is it peculiar to the *Searchlight*. All the 'comrades' in the question are torn between two loyalties. They would run with the poor and hunt with the rich'.

55: Extracts from evidence by Mr M.A. Ispahani before Famine Inquiry Commission on 1st December 1944

Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 2.b.2

[NAI]

Chairman: Was anything else bought outside? — Except for these few transactions that I have declared above, there were purchases made outside Bengal on the 17th of May onwards. On the 17th of May we bought 9,500 maunds of Orissa rice through Calcutta brokers from Orissa merchants and millers who have their offices in Calcutta.

How much? — 9,500 maunds of rice.

Through whom? — Through Calcutta brokers from Orissa merchants and millers who have their offices in Calcutta. And we also bought 1,09,000 maunds of C.P. rice from C.P. merchants who had their offices in Calcutta.

On the 17th of May? — Yes.

From C.P. merchants? — Yes, from C.P. merchants who had their offices in Calcutta. It may be noted that all these purchases were handed over to the Government of Bengal on the 20th of May together with other purchases made between 18th and 20th of May, at actual cost. The transactions made on the 17th of May were entered into an advice given to us by the representatives of the Bengal Government as well as to the other merchants, to go ahead and buy all rice and paddy we could lay our hands on in the neighbouring provinces.

That was on the 17th of May? — Yes.

Sir Azizul Haque also broadcasted on the 17th May in Calcutta announcing free-trade from the 18th at a Press Conference in Writers Building. So actually the free-trade started functioning on the 17th of May.

Mr H. Afzal Hussain: What time was this Press conference held? — In the afternoon. I was again requested, Sir, on the 17th May by the Bengal Government to buy the C.P. rice that was offered to me.

Chairman: Will you say it again? — They asked us to purchase the C.P. rice that was offered to us, because it was not in the free-trade zone; so they had asked us to buy from the neighbouring provinces — us and all other merchants — to go ahead and get rice and paddy into Bengal; and this particular instruction about C.P. rice was given to us that we could also go and buy the C.P. rice.

Sir M. Nanavati: Even though it was not in the free zone area? — As I stated before, they wanted to put it out against their non-delivered quota of 8,000 tons.

Chairman: 10,000 tons, wasn't it? — 2,000 they had delivered and the balance was 8,000 tons. On the same day, i.e. 17th of May, the Foodgrains purchasing officer, Mr MacInnes, also made purchases. He bought in Calcutta, Orissa rice just like we bought — several contracts — and also he bought C.P. rice 20,000 maunds at Rs 13.

Was this on the 17th May? — Yes and Bengal Government also, I believe, transacted a transaction with H.K. Dada for C.P. rice for 12,500 maunds. All these purchases were applied for the Government of India for permit to be allowed to come into Bengal just after a few days through the Regional Commissioner. We were again offered C.P. rice on the 22nd May,

75,000 maunds. We referred this matter to the Bengal Government and we received instructions from them on the 26th of May saying that we could go ahead and buy that 75,000 maunds. . . . But we refrained from doing so as by then it appeared there was no likelihood at that moment of rice coming out of C.P.

Sir M. Nanavati: Why this sudden change? You said a few days back the rice was available on the 26th in the C.P.? — There were telegrams exchanged between the Regional Commissioner and the Government of India to bring out the purchases that we had already made amounting to about roughly 1½ lakhs of maunds which totalled 1½ lakhs of maunds, and the C.P. Government refused to release this quantity saying that their own conditions were not so good and although the Government of Bengal gave me instruction on the 26th to buy a further 75,000 tons so that they could complete their quota of 8,000 tons, we refrained from buying because we felt that it was useless, adding on more contracts when there was no chance of fulfilment.

One of the contracts which we had made for 25,000 maunds was with Mr Anand Ram Gajadar. He started getting restless because the prices in the C.P. were becoming low ultimately he backed out of the contract and we had to cancel the contract by the end of May 1943, and refund the money to the Government.

Chairman: That was with regard to the 25,000 maunds? Yes.

Mr Ramamurthy: Did the Bengal Government pay you for the 25,000 maunds? — They paid me, but I had to refund that amount because we had at that time to cancel the whole of the order.

That means, you paid for 25,000 maunds in one occasion and for 84,000 maunds in another occasion? — All this time, negotiations were going on and there was a rumour on the 12th of May in the C.P. that the Government has cleared all the rice from the markets and traders and telling them that free trade was coming, and so we had hoped that we would be able to bring the rice and deliver to the Bengal Government.

Chairman: When was this 25,000 maunds cancelled, Mr Ispahani? — At the end of May 1943, Sir.

How do you mean 'cancelled' what is the exact process, because you had agreed to purchase the rice, and then how can you cancel it? — This man Mr Anand Ram Gajadar, he was not our guaranteed agent and the market was shifting about, and so he was trying to back out of his transaction, and we could not hold him on to it.

Mr Ramamurthy: You cancelled the transaction so far as the seller was concerned at the end of May? — No both the Bengal Government and the seller at the end on May.

As regards the 85,000 maunds, did you cancel the sale of it to the Bengal Government in July? — When the Bengal Government saw that there was not likelihood of getting this rice out, although I had debited that account (I had a running account with them) they said they could not pay me. So on the 21st of July I recredited the Bengal Government with that amount. It was a book transaction and on the 21st of July they said they would not pay for the rice. We had a lot of payments against the Bengal Government, and we recredited this amount for the 84,000 maunds on the 21st of July.

Mr Ramamurthy: Apart from re-crediting the amount, what happened to the sale itself? — There were protracted negotiations with the Bengal Government with regard to this sale, and in the meantime some of the rice that I had brought from the party was taken away, and the C.P. Government paid for them. The C.P. Government froze away nearly 53,000 maunds, and my seller billed me for this quantity and I in turn sent that bill to the Bengal Government.

These negotiations continued for about six months, and so we wanted an end of this matter, and in the end we told our sellers that they would have to accept whatever amount the C.P. Government paid into the Treasury on account of this rice.

What happened to the remaining 31,000 maunds of rice — The remaining 31,000 maunds was sold by this seller in various stages.

Who was this seller? — Mr Hanuman Baksh.

You say that out of this 84,000 maunds, the C.P. Government froze away about 53,000 maunds and the remaining 31,000 maunds was resold by Mr Hanuman Baksh — Yes.

When did you purchase this 84,000 maunds from Mr Hanuman Baksh? — On the 17th of May 1943.

At what price? — At Rs 12/12 per maund.

What price did the C.P. Government pay you? — For the 53,000 maunds which they froze away, the C.P. Government paid me about Rs 9/4 per maund.

Mr Afzal Hussain: Did you have any stocks in C.P. at that time or before that? — No.

You had no business in C.P.? — No.

Is there any chance of a person buying from you in C.P. on that date or before that date — I am not a licence holder in C.P. for rice, and I have not made any purchases of rice in C.P.

Mr Afzal Hussain: Then how is it that it is often reported that Ispahanis have so many tons of rice held in C.P.? — Because there are transactions which we had from our sellers.

Sir Manilal: When was that transaction, on the 17th of May 1943? — Yes. — But before that it was known that you had made some purchases in C.P.? — Not to my knowledge.

But it is there to the knowledge of the Government, and they say that between April and May you had made some purchases. — I am sorry I do not know. But if you are alluding to a letter to Mr Justice Braund dated the 10th of August 1943, I would like to correct that impression. Mr Justice Braund writes on the 10th of August. 'As I understand it, Messrs. Ispahanis Ltd., in April 1943, before the date on which free trade was introduced in that region, made purchases of rice in C.P. These purchases were subsequently sold by Messrs. Ispahanis Ltd. to the Bengal Government'. Do you refer to that letter, Sir.

Sir Manilal Namavat: No, not that letter. There was an unofficial letter from the Bengal Government to the C.P. Government in which the former asked for refund of a certain amount, and the Bengal Government had said that you were their agents in C.P. in April and May 1943. — That is a wrong statement, Sir. As a matter of fact, I became the agent of the Bengal Government only on the 20th of May 1943.

Then, how could such a gross misstatement be made by the Bengal Government? — I do not know that Sir.

There could be only one interpretation of it, that is, that there must have been some private arrangement between you and the Bengal Government, some unofficial arrangement, which the Government could not tell another government — I can say that there was no such private or unofficial arrangement between me and the Bengal Government. As a matter of fact, even this agency I accepted under compulsion.

Mr Ramamurty: We have got here an account book of Hanuman Bux Viswanath. He refers to your having purchased 84,000 maunds of rice on the 20th May, 1943. You said it was on the 17th May. Is this a mistake? — I have got the letter of contract. It is dated the 20th. I shall read it to you: 'With reference to our sauda of 17th May 1943 for 84,000 maunds of C.P. rice etc. . . . Then I have got their confirmation on the 20th.'

On the 20th May in virtue of this sauda you purchased 84,000 maunds at the rate of Rs 12/12? — On the 17th of May I passed the contract and on the 20th I confirmed it.

It is put down here that 40,000 maunds were bought ex-godown Gondia, 30,000 maunds ex-godown Raipur, 6,000 maunds ex-godown Champa and 8,000 maunds Baratwar — We have got it as 8,000 maunds ex-godown Naira probably it has been changed to Baratwar later.

In the same account, on the same date he purchased 84,000 maunds from you yourself at the rate of Rs 9/1.9/14.9/16 and 9. Here is the book would you like to see it? — I cannot explain this.

He said before you purchased from him he purchased from you 40,000 maunds at Rs 9/1 Ex-Gondia, 30,000 maunds at Rs 9/14 ex-godown Raipur, 6,000 maunds ex-godown Champa at Rs 9 — I have no licence or transactions for C.P. If you will kindly ask him for some connecting link he might be able to give you. There must be another entry in the book. I am very sorry I cannot explain this.

Mr M. Afzal Hussain: But you are sure that there is no transaction of this type in your book?

I have no transaction of the kind.

Mr Ramamurty: It is shown in his book that these purchases were made by you on the same date at Rs 3 less — It is not a correct statement.

Mr M. Afzal Hussain: Can you explain why this would happen?

Mr Ramamurty: After all he is a big broker of yours . . . — What explanation can I give? One or two explanations are possible. It may be that he was trying to save income tax and secondly it may be because he has been writing our names in the books so constantly that there might have been a clerical mistake. But he must give you the connecting link. You can call from him.

So far as you are concerned this is not a correct statement? — No. I am not a licence holder in C.P. and I have no transaction. — He must have done it on your behalf. . . . I am not prepared to take these insults. We do not make benami transactions.

Mr Ramamurty: Was he acting as your agent? — Hanuman Bux was supplying us with shellac, seeds and other goods.

He was not appointed by you to buy this rice? — No.

He bought it on his own account? — He must have bought on his own account. We bought from him just as we buy from other C.P. merchants.

Chairman: Did McInnes also buy at the same time? — Yes — From whom did he buy? — From Sree Jaipuria Rice mills.

Mr Afzal Hussain: Was he able to get that rice? — No —

Mr Ramamurty: These 84,000 maunds of rice were not purchased in C.P. by Hanuman Bux Viswanath either on your behalf or on behalf of the Bengal Government. But was purchased purely on behalf of himself. You entered into contract with him on the 17th May and confirmed it on the 20th May, only after he had purchased. — I will make it more clear. I have got a letter from the C.P. Government written to the Bengal Government saying that a large quantity of rice has been requisitioned under the Defence of India Rules belonging to Hanuman Bux Viswanath as they did not comply with the request of the C.P. Government to sell the large stock in their possession to the official purchasing agency. So an order under Clause 4 of the C.P. Foodgrains Control and Distribution Order 1943 was passed directing . . .

Chairman: How much was the amount? — 53,000 maunds. The order was passed directing them to sell the stocks specified to the official agency. Messrs. Hanuman Bux Viswanath

alleged that a part of the stocks covered by this direction was held by them on behalf of Messrs. Isapahani but no documentary evidence was produced in support of the allegation. . . . The sale price was fixed in the transaction referred to them by the Commissioner of the Division. The amount due to be paid is kept in revenue deposit.

Mr M. Afzal Hussain: What was the date of this requisition? — They do not give the date, but it must have been directly free trade came along. The C.P. Government know that certain quantities of rice were sold by C.P. merchants to merchants in Calcutta and they made a clean sweep of it. This rice was lying about all over C.P. The Bengal merchants bought C.P. rice possibly because it was cheap and possibly because some of them had their mills there and some of them were trading there and some thought of sending it to Bombay and some tried to supply to the military. So when the Bengal Government wanted to buy C.P. rice wherever Bengal merchants had stocks in C.P. which were not frozen till then were purchased. Afterwards the C.P. Government were approached to release these goods against the quota.

Mr Ramamurty: But the remaining 31,000 which Hanuman Bux could not have escaped the vigilant eye of the C.P. Government, possibly the C.P. Government paid them and took over. Hanuman Bux claimed 10,000 maunds as the amount for which he had received payment.

There still must be remaining 21,000 maunds and there is not trace of it. You simply bought as you were told? — Yes.

1-12-1944 (10-40 to 10-50)

Chairman: From whom did Mr McInnes buy? — Sree Jaipuria Rice Mills.

Because the C.P. Government knows nothing of the contract? — Mr McInnes bought through the agency in Calcutta. Sree Jaipuria Rice Mill is the same as Mr Anand Ram Gajadar. These Marwaris have two or three names for dealing with two or three people. Both are the same people.

Chairman: How much did Mr McInnes buy through this mill from C.P.? 20,000 maunds at Rs 13 per maund.

Mr S.V. Ramamurty: Was it paid for? Do you know? — No, It was not paid for as it was not delivered. In none of these transaction did the Bengal Government suffer financially.

Mr S.V. Ramamurty: And you refunded them in July — For these purchases, I had debited the Bengal Government, but I later reccredited them.

Sir Manilal Nanavati: When did you recredit them? — On the 21st of July '43

Sir Manilal Nanavati: When you could not get anything.

Here Mr M.A.H. Isapahani showed the papers to the Members of the Inquiry Commission and said — This is our purchase excluding Central Provinces. This is what we received up to 21st of July, 1943. Balance so much.

Mr S.V. Ramamurty: In the case of purchase where you could not get delivery you reccredited to the Bengal Government the cost — In the case of other Provinces where we had made purchases, we did not reccredit the amount, for, already there in the free trade zone, wherever we could have cancelled with the consent of the Bengal Government we had done so. I many instance the case of 5,500 maunds of paddy that was bought in Orissa which was cancelled. We have contracts of our own in Bihar and we had bought goods for Calcutta delivery. We had bought about 60,000 maunds of foods on an average of Rs 28. Because all this amount could not be delivered to us in Calcutta, we settled for the goods delivered at Rs 18, and thereby we saved Bengal Government Rs 3,60,000.

Mr S.V. Ramamurty: For the goods you purchased in Bihar and Orissa which could not

be moved to Calcutta, you reccredited the cost to the Bengal Government. It has been found that only 80,000 maunds were actually received by the Government of Bengal by August, 1944, i.e., for about 15 months they received only 80,000 maunds. . . . With one stroke of pen 1 lakh . . .

Mr S.V. Ramamurty: About that 1,09,000, that is not included in the 235,000. . . . I think it is only 220,000 or so.

Mr S.V. Ramamurty: Out of this amount contracted in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, by August 1944, only 80,000 maunds had actually been received by the Government of Bengal. How is it that you did not reccredit the Government of Bengal? — If I am correct in my figures, 1,11,000 maunds of rice was contracted in Orissa, but we got about 36,000 or so only. We had paid our sellers and could not, therefore, reccredit the amount to the Government of Bengal. When we had to pay down any amount for purchases, we did not reccredit the amount to Government.

Mr S.V. Ramamurty: You did not pay your sellers — On behalf of the Government, I did not pay. I had a similar running account with Hanuman Biksh.

When you did not pay sellers on behalf of the Government, you reccredit the Bengal Government, i.e. when you purchase them on your own account . . . I made these purchases on the 28th of May and those rices were all paid for the Bengal Government.

‘With reference to our letter in connection with our sales to you of rice and paddy from the C.P., Bihar, Eastern States, Calcutta and Bengal, we shall thank you to this in the event the above purchases are not delivered by sellers, we shall immediately refund to you the value of the quantity not delivered, because due to the sharp rise in the prices of paddy and rice and also because of provincial Governments’ restrictions such non-delivery cannot be completely ruled out. We shall, however, do all in our power to see that every seer is delivered. Further we have to advise you that purchases have been made from well known and reliable parties.’

Mr S.V. Ramamurty: What sort of delivery you could expect? . . . We have the Orissa merchants and Sindhi merchants in Calcutta. We enter into contract with them and they deliver the goods at Calcutta.

Did you actually receive delivery there, because you will see that the contract says the goods should be delivered there? — We sent staff and put up board as Bengal Government’s agents.

You sent your agents and put up your boards there — Not in C.P. In C.P. we had asked Hanuman Buksh to look after these stocks. In Bihar, we had sent our representatives there and we put our boards, took possession of the goods and checked up the weight and quality.

When did you check up the weight and quality, when you bought them or when you sold them to Bengal Government. — We followed the usual trade practice.

When did you put forward boards? — In Orissa from the 10th and the 15th and also from the 17th and in Bihar from the 20th.

Mr Ramamurty: When did you do that? When you bought them or when you sold them to the Bengal Government? From the 10th onwards you were buying? — From Orissa we bought some lots between 10th and 15th. And also from the 17th onwards.

And from Bihar from the 20th? — Yes.

In Orissa? — From the 18th.

In regard to these 235,000 maunds of the portions that you purchased before the 18th, as soon as you bought them, did you put up your board saying that they were delivered to you in Orissa, for instance? . . . No.

You didn't? — No.

In the case of the C.P. rice you reccredited the amount because the Government of Bengal could not receive it. Now, how did you distinguish between that case and the rice in Bihar and Orissa where out of 235,000 maunds which were sold to the Government of Bengal and for which you receive payment at that time? Actually only 80,000 had been received by August and against that you received Rs 30 lakhs on the 24th of May or some such thing. — What did you do in regard to the other 155,000? — That has already been delivered. I handed over delivery orders about that rice to the Bengal Government, giving the location of that rice.

The C.P. rice was already held for you by Hanuman Buksh after he sold to you? — He held it for me.

You were the owner of that rice? — Yes.

Did you get a delivery order from Hanuman Buksh when he sold it to you? — Yes.

Delivery order? — No, we did not get a delivery order.

How is that? You purchased it and he held the rice for you. You say you were the possessor of the rice. — The question of delivery orders came into account when the goods could not be as shifted at all and delivery orders were made after a year, possibly six months to a year, after the free trade when the goods could not be shifted and the goods were getting damaged and we were continually having harassment, and so forth. So we wanted to finalize our accounts with the Government and so then we got these people who had the rice — some of them were mills-godowns, and some of them *beopari* godowns — in various places; after we have paid them they gave us delivery orders.

About a year after you purchased these goods they gave you delivery orders? — Not a year; it may be a few months later on.

Some months or a year later you got delivery orders in respect of that rice. In regard to the C.P. you did not get delivery orders because by July you knew you were not going to get it and therefore you reccredited the amount. Now in the course of the month in which you did not get a delivery order when the Bihar and Orissa Governments were giving you a lot of trouble, did you claim reccredit for those amounts? — Yes. But in the case of Hanuman Buksh I had a running account; I withheld his money in the running account. Therefore we did take into account the payment of this rice at the beginning just like we took into account the receipt of this money from the Government of Bengal.

So that, similarly, when you could not pay Hanuman Buksh, don't you think it would have been correct to pay back this large quantity which you could not deliver to the Bengal Government? — If the Bengal Government wanted that, I would have been very happy to do it possibly because after all that rice was very cheap rice, you see about Rs 10, 12, 14. I had done my very best to make the purchases and was not otherwise unless I took possession-physical control — of the rice, the Government of Bengal would have backed out. So I had to take physical control. So when I took physical control of it, I could have — (interruption).

So it comes to this. In the case of Bihar and Orissa, you actually paid the money, whereas in the case of Hanuman Buksh you had a running account? — I had in my hand his money; so I could adjust it. So I thought I could not reccredit the amount.

Chairman: This was also in the free trade period? — Yes.

Mr Ramamurty: But this began before the free trade — from the 19th onwards? — Yes.

And during the free-trade it was dealt with like this? — Yes. Regarding these 235,000 maunds, they were partly before the free-trade? — 33,000 maunds only were before the free trade and 9,500 maunds — that means 42,500 maunds.

About 52,000 maunds were purchased in Orissa before the 18th? — I made a distinction between purchases before 17th and those from 17th.

Supposing you had sold these 235,000 maunds to the Bengal Government, not as their agent, but as a private merchant, do you think you could have got more out of Orissa than the 80,000 maunds which the Bengal Government thought, with all their wails to the Government of India, were able to get? — All the officials were corrupt. A man could have received Rs 500 and could have given me a wagon in the same way as any Bania could have brought rice into Bengal.

That is, to say, if you had been purchasing as a private trader, you could have brought to Bengal more than 80,000 maunds which the Bengal Government, with all the intercession of the Government of India, were able to do because you felt that you could get wagons through officials. Is it the railway people that would be amenable to persuasion or the local officials in Orissa and Bihar also? — Both. But I am basing my arguments on what the merchants are saying.

Chairman: Has the whole of the 80,000 maunds been delivered? — Practically all have been delivered.

Mr Ramamurty: You mean since August? — Since August Orissa has now already delivered 24,000 maunds. We bought Balasore quality which is fine and they are giving us Sambalpore rice which is very inferior grain. We are having an argument with the Orissa Government that we must have some better quality of rice that we could dispose of and that we could distribute in Bengal.

Similarly, Bihar has now given permits for all the rice lying in nooks and corners, seized and requisitioned in the Province. But now, the Bihar Government have given an option to the Bengal Govt. with regard to the rice which the Bihar Govt. requisitioned and took away from the Bengal Government, of receiving that rice at the current market rate.

Mr Ramamurty: So after 1944, more of this Bihar rice has come out? — Yes, practically the whole of it . . .

[*Omitted:* Four paragraphs — Ed.]

Mr Ramamurty: You did not pay till you got the delivery orders from Orissa? — We did not pay till we got actual possession. So, in this case the delivery orders came after you got possession, for you said the delivery orders came months later. Did you get possession before you got the delivery? If so what was the use of the delivery order? — The stuff was till with the beopari.

You said it was delivered to you? — But it was still kept with the beopari. We got the delivery order because we have to give a voucher to the government to show that we have paid for so much goods and that the goods in our possession.

So the delivery order is really an order saying that so much was delivered months earlier. Was the delivery made to you or to the Bengal Government? The delivery order was to us, I think, and we endorsed it to the Bengal Government.

Then when did you actually make the payment, at the time the delivery order was received or when you actually weighed and took possession? — When we actually weighed and took possession.

Can you say when you actually weighed and took possession, immediately or months later? — I have to look up the records.

So you cannot say when you actually took the possession. You paid when you took possession after weighing.

Sir M. Nanavati. You drew money immediately the transaction was reported to government? — That is the basis of my contract. On the basis of the contract as soon as I advise government directly of a purchase I am entitled to draw the full amount.

56: Further extracts from evidence by Mr M.A. Ispahani before Famine Inquiry Commission on 1st December 1944 (contd)

Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 2.b.2
[NAI]

Sir M. Nanavati: In the C.P. for instance you made payment to Hanuman Buksh even though no delivery order was forthcoming — I had also a running account with Hanuman Buksh.

You always paid him first before delivery was taken even though the business transaction was on behalf of somebody also. You do not generally pay to a man on credit before delivery . . . Why not. It is my own risk. Government is not responsible. Suppose Hanuman Buksh decamps with Rs 2 lakhs, it is not Government who will suffer the loss. I will have to pay to Government.

Mr Ramamurty: You say that the rice in C.P. was held for you by Hanuman Buksh. 17,000 or 20,000 maunds were sold to you. Was the transaction complete, whatever you might have done afterwards? You credited that amount to Hanuman Buksh in the running account . . . When I recredited the Bengal Government on the 21st of July, I also withheld his money against that recredit.

Since you had given him the money, the goods in C.P. was in your possession. Did you tell him that as he had not delivered, you had withheld his money and that the rice was no longer yours. . . . He had purchased the rice at Rs 12-12-0 and the C.P. Government had fixed the price at Rs 9-8-0 at the time he was to have delivered. If I took delivery, it would have been necessary for me to fight his case. I had continually told him that I had redebited his account but he did not accept it. This was the position until February 20th when he had against him two cases instituted by the C.P. Government. I told him that I had not claimed any compensation from Government and that he should also do the same. After all, he had made a lot of money through Government. But he said that he had got only Commission. If I would prevail upon the Government of Bengal to intervene and got the two cases against him set aside he would act according to my wish. That meant representation to Bengal Government and I got a receipt from him saying that there was no claim on the Bengal Government on this rice. I then requested that Bengal Government should prevail on the C.P. Government to see that these cases were removed, so that the outstanding protracted matter could be settled once and for all.

Mr M. Afzal Hussain: What are the exact relations between you and Hanuman Buksh — the exact business relations? — He has been our agent for various purchases and sometimes we deal with him. Are you asking about rice?

Previous to this particular business, have you had long connections with him? — Yes, we have long connections with him.

Was he at any time employed by you firm? — Never. Not a servant of your firm? — Never.

Sir M. Nanavati: Did he get any salaries from you? — Never. Did he receive any bonuses on other transactions in another form? Bonuses from the transactions — I don't think so.

Rebate and commissions? — What commission.

Suppose he does business for you, and you do business for him, certain rebates are given? — No.

Are you sure, Mr Ispahani? — Yes.

At no time he was your servant? — No.

He was not your servant getting commission? — No. was at no time our servant.

Mr Ramamurty: I suppose all the time he was your commission agent? — Yes, he was sometimes working as pucca artidar.

For what produce did he act as your commission agent and for what as your independent merchant? — He bought shellac for me and he bought seeds, jute, and so on.

Did he buy any rice for you before these transaction with which we are now dealing, that is to say the C.P. rice and free-trade rice? Did he buy any rice before? — No.

This is the first time that he is your commission agent for rice and paddy? — When I got the Government agency, I appointed him as pucca artidar because he had branches all over Bihar and C.P. and Eastern States.

What does a pucca artidar mean?

Pucca artidar is an agent who is responsible for delivery of goods to his principal whether he (the pucca artidar) gets delivery from the sellers or not of the goods. For instance, he not only guarantees his principal but also he guarantees the third party.

Sir M. Nanavati: He guarantees delivery to you for all the contracts that he has entered into with you? — Yes. He guarantees delivery whether he himself gets the delivery from the other party or not.

Mr Ramamurty: So he is a sort of guarantee broker? — He is more than a del credere agent. The Pucca artidar is the agent employed in his own capacity to fulfil and guarantee the principal's orders which he may do by appropriating the contracts to himself or by entering into contracts with other merchants by way of a cover as he likes and is considered as principal and is liable as principal to principal but still he does not altogether give up his character of an agent.

Can he sell to any other man except yourself when he purchases as your Pucca artidar? I made a condition with him that he should not.

So all his paddy and rice must be sold only to you? — I made that condition with him. — I wanted to follow him closely in his transaction as far as I could.

At what price was he entitled to sell to you? Could he sell at any price that he liked and you agreed to, or at the price that he liked and you agreed to, or at the price at which he purchased plus commission plus possibly some expenses? What were the terms on which you were doing business with him? — During the free-trade period we made purchases, you see, through commission agents. One was Mr H.B. Vishwanath; another was Mr G.H. Shirrazi. They are responsible to us for the fulfillment of contracts irrespective of whether they got delivery from their sellers or not. We appointed these agents on pucca artidar terms in the best interests of the Bengal Government when the market was most chaotic and rising, so as to hold them responsible for their sales that we advised to the Bengal Government.

That is, they are responsible for buying for you and selling to you at their own risk. They guaranteed their purchases, but what were the terms as regards the price that he would charge

to you? — The terms with regard to price — There were no terms. What we did was that we had our own staff who watched his transactions in the interior, and we got market reports from our own staff and we watched these prices as carefully as was humanly possible to see that he did not buy at Rs 10 and give at Rs 20 or that he did not buy at Rs 20 and give it at Rs 25 or Rs 23 or Rs 24. We closely watched this on behalf of the Government of Bengal, although we are not entitled on the terms of the contract which we had.

Terms of what contract? — On the terms of appointing him as pucca artidar.

Was there any written between you and Hanuman Buksh? — We informed the Government that we were appointing these people as pucca artidar.

Were the terms of appointing him as pucca artidar put down in writing? — No.

Then what was the understanding as regards prices? I mean, did he have the option to sell at any price that he considered proper or at the price at which he purchased the stuff, adding to it the commission you agreed to give him as commission agent? I agree to a commission for guaranteeing this contract.

How much was the commission? — $\frac{3}{4}$ th per cent.

Only for guaranteeing delivery of the stuff? — Yes, whether he got the stuff or did not.

Did you allow anything for expenses for transport and so forth? — Yes

What else did you allow? — Whatever we were allowed according to our agreement with the Government of Bengal, we allowed him the same thing in regard to prices.

Well, the Bengal Government asked you to buy at the most economic prices in the best interests of Government? — Yes.

Now, did that leave it open to you to allow Hanuman Buksh Vishwanath to buy at any price as he liked and charge you any price? Was it legally open to him to do so long as you agreed to buy at that price? — I could refuse.

You could refuse. But it was not incumbent on him to sell to you at his cost price? Was it legally incumbent on him according to the terms of the agreement with him (orally) to sell at cost price? — No . . .

[Omitted: Four paragraphs — Ed.]

Mr Ramamurty: Were the prices Mr Hanuman Baksh charged you and you charged the Bengal Government considerably in excess of the ruling market prices, published in the local Gazette, sometimes even 50 per cent or so? — I do not think it could have been so.

But the prices you charged the Bengal Government were considerably in excess of the local prices, and so there is some room for some difference on account of the lag of the Gazette prices and Mr Hanuman Buksh should not have charged you considerably in excess of the gazette price? — It was not a condition, and we had no check on that.

And if he charged you considerably in excess, do you not think that he should refund you the excess and that you in turn refund the excess to the Bengal Government? — Of course I should very much like to do that.

Chairman: I am not quite clear Mr Isphani, about this arrangement. You say that there was no arrangement as regards price between you and Mr Hanuman Bux. When he wants to sell you there was no basis of price at which he should sell to you but what was the understanding as regards price at which he should sell? — The price at which he would offer me the goods and if I thought that price was correct according to my own information that I had from my own staff I bought the goods, according to the ruling market price.

That price may be say Rs 17/4/ — or 17/8.

Sir M. Nanavati: It means that your agent went and verified the price at which Mr Hanuman Bux bought from the local markets; does it mean that? — Our people gave us reports of the ruling market rates in those areas and we checked up prices at which he was offering us.

Your agent was not in contact with his agents as to the purchases made? — We had our own staff in that locality checking prices, looking after payments, etc.

Did your agents know from whom Mr Hanuman Buksh had purchased? — No., but my agents knew what the ruling market price was.

Your agents knew from whom Mr Hanuman Buksh was purchasing because you agents went and saw to the delivery of the goods, to its quality and probably payments? — No. — Your staff knows from whom he had purchased? — Not necessarily.

In certain cases at any rate? — May be in certain cases.

Mr M. Afzal Hussain: Supposing Hanuman Buksh had 20 sellers and he told you that they had so many tons of rice for sale. Was that not enough? — Yes, that would be the procedure.

Sir M. Nanavati: Did Hanuman Buksh have godowns everywhere? — Yes, because he had many branches. When goods are collected in his godowns we take delivery.

Not from the possession of the seller? — It may be both, sometimes from the possession of the seller, some times from his godown.

Chairman: Is there any understanding on price with the Artidari? — No.

That means, the price factor is not usually determined? — No.

Sir M. Nanavati: Is there no understanding that he should sell to you at the price at which he purchased? — No.

Mr Ramamurty: You said last time that it is possible there may be difference of a rupee or so over the local price. Are you sure that the price which you charged the Bengal Government is not more than the difference of one rupee at which rice was bought in Bihar and Orissa? — Yes.

Chairman: Was Mr Hanuman Buksh a Pukka Artidari for all purchases during the free trade period? — No, I did not give him any Commission at all and he sold the goods to me as principal. There was no likelihood of anybody defaulting.

Only outside Bengal the Commission arrangement existed? — Yes. The areas were Bihar, Orissa, Eastern states, and the C.P.

Mr Ramamurty: Under your agreement in Clause 13 you are supposed to maintain actual records of the source of origin of consignment. When you buy from this Artidari what would you consider the source of the origin of consignment? — The origin of consignment means the town.

Mr M. Afzal Hussain: Did you have a prescribed form giving all these details? — (No answer). The origin if I may explain as I have understood it from the agreement was the place from where the goods came, for example Gaya, or Sambalpur because when Government paid me for the goods they must know where the goods are. In other words, the original consignment is the location of the goods.

Mr Ramamurty: Do you have any kind of co-ordination when you say there is no accurate record as regards the delivery and storage and incidental charges? Do you think this would be consistent with getting from this man the dates for his bills? Don't you think that under this clause you should produce original sellers vouchers of your adabdar (*Sic*- must be artidar — Ed.)? — I did not interpret it in that manner.

Therefore you did not consider that under this clause you need obtain from your agents the original seller's vouchers? — No.

That is why you did not produce these vouchers in audit? — I was not entitled to produce them. I could not ask him for it.

[Omitted: Few paragraphs — Ed.]

Mr Ramamurty: The free trade was over in July? — Yes, It ceased on the 17th of July.

Therefore, after the free trade you have been charging the Bengal Government only the price at which Hanuman Bux bought. You have produced for audit the original sellers vouchers? — Yes that you can verify. They are under audit now.

After or before September? — There was a misunderstanding with the audit and our accounting department which was rectified by me later. It was in these vouchers Hanuman Bux has signed as a representative of M.N. Ispahani Ltd., He was pure and simple, an agent. He went on to add artidari. As my agent he should not add artidari. We asked the audit not to permit this charge and cancel the artidari.

When did you do this? — This was brought to my notice in August or September. Then we made it clear to Hanuman Bux that these documents for these purchases had to be produced. These are being produced. He had produced the original sellers' vouchers.

We have been told that they were not produced till the end of September? — I am not quite sure about it. But I know that they have been produced.

Mr Ramamurty: I think they were produced some time about the end of August or September . . . They have been produced now.

We have been told that they were not produced until the end of September. . . . I am not quite sure about the date, but they were produced.

Chairman: How did Hanuman Buksh submit his bills? . . . In his bills he put down the purchase prices given to sellers at various parts, plus artidari. He also produced the original of the sellers' vouchers.

Mr Ramamurty: He has been producing original vouchers since the end of free trade.

Chairman: Why did you pay artidari? . . . I paid artidari to him to get control over him. As principal to principal, he could have refused to sell goods to me at any time, and it has to be remembered that the Calcutta Market prices were very much higher than the prices ruling in the free trade zone. By paying artidari I could have a hold on him to see not only that he gave me delivery of what he had sold to me but to see that the rates he was charging were in conformity with those prevailing in these areas from where he made the purchase.

Mr Ramamurty: You had no real hold on him? — I thought I had a moral hold on him. For three reasons I used Hanuman Buksh. One is that as the Government of Bengal's agent which I wanted him to be, I would have got the goods. Secondly, he had already a set of organisation in those places. Thirdly, I did not want to carry the large sums of money which Govt. had given me for disbursing purposes. I had to make payments all over in Bihar, in Orissa and in the interior. Carriage of these moneys and making payments involved a very big risk for me to undertake to do it. As far as the money went, I paid him in Calcutta and so my responsibility for carrying money to the interior and making payments was absolved for me

Did you have any staff in Bihar or Orissa? — I had in each Subdivision, in each centre, about 7 or 8 circars and inspectors for checking quality and sending statements.

They were not authorized to make any purchases. — If they thought that they could get grain at cheaper prices they would refer the matter to us. And I may say that a few direct purchases were made.

Chairman: About this Hanuman Buksh and artidari arrangements with him; why was it that you did not put it in writing? Why again there was nothing in writing about the terms of it? — I did not put them in writing. I did not think of it. There was another man, one G.H. Shiraz.

Chairman: From whom you made greater purchases? — They sold to us as principals. They were not commission agents They were sellers.

Dr W.R. Aykroyd: Practically Hanuman Buksh was really principal. He was selling to you as a principal. You had some hold on him as an artidari. — Yes.

Mr Ramamurty: He was a principal only . . . He could never have made such a business if the facilities were not given to him.

You put on him the duty to guarantee stocks you expected from him. . . . He purchased goods for me and I gave him artidari.

Chairman: Why was not there any written agreement with Hanuman Buksh. . . . The agreement was all verbal.

Chairman: Did not correspondence pass between him and you on the question? — We had no correspondence with him. Even today he sells us shellac on this basis of artidari. He will not sell shellac to anybody else . . .

57: Further extracts from evidence by Mr M.A. Isapahani before Famine Inquiry Commission on 1st December 1944 (contd)

Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, Item No. 2.b.2

[NAI]

Chairman: Hanuman Bux told us that he was acting as your commission agent. What do you mean by that actually? — He is a pucca artiya which is also a type of commission agency. A commission agent is only a commission agent.

You read out definition of a pucca artiya. Is it recognised by the trade? How did you get that definition? — It has been accepted by the trade and also in courts. It goes like this:

‘A pucca artiya is an agent employed in his own capacity to fulfil and carry out his principal’s orders which he may be appropriating contract to himself or by entering into contracts with other merchants by way of cover as he likes and is considered as principal and is liable as principal to principal, but still he does not altogether give up his character of an agent’.

Mr Ramamurty: Where is it taken from? — There have been many decisions in Bombay High Courts and other courts and this is one of the records.

There is a certain amount of confusion regarding when Hanuman Bux acted as a pucca artiya and when he acted as a commission agent.

You have told us the facts that you know? — Yes

Chairman: Is not the *pucca Artiya* given a fixed price at which he is going to sell to you? What was your arrangement as regards your purchases from Hanuman Buksh? — That he would sell to us at as near a price as possible to the price he was able to purchase himself?

What was meant by this? Was there nothing more definite?

That is my verbal arrangement with him in order to get rice as cheaply as possible.

Mr Ramamurty: What was the understanding as regards the degree of nearness that was believed possible? It is rather vague to say 'as near as possible.' Would you pay a rupee more? — I won't permit that much.

You would not mind a few annas. Your actual understanding with him was that he should sell to you either at cost price or perhaps a few annas more? — The understanding was that he should guarantee all those deliveries for which I would give him a commission and also that he should make purchases at the ruling rates because these purchases were made very near that price or just two, three or four annas more.

You would not mind paying 2 or three annas more? — Or even 8 annas.

You told him that he must not take more than that? — Why should? Otherwise why should I be his principal?

So you had an understanding as regards price and said that it should not exceed 8 annas? — That was my talk with him. I also told him that he must guarantee the delivery of that rice and that he was responsible for the supplies, that I must have quick deliveries and the prices charged must be the price ruling in those areas, more or less.

Mr M. Afzal Hussain: In that case what you saw in that register saying that purchases were made from your firm or group and selling it to you would not be fair? — Certainly not.

Chairman: That refers to the purchases in C.P.

Sir M. Nanavati: In that case you are entitled to ask him to produce the original vouchers? — On account of my relations with him I can ask him. He gets a lot of work from us and I can ask him for the vouchers, whatever the legal aspect of the question may be.

Mr Ramamurty: From the understanding you had with him you can ask him that he should not go beyond this margin. Have you asked him to produce the vouchers so far? — In one or two cases I have. I had similar reports to the one you have mentioned and I had asked him and he produced certain vouchers in Hindi which I had got translated. I found certain discrepancies of 2, 3 or 5 annas from the price he purchased at. But that was not recently but long ago, during the free trade period.

Sir M. Nanavati: Don't you think it is essential for your own good name that you should ask him to produce the original vouchers? — Legally I cannot, but if the commission desires, I can ask him to produce them.

Mr Ramamurty: You had an understanding with him as regards supply, delivery and also as regards the price margin. Is that not valid enough to ask him? Supposing he said 'I would not guarantee delivery', would that not make him liable? — There is no written agreement. I can ask him to produce the original vouchers in virtue of our relationship.

And also in virtue of your agreement. — In virtue of our relationship I can ask him to produce vouchers and I do not think he should refuse I will certainly ask him.

Can you not also ask him in virtue of your agreement with him? You said you had this agreement? — Certainly he would have to admit; otherwise I would immediately sever my connections.

Would you be prepared if you are asked, to get the original sellers' vouchers? — Certainly I will do my best.

You are also agreeable to have his prices compared with the local prices in Bihar and Orissa so that you may know whether they were the ruling prices or not? — I felt, according to my own records, at the time that I entered into these sales, that I have not paid him in excess. But if Government has any other source of information I would very much like to have the prices compared.

Chairman: There is nothing on record whatsoever as regard this arrangement — I have not any.

You did not issue any instructions to your staff that this is the arrangement with him? — Yes.

Why didn't you get it in writing? — If I had known that it had to be on such records, I would have done so. I was doing a duty. I was bringing rice into Bengal at prices which were much lower than the prices prevailing in Bengal. I exerted myself so much that rice was got at the cheapest possible price and I never for a moment thought that there would be anything wrong.

Sir M. Nanavati: But these are usual business methods — It is not usual among us to enter into agreement with other people for such purposes; that is not usually the custom.

But here, you are dealing with a Government. You are purchasing for Government and there is Government accounting and the accounts have got to be far carefully checked. The Government is a constituted body and impersonal and there is greater need for some sort of formal agreement so that if accounts are asked for and questions are raised, you can arm yourself for your own protection.

Chairman: What sort of bills Hanuman Bux sent to you? Did he say he was selling to you with the usual commission? — Suppose he had bought 20,00 maunds at Rs 20 per maund, then he would send me a bill saying that the price of 20,000 maunds Rs 20 each, so much. Cost of transport from the place, if there was any transport, so much plus artidari, so much. These bills were handed over to me as vouchers and these I passed on to the Government for Government audit.

Chairman: Did every bill which Hanuman Bux handed over to you show the price at which he sold to you plus transport plus artidari.

Sir M. Nanavati: And the bills show where the goods were lying — Yes.

Does it indicate also the particular places from which they were purchased? — Yes.

Chairman: Mr Ispahani: Are there any papers which you would like to leave with us.

Mr Ispahani handed over 4 sheets to the Chairman.

Chairman. What is a sauda? — It is a transaction.

Were there any occasions on which you did not pay Hanuman Bux because he failed to give delivery? . . . He was responsible for the fulfillment of the contract irrespective of whether he received delivery from the seller or not. Suppose the price at which he had to deliver to me had gone up and his seller did not deliver, he has on several occasions to deliver me goods purchasing them at the higher price. In the case of rice, I told the Bengal Government that I could not deliver the rice to the Government. And I struck off the transaction from the book. In the case of every transaction he had entered into as a seller he had to deliver the goods.

And he did actually deliver everything as a seller — Yes. — And you actually got possession of all the food grains in Bihar . . . Yes.

Mr M. Afzal Hussain: Are you sure that in C.P. stocks were there when Hanuman Bux sold them to you . . . I am not sure. Because the C.P. Government says that there were no stocks there . . . I don't think it is correct . . .



58 Extracts from 'Statement Summarising Evidence Relating to Messrs Ispahani Ltd'

Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, File No. 3a

[NAI]

Section V: Hanuman Bux Viswanath

19. The audit report of the Accountant General contains the following passages, 'the most important documents available relating to the rates of purchases were the sellers bills, showing entries of quantity sold and the amounts received by the sellers. The audit, however, had no means to determine whether the sellers were also bona fide traders, habitually dealing in foodgrains or whether they were only brokers. If the latter was the fact, considerable financial benefit must have been derived from the Government by one or more sets of middlemen operating between the bona fide sellers of foodgrains and the Agent.'

20. A statement annexed to the audit report showed that out of the total purchases of roughly 7.20 crores, roughly 4.85 crores worth of purchases had been effected from 20 sellers of whom 14 had Calcutta addresses. One of these was Hanuman Bux Viswanath of Calcutta who had sold 3.33 crores worth of grain to Ispahani.

21. As it appeared doubtful whether purchases of this magnitude could have been made from one independent seller and in view of the above quoted passage in the audit report, the Commission wished to ascertain whether he was in fact an independent seller or a Commission agent. Mr Hanuman Bux Viswanath appeared and gave evidence before the Commission.

His evidence showed that he was a dealer in shellac and produce including rice and jute that he had a large number of agents in different parts of Bihar and a few agents in the Eastern States and Orissa who bought on his behalf, that formerly he used to buy shellac as a supplier for Ispahanis and was bound under a contract to sell all his purchases of shellac anywhere in India to Ispahanis; that when free trade came they entered into a similar arrangement for rice also, that he sold all his stocks of rice purchased on his own account before free trade; and that during the free trade period he made large purchases in Bihar and some parts of the Eastern States and some parts of Orissa on commission basis for the Ispahanis; and that he obtained commission from Ispahanis on bills presented to them specifying the prices at which he made purchases, the expenses and the commission agreed upon between them which had been fixed at three-fourths per cent on the value of the purchases. Asked whether he presented to the Ispahanis the original vouchers for the payment by him to the sellers, Mr Hanuman Bux Viswanath said that he did not do so and that it was not the trade custom to do so.

22. As desired by the Commission, Mr Hanuman Bux Viswanath produced 2 books as account books maintained by him and certain papers as sample vouchers in his possession regarding the purchases made by him. One of these books which related to the free trade period was inspected by the Commission at Bombay. The other book and papers were returned to him at Calcutta.

23. In view of allegations of the nature detailed in para 7, and the fact disclosed by Mr Hanuman Bux Viswanath's evidence that for purchases of considerable value, the 'sellers' Bills' presented to Audit were those of a commission Agent and not of the Original seller, the accounts of Messrs Ispahani Ltd., would be incomplete unless it included also the audit

of the relevant accounts of Messrs Hanuman Bux Viswanath. They accordingly requested the Bengal Government to arrange for the audit to be carried out by the Accountant General, Bengal. A final reply to this request has not yet been received. An interim reply indicates that the audit has not yet been ordered and the matter is still under consideration.

59 Extracts from 'Statement Summarising Evidence Relating to Messrs Ispahani Ltd' (contd)

Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, File No. 3a
[NAI]

[*Editorial Note:* Among the material given to the National Archives of India by Sir Manilal Nanavati, there were a number of files containing typed or handwritten documents on a variety of topics relevant to the Famine. The following is from one such typescript. So was the previous document.]

Section VIII: Purchases of Rice in C.P.

28. It has been mentioned already in para 18¹ above, that among the stocks offered for sale on 20.5.43 were 1.09 lakhs of maunds of C.P. rice. These were not paid for at the time and it is not clear from the papers whether Bengal Govt. regarded the sale of the stocks to them as having been completed on 20.5.43. The earlier history of these C.P. stocks has been the subject matter of evidence derived from various sources which will now be summarized.

29. On the 4th of May, 1943, the Govt. of India made an urgent request to the C.P. Govt to take immediate steps and hold ready for despatch within 15 days 10,000 tons of rice to be eventually adjusted against the quota fixed under the Basic plan. Supplies despatched in response to this request amounted to 2,640 tons by the 15th June. On the 19th May, i.e. the day following the introduction of free trade and the day previous to the appointment of the Ispahanis as the Agent of the Bengal Government, the Regional Food Commissioner of the Eastern Region. Mr Justice Braund, sent a telegram to the C.P. Government as follows; 'Ispahanis Calcutta inform me that they have lying ready for immediate railment at Akaltars and Barduar total of 84,000 maunds rice which they are anxious to bring into Bengal at once. Is it possible that this might be taken as part of contribution asked of C.P. by above Food Department telegram and necessary licences issued to Ispahanis for immediate export. This will greatly assist Bengal.'

This is the earliest intimation on record from Calcutta of Ispahanis having stocks of rice in C.P.

30. On the 12th April, however, there was a report from a touring 'Officer on special Duty, Food Deptt. Govt. of India Nagpur, which said 'one Hanuman Bux of Calcutta, a representative of the Ispahani Co. has got a stock of 4,000 tons with him bought at Bombay rates or even cheaper rates. He is not selling to the Government agent as he hopes, by his influence, to obtain a permit for export to Bengal. . . . It will have a bad effect on the government purchasing system if this agent were to succeed in obtaining a permit.' This matter was discussed at Delhi at a Conference of Food Commissioners and it was decided that if the firm persisted in its refusal to sell, action should be taken to secure the stocks for Govt. The Regional Food Commissioner, Bombay pressed the C.P. Government to take action.

31. On the question of stocks at C.P. Mr Ispahani's evidence runs as follows.

'Did you buy beyond the Eastern Region and Rewa during the free trade period?' – yes I bought in the C.P.'

'How could you buy in C.P.' – 'That was because the Government of Bengal had been given a quota of 10,000 tons by the Central Government from the C.P. C.P. supplied 2,000 tons and then wrote to the Govt. of Bengal that they had no rice to give them. Bengal merchants were themselves holding more than 10,000 tons of rice in C.P. and the Government of Bengal asked me to buy this rice and that they would try and prevail upon the C.P. Government to give this rice to Bengal against their quota which, of course, they failed to get. The C.P. Government did not give it.

'But in the meantime you bought it? -- 'I bought it, but I had to cancel the deal. I paid for it but later had the amount refunded.

32. On the 22nd of May 1943, the Regional Food Commissioner sent another telegram following up his earlier telegram of 19th about 84,000 maunds of rice belonging to Ispahanis which said; 'this sold to Bengal Govt. subject to exports facilities. Bengal Govt. also urgently anxious purchase other parcels offered from C.P. – would you agree to grant export permit for this. This is not to involve you in aggregate contribution of more than 10,000 tons asked for by Delhi. This is urgent'.

33. The enquiry was reported in two further telegrams dated 27th May, of which one gave details of the stocks of rice held at various loading points by Ispahanis as well as by Dabas and by the Foodgrains purchasing Officer, Bengal. In respect of Messrs Ispahani Ltd., the following were the details:

Naila	8,000	maunds
Gondia	40,000	maunds
Raipu	30,000	maunds
Charpa	5,000	maunds
Bhatapara	25,000	maunds
Baraduar	8,000	maunds
Kotma	4,150	maunds

On the 28th May, the C.P. Govt. replied to the Regional Food Commissioner 'Preliminary enquiries indicate that merchants mentioned really have no such stocks as mentioned. We should prefer to determine sources of supply of rice for export ourselves'.

34. The result of the enquiries in C.P. at the various places mentioned were reported to the C.P. Govt. by the Commissioner of Chattisgarh division.

The result was found to be as follows:

- (i) Naila and Baraduar in the Bilaspur District; Ispahanis had no stocks.
- (ii) Bhatapara in Raipur District: Ispahani had no stock and in any case all the traders in Bhatapara have already sold their stocks to us.
- (iii) Kotma: There is not centre of rice trade in Kotma.
- (iv) Gondia and Raipur: One, Hanuman Bux Viswanath (who has shops both at Gondia and Raipur) has stocks, – which he claims to be holding on behalf of Ispahani. This has had to be acquired under clause 4 of the Central Provinces Control of Supplies and Distribution Order.
- (v) Champa: a local trader of Champa in Bilaspur District claims to have been holding

7,500 maunds of rice on behalf of Ispahani. Negotiations for its purchase are pending on the 29th May.

34. The report of the Commissioner contains the following passage/ 'Enquiries made by the Officer on Special Duty in Bilaspur District indicate further that Ispahani's game seems to be to arm himself with an export permit for Bengal and then procure supplies of rice clandestinely on payment of high rates, export as much supplies as he can to obtain to Bengal and sell there at profiteering rates. This seems to be the crux of the matter. Ispahani's Agents are going about Chattisgarh telling our traders and stockists that they would be foolish to sell their stocks to us as Ispahani, with the help of the Bengal Government, hopes to buy all stocks held by the traders in Chattisgarh and please note this — at much higher prices than our Government is paying'.

35. On the 19th August 1943 Mr Braund addressed a D.O. letter to the Regional Food Commissioner, Bombay, requesting his good offices to ascertain from the C.P. Government what requisitions from Messrs. Hanuman Bux Viswanath had actually been made in the C.P. on what dates, at what places and at what prices. In this letter, he said, 'as I understand it, Messrs. M.M. Ispahani Ltd., in April 1943 before the date, I think free trade was introduced in this region, made purchases of rice in the C.P. as among the other places, Gondia, Raipur, Bhaatpara, these purchases were subsequently sold by Messrs. M.M. Ispahani Ltd. to Bengal Government'. The letter also mentioned that Messrs. Hanuman Bux Viswanath were presenting a full bill to the Bengal Government for the stocks sold to them, particulars of which were furnished as follows:

Gondia	32,697 mds.	20 srs
Raipur	9,927 mds.	20 srs
Bhatapara	3,154 mds	10 srs
Champa	7,505 mds	0 srs
	<hr/> 53,284	<hr/> 10

The particulars required by the Regional Food Commissioner, Bombay were supplied to him by the C.P. Govt. at the end of October and in early November and were passed on to the Regional Food Commissioner, Mr Braund at Calcutta.

36. At this stage Bengal Government addressed the C.P. Government direct on the subject. In their letter dated 19-11-43 they said 'In April/May last Messrs Ispahani Ltd., the Agent, purchased on behalf of this government over 50,000 maunds of rice as follows: (the letter gave the same particulars as had been mentioned earlier in Mr Justice Braund's D.O.) — 'They were purchased at Rs 12-12-0 and the total amounts to . . . [missing in the original — Ed.]'. The Bengal Government reserved their claim for payment as compensation of an amount which would cover the actual cost to them of the purchase of the stock which they understood had been 'acquired' by the C.P. Government at prices ranging from Rs 8 to 9-12-0 per maund and they declared that the rice is actually purchased by Messrs M.M. Ispahani Ltd. on behalf of Bengal Government and the amount kept in revenue deposit was therefore now due to them.

37. In reply to an enquiry by the C.P. Government to elucidate claim further, the Deputy Controller of purchase of the Bengal Department of Civil Supplies wrote that the stocks referred to earlier had been 'purchased by Messrs Hanuman Bux Viswanath, the Agent of Messrs M.M. Ispahani Ltd., on behalf of this Govt.' In another letter the Deputy Controller said that

Messrs Hanuman Bux Viswanath had by a letter date transferred their claims of the compensation money in favour of Messrs M.M. Ispahani Ltd., who again had duly transferred their claim to the Bengal Government.

38. The C.P. Government there upon issued notices to Hanuman Bux Viswanath and Ispahanis inviting objections to the claim preferred by the Bengal Government. It was found that compensation had already been accepted by Hanuman Bux Viswanath for certain stocks on the footing that they have been purchased and held on his own account and not on account of the Bengal Government. Part of the stocks for which payment had been thus accepted had been included in the claims made by Bengal Government and part was not. The up-shot of the matter is that the total of all quantities purchased (whether on behalf of the Bengal Government or on personal account) is ascertained by C.P. Government to be 63,105 maunds. Payment in respect of 11,566 maunds has already been made and accepted. The price of the balance as lying in personal deposit.

39. The following statement shows the particulars of (i) stocks referred to in Mr Braund's telegram of 27th May, (ii) stocks claimed by Bengal Government in November 1943 as having been purchased on their behalf in April/ May, 1943 and (iii) stocks for which payment tendered by C.P. Government is still lying in personal deposit account:

Stocks in Maunds

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	
Naila	8,000	Nil	Nil	
Gondia	40,000	32,697	31,56	3/4
Raipur	30,000	9,927	9,504	
Champa	6,000	7,505	7,492	13/20
Bhatapara	25,000	3,164	Nil	
Baraduar	8,000	Nil	3,060	4/5
Kotma	4,150	Nil	Nil	

The correspondence about straightening out the accounts relating to these stocks is still proceeding.

40. The salient facts, for the purposes of this summary, are as follows:

(i) Quantity of stocks held in C.P.: 84,000 maunds was mentioned to Mr Braund on or before the 19th May. 109,00 Maunds were offered for sale to Bengal Government on 20th May. 121,150 maunds were mentioned to Mr Braund on or before the 27th May. The C.P. Govt. who were on the look out for all these stocks could find only 63,185 maunds. The differences suggest, prima face, either that stocks were held in C.P. which were not declared under the Foodgrains Control Order or that stocks were offered for sale to Bengal Govt. which had not been bought. These are the possibilities which occurred to officers of C.P. Government at the time. If there are any other, they would require to be explained by Messrs. Ispahanis.

(ii) Ownership to stocks held in C.P: At all material times physical possession of such stocks as are so far known to have been in existence was with Hanuman Bux Viswanath, until they were acquired by C.P. Government while they were being so held, changes of ownership took place in a manner which cannot be clearly traced. At different times different parcels were held by Hanuman Bux Viswanath (a) on his own account (b) as agent of Ispahanis in

their capacity as independent owners of the stock and (c) as agent of Ispahanis in their capacity as agent of Bengal Government, owing the stocks.

41. In this context, reference must be made to certain entries which appeared in the account book produced by Hanuman Bux Viswanath and inspected by the Commission at Bombay. That book showed the purchases made from various sellers (with particulars of names of sellers and dates and quantities) and the dates and quantities of transfer to the Ispahanis. One set of entries related to purchases in C.P. They purported to show that all the purchases in C.P. had been bought by Hanuman Bux Viswanath on 20-5-43 from one seller, viz. the Ispahanis, and transferred back on the same date to Ispahanis at a price roughly three rupees per maund in excess of the purchase prices.

1. Not printed.

60 Government of India's policy towards Bengal famine during the Viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow

Nanavati Papers, List of Literature, File No. 3a
[NAI]

It is a common experience that when a person in high authority takes the trouble to visit a place of disturbance or distress, good result immediately follows. The obvious result of Lord Wavell's visit to the distressed area in Bengal is an apt illustration. Unfortunately when distress was acute and people were dying by the thousands, Lord Linlithgow did not care to go to Bengal. He could not have been ignorant of the measure of distress. If he was, he ought to have known what everybody else in the country knew. His failure to visit Bengal may be explained by the excuse that prevention of death by starvation was a provincial and not a central matter. But that would be too narrow a view, amounting to evasion of responsibility.

Unsigned – undated.

[*Editorial Note:* This is in the handwriting of Sir N. ipendra Nath Sircar, and attached to the draft of a letter he prepared to send to Lord Linlithgow. All such material came into the possession of Sir M. Nanvati.]

XIII Cultural Movement

The documents included in this section suffer from one limitation – the evidence from Indian languages is predominantly from the Bengali speaking area. Secondly, it is difficult to convey the power of the words and the verve of the music of the patriotic and radical songs in the English language. We have indicated, with editorial notes, where a particular song owed its appeal because of being composed in a local dialect or being set to a popular folk musical tradition:

Music and drama are the two art forms in which collective discontent and misery can be expressed in a manner to have an immediate impact over a large audience. So the evidence has been primarily from these two genres.

There were two different, though complementary trends in the use of the arts as a vehicle for anti-colonial social protest in this period. Both are represented here in the collection of documents. One was the traditional nationalist anti-British theme, whether expressed through poems, fiction, music or drama, and with an overt sympathy for nationalist movements like the Congress. The internment of Congress workers and the strict censorship over their political propaganda reduced the opportunities for this in 1943 and early 1944. The protagonists of the other trend, who had affiliations with the C.P.I. in varying degrees, were able to enter the cultural area and occupy most of the space for cultural work in politics. Institutions like the Progressive Writers Conference, the Indian Peoples Theatrical Association encouraged all creative efforts which depicted social injustice, identified the causes of that, and suggested, optimistically, a way out of such misery. The Japanese invasion scare, Bengal famine, and the continued dominance of the alien bureaucracy allied with the indigenous exploiter – these provided the themes of the songs and drama these writers encouraged.

Document no. 1 gives the credo of a Marathi Communist leader, which inter alia, gives an idea of trends in Marathi literature, as evaluated from a Communist point of view. Document No.3 has been translated from the original Punjabi by Dr Amrik Singh.

Document 8 is a song composed by a leftwing Bengali writer, whose songs were for a long time very much in vogue in the peasant and labour movements in Bengal. Nibaron Pandit' was from a village in Mymensingh, Eastern Bengal, who lost his father at the age of eleven, had to struggle for his livelihood, and started composing songs from the age of thirteen. He had joined the peasant movement in his district from 1936, shortly after the founding of the All India Kisan Sabha. Another song which we have given – by Hemanga Biswas' – has an explicit support to the C.P.I. line of hostility to the I.N.A. and support for a Congress – Muslim league alliance. (document no. 7). Both the documents (7&8) have been translated by the editor.

However, the most powerful and celebrated Bengali work of these 'progressive writers' was the play *Navanna*, by Bijon Bhattacharya', which was staged on 24th October, 1944, in Calcutta, with a cast including many political activists and some actors destined to become famous personalities on the Calcutta stage. Instead of reproducing the whole play, which was unwieldy, we have given an extended synopsis of the play, with translations by the editor from the original in select places. (The synopsis largely follows the long critical commentary on the play in its latest (1990) edition, by Dr Pabitra Sarkar and Shri Shamik Bandopadhyay).

The nationalists of the Congress persuasion started their cultural organization a month after the staging of *Navanna*, in the last week of November 1944 (Document 11). The writer Subodh Ghosh, joint secretary of this association, was at work on a dance drama which was being rehearsed in the winter months of 1944–5 and eventually staged in 13th April (Jallian Wala Bagh day) 1945. Oral testimony of participants in this play indicates that rehearsals for this play brought together a large number of students, writers and teachers of music and dance with nationalist sympathies. So we have included the synopsis of this play (an English version by the group) called 'Abhyudaya', and other literature about this association (document 12–13).

Other Documents Relevant for this Chapter:

1. Doc. 119 – in Chapter IX and the pictorial supplement to Chapter VIII i.e. Ch. XX which contains sketches on the Bengal Famine by young painters, some of whom were politically committed.
2. Doc. 114 in Chapter V.

1: Dange's Speech (22.5.1943) – Task for the Writers

Sudhi Pradhan (ed.), *Marxist Cultural Movements in India* (1949), pp. 3–30

Fourth All-India Progressive Writer's Conference.

Literature and the People

Comrades and Friends,

Today we are meeting when the whole of humanity is in the grip of a most devastating world-war. Whether you are at the front or the rear the life of every man, Woman and child is affected by the titanic World-War. As writers responsible for inspiring, moulding, depicting the thoughts and emotions of our people and of humanity we cannot remain indifferent to the War. Writers and thinkers of every epoch of human history, of every nation, who were with their people, felt and lived like their people, have never been found isolated from Wars that made and unmade their nations. In periods of War, the best of them thought and thought, wrote and sang of the war. We cannot do any thing but what our great ancestors did and our contemporaries are doing.

Death to Fascism

The overwhelming mass of our people and their leadership whether in the field of politics, economics or art are not neutrals in this War. The patriotic national leadership of our country has taught us for the last fifteen years that the vilest phenomena of history, the most brutal, cruel, terroristic monstrous part of world imperialism, namely Nazism, is the worst enemy of mankind, enemy of all progress and culture. Our patriotic leadership has inspired us to feel internationally for the Chinese people, and against Japanese Fascism, for the Spanish people and against Italo-German Fascism, for the great Soviet Union, the defender of the peoples freedom. The Indian people have chosen their sides—they stand for the defeat and destruction

of Fascism, which aspires to enslave the whole world and destroy all national cultures. Our great humanist and world renowned poet Tagore, therefore, spurned all advances for fraternization made by the Japanese Fascist scribbler Noguchi. Can we remain neutral and not be against fascism and belie our whole past, our greatest of poets, our whole national patriotic leadership? We cannot. We stand against fascism and for its complete destruction in this War. We choose sides against fascism and for the liberation of all nations and peoples of the World.

Who has been the greatest and most dogged defender of the people of world freedom and against fascism all these years? The mighty Soviet Union, the great Red Army, the unbreakable Chinese fighters and all those who have gone down fighting but have not surrendered to the Nazi bludgeon. The great writers of the people of these countries, the novelists, dramatists, poets and historians of these countries, as well as those exiled, executed or imprisoned German, Italian, Japanese writers who have stood against the fascist gangsters of their own countries. Hence our first task is to give our greetings to the heroes of the anti-fascist front.

Modern Indian literature in all languages has derived a large fund of inspiration and guidance from foreign lands. Our intellectuals, from whom spring most of our authors, feels humbly proud to have read, thinks himself elevated, to have digested, the great works of Turgenev, Tolstoy, Tchekhov, Gorky and Sholokov. Shall we not then heap curses on and stand against the vile Hitlerite German hordes that have by plan and purpose destroyed Yasnaya Polyana, the home of Tolstoy? Shall we not shoulder the pen against the destroyer of the houses and relics of Tchekhov, Gorky, Sholokhov? We shall. We stand with the Red Army-the exterminator of these hordes, with Sholokhov, Polyakov and the innumerable writers, who inspire it forward to annihilate the World-destroyer. Who would not be proud to sit in the ranks of Frederick Mann, Toller, Feuchtwangler, and Zweig, banished from Hitlerite Germany, to sit with and feel as Romain Rolland, Steinbeck and Pearl Buck feel against fascism and for the victory and freedom of the people, the world over? The people of the World are one whole against their exploiters and enslavers. The writers of the world who stand with the people, wearing the robes of their respective national languages and cultures, are bound to feel and work as one international brotherhood, speaking different tongues but voicing one thought, one emotion: Death to Fascism, to slavery – Victory to freedom and the people of every land:

While extending our hand of fellowship in the fight against fascism, we do not shut our eyes to the situation in our country, to the fact that we are held down under an alien bureaucracy, which refuses to allow this mighty arm of India to use its full blow against the fascist invader. It is afraid that this arm trained to deal with fascism will not stop there. Isolated from the people, feeling that it is loosing its grip on the colonial peoples, the bureaucracy strikes wildly at the people, imprisons its leaders and finds itself unable to manage the vast economic edifice of India. Food is there but does not reach the hungry, cloth is there but does not clothe the naked and shivering. Hoarders, profiteers and an incompetent bureaucracy have dragged this land into famine conditions and have made it an easy prey for the fascist monster.

Souls in Torment

Such conditions have chilled the heart of many a songster, have frozen the springs of many an imagination. Those penmen whose mission it ought to be to give tongue to the people, to rouse them for defence and freedom are sunk in gloom, despair and helplessness, what can we do for the people, for freedom, for defence, when we are not allowed to do anything they ask. And sink themselves in a mystic wail or the welter of escapist fiction.

To these souls in torment and despair, we may ask: Are you with the people or against them? The overwhelming mass today is in the grip of famine of life's necessities. It is our duty to give expression to this through art, to organise through our art, if we are with them and not against them. Bureaucracy or no bureaucracy, our people must live, it is the task of art to inspire them to it.

To the souls in torment we say-if you sit on the fence, handfolded, if you believe that the victory of the nations led by the Soviet Union is no concern of yours, you are not paving the way for freedom from your national enslaver, you are aiding a worse slavery to take his place, you are aiding not only your annihilation, but the annihilation of all peoples, all culture. To defend India is our concern, not to spare this or that Government, but to save ourselves, to spare our people to gain freedom.

To fight for defence, against famine and sabotage, for our National Government, for the release of the thousands in Jail, our art must mobilize the people, unify them. To set one section of our people against another, to sow hatred and strife among them in the name of bygone values of communalism cannot be the function of noble art. Freedom of every nationality, freedom from every limitation not accepted willingly and democratically alone can create the prerequisites for the blossoming of culture. It is unthinkable that the artist who stands for the highest self-determination for his expression for the development of his art personality as representative of the language, culture, thought and emotion of his people as Marathas, Karnatakis, Bengalees etc. should seek to impose his thumb rule upon others. Not an imposed Akhand-Hindustan but voluntarily united Hindustan of autonomous nationalities must be the true home and ideal of the people's artist.

People's Verdict

I see questions raising their heads in the minds of many of Marxist friends. Is art meant for all this? Are we-artists to be regimented for the conflict of political programmes, for this or that school or party? Is art for propaganda or for sheer joy? For unravelling eternal truth and morality or for passing values of the maddening crowd? Imagine trying to chisel and pillory the beautiful head of Tagore or Shelley in the steel frame work of party programme. Art is art, is for itself and so and so on. Controversies have been fought and are being fought on these questions. There is no end-of them. But while argument goes on, poets, novelists, dramatists, musicians, painters, historians produce their works and the healthy instincts of the people pass their verdict and accept or reject them. They do not give reasons-they just pick up the artist or throw him out with coldness and contempt.

Did the people require any discussion on the function of art when Sarat Babu's 'Bindur Chhele'¹ quietly appeared in an obscure magazine and took Bengali literature by storm? The oppressed and exploited of Bengal needed no Satyam Shivam Sundaram thereon to feel that here was their poet when Rabi-babu² wrote. Middle-class humanity in Marathi with its new emotions of the modern husband and wife, seeking unshackling from the inhibitions of the outmoded feudal family relations, based on the rule of the father and mother-in-laws, at once owned Hari-babu's 'But-who cares?' (pan lakshyat Kon Ghetu) as the "truth", the reality, the story of their souls, frustrated but struggling never again has women's oppressed soul so poured out in Marathi literature. An art-creation that identifies itself with the oppressed and the exploited and the exploited fights injustice, barbarism, and as such delineates the "truth" and ushers in new values on the ruins of the old cannot be kept hidden, unaccepted.

But how are the new and the old values of life to be demarcated or defined, how is progress

from reaction, truth from the lie to be distinguished in the realm of art? It must be recognised that there are no eternal values in life, since life itself is not eternal or stable. The greatest pre-occupation of human life so far has been to struggle for material goods to make life possible, to make it live and grow. In the production and sharing out of these material values, men and women through ages have entered into social-relations with each other in such a way as to further the growth of material well-being. These social relations have in each epoch reared the moral, ethical, emotional make up of man and woman. The social relations the class-relations, of primitive communist society, of slave society, of feudal society, capitalist society and Soviet society, established by man and woman in the different epochs of human history, have their differing moral and emotional make up. When the growth of material happiness for the society as a whole is hindered by the existing social relations, of slave and owner, of serf and landowner, of worker and employer, the oppressed and the exploited seek the way out; they then give new values, new emotions, new truth, new reality. The defenders of the old relations become reactionary, the singers and preachers of the changed to changing become progressive. This is the only scientific law of social history, only true view of life and hence the only gauge of measuring real art.

This does not mean that a work of art of an epoch can be its progressive and real representative only if it declaims the political and economic programmes of the oppressed and exploited of that epoch in so many words. A piece of art really identifying itself with 'the truth', 'reality' of that epoch, with humanity, finds its own method and forms, its own way of doing the work. A piece that does not so divorce itself from reality of life, remains decadent and hollow.

One of our Marathi poets, the late M.T. Patwardhan in a speech at a conference of Marathi poets (16-9-1933) complained that people do not appreciate the poets of modern Marathi and hence poetry does not flourish. That is a general complaint of our poets against the people. But they have failed to find the reason for this. Modern Marathi poetry has failed to tune itself to the emotional outbursts of our oppressed classes. Our poets point to how English poetry flourished because poets were patronized by the people. But they fail to say that people patronized them because the poets championed the people. Shelley thundered for the ideals of the French Revolution and for the famine-stricken workers of England of 1812. The lame Lord Byron, the dissolute, hurled defiance at his own class and chose to stand with the Nottingham workers, when they fought the employers in this famine. Where do our poets stand in relation to the struggles of our people? Our heroic struggles have left our Marathi poets of the intelligentsia completely dry. True some have felt the gloom in which our country was sunk after the last conquest, but they have failed to catch the new upsurge of the masses in the fields and factories. Most of them have chosen to take the position of the flower in the deserted well. It is no wonder people refuse to follow them into such moods of frustration and desertion.

Our oppressed people have never deserted their champions, the artists of their soul and their future. Marathi literature has a great tradition in this matter and you will pardon me, if I cast a glance on the past in order to derive light for the future.

Marathi Literature-Its Birthmark or Revolt

The very birth of our language and literature has taken place in revolt against exploitation of the oppressed masses. The first compositions of our language were born at the hands of people, who broke from the deadening exploiting hand of feudal serfdom and its Brahmin law ideology. Landlords and princes loading the exploited with unbearable duties and taxes, formulated in terms of religious rites and obligations, goaded hundreds to rebellion. The

ideological expression of their revolt took the form of founding 'rebel sects', not owing allegiance to the ruling exploiters. There were clashes, massacres and struggles; but the people stuck, and poured out their ambitions and visions, their criticism of the old that ought to go and the statement of the new that ought to be. Hunted and persecuted by the state and exploiting classes, these chunks that broke away thought that founding a new sect would do away with oppression. It gave temporary relief but the material pre-requisites of the completely new has not arisen. They poured their thoughts in sect literature, of the Naths, the Mahanubhavas, the Lingayats, and so on. Hindu feudal oppression from 8th century onwards and the revolt against it has been the fountain of our early Marathi literature. The blood-suckers of feudal Brahmanism and their state were writing Chaturvarg Chintamani, a tome that describes 2000 rites that a Hindu householder, the peasant and the landholder ought to practice. All the 365 days of the year were engaged in these rites which at every stage provided for 'Dakahina' and a feast, that is for the revelry of the exploiters, the fees of their agents and the tax on the exploited. That Tome is forgotten. It was in such condition that Jnaneshwar fought for the rights of the masses, for their right to find their way of emancipation in their own and not through the exploiters' way. The key to God's heaven where the divine Krishna promised that the Shudra, the Women, and the Vaisya, the largest chunk of exploited humanity would be free, was handed over to them in their own language, the Marathi by Jnaneshwar. He suffered oppression, his work became a 'landmark and people's treasure', because it expressed the will of the oppressed for emancipation, when the parasites were feasting on 2000 Vratas. In such a revolt of the oppressed was the birth of our literature.

It was such a society torn by internal class-struggles and caste-fissures that was attacked by the Muslim invasion. The highly organised military democracy of Islam swept before it the decadent hierarchy of the Hindus, before their internal revolts could make their own readjustments. Marathi authors, the champions of the people were faced with a new problem, that of meeting the invasion. Within a few years time, the aristocracy of the Hindu had made peace with the Muslim State. India was too vast a land to be managed by the handful of Muslims that came; the Muslims had arisen from an economy which was backward compared to that of India. In Indian conditions, the Muslim State soon shared power with the Hindu aristocracy Hindu society had reserved the role of military leadership and struggle to a caste, which now went over to the State of Islam for a share in Jagirs and Mansabs. As time passed the exploited of the village and the town could make no distinction of cast and religion between his one exploiter and another. Opposite him were ranged Brahmin, Kshatriya and Muslim aristocracy with innumerable demands on his serf-labour. Whatever initial good Islam could do had been played out. Their early crusade against usury, against the vicious rights of private property in land, their simple, light system of taxation, their provision for the widows, the homeless and education as first charge on revenues from war, their democratic opposition to the privileges growing around a state functionary or propertied men, their deep sense of equality, at first very real, between all Muslims-all these made sharp impression on Hindu Society. But as Islam spread through the world, it was seized by all the vices of feudalism, and its democracy and equality became purely formal.

Role of 'Santa' Poetry

It was to face these conditions that the Santa writers poured their writings for two hundred years. Outcast Brahmins, potters, weavers, oppressed women, tailors, shoemakers, ruined traders from all corners of India rose with one voice shouting the tale of exploitation and

oppression. They came both from the Muslims and the Hindus. Need I remind you of the names of Kabir and Mrityunjaya, Eknath and Tukaram, Janabai and Changdev? The ideological revolt from Islamic ranks came through *sufi* poetry, that from Hindus through *Bhagwat* and *Vaishnava* poetry. When the Khans of Bengal to cement the compromise with Hindu aristocracy were asking the Pandits to translate the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in Bengali, the persecuted Sahajiyas were pouring the anguish of their souls and their healthy love in the love tunes of a whole line of poets from Chandidas to Chaitanya. The Bhagwat poets in Marathi too were not singing mere praises of God, reform of religion or their personal wails and worries. The mighty Bhagwat torrent was a flood of protest and demand of the vast mass whose life was unstable in the cracking village economy, breaking under impact of trade, usury, wars of the princes, nobles and land-lords and rapacious taxation and serf labour. All poetry and writing at this time converged on two demands. The terrible crisis in the country had to be solved. To them the feudal frame work of Chaturvarna had no alternative, because no alternative economy with its alternative social classes had arisen. So they demanded the restoration of the best features of the system which had vanished. It is wrong to think that they asked for a social revolution, uprooting of caste or anything of the kind. They asked for a proper Bhagwat Chaturvarna, and secondly for an Avatar to carry out the task and resolve the crisis, that is they asked for an economic restoration to be carried out by political action, both posed in religious terms meant Bhagwat Chaturvarna and Avatar.

To the vast mass what did these Sant poets convey? When the State hoarded grain and failed to release it to the hungry people, Damaji on his responsibility, opened the State hoard to the people. When asked to make the amount good, a Mahar, the most down-trodden of Hindu society came to his aid and paid his fine. The Sant poets converted this Mahar into their Bhagwat God, the Krishan of old, who alone coming from the Gana-Democracy of the Satvat-Vrishni was capable of doing such things. Jani Janardan was servant of Bijapur. He also distributed state corn to the people in famine, and was threatened with death punishment. Dasopant was himself a victim of famine and failed to pay his revenue. Threatened with conversion he somehow secured release and took to writing. Scores and scores of these writers and singers, felt with the people, suffered with the people and hence wrote of the people. To them, real Chaturvarna meant that social structure, where the predominant produce of the village was for its own use, exchanged according to established rules between one caste of producers and another, 1/6th part going to the State, as tax, and a part preserved in the village for common expenses and against the rainy day. It meant a Brahmin, not doing 2000 feasts in a year, with hundreds of cattle and acres of land but one who was poor and taught the people, warned them of evil, of men or stars. It meant a Kshatriya who did not always live dead-drunk with bevvies of women, but one who symbolized defence of the village and the State, colour and just taxation. It meant a Vaisya who did not steal labours value through cheating in prices, but one who supplied what was needed in exchange for what was not needed and took his honest living for it. To the Sant poets it meant that once such a Chaturvarna is restored, the village and the whole society will cease to be prey to famine, pestilence, Wars, invasions, which up to a certain extent was real solution, however temporary it might be. A thorough overhaul in economy within the existing system itself could make it go for sometime and reduce the acute troubles. The great Sant poetry expressed in all its literature this vital cry of the oppressed masses greatest sufferers being the toiling millions. These are the traditions we inherit from the past.

Sant poetry failed to give a political lead, to inspire and breed organization, hope and

direction. No doubt, it escaped into fruitless demonstrations to Pandharpur and sometimes by endless weeping communicated morbidity to its audience. Still it fulfilled a great social need, gave voice to the exploited and exposed crying fundamental evils of the day. It was positive in its solution, emphatic in its demand, and certain sections of it were democratic in outlook like the Sahajiyas. What they never put forward clearly and positively was the demand for the political overthrow of the rule of the oppressors, though this was indicated in the cry the Avatar. This failure lays them open to the charge of spreading moods of defeatism, frustration, timidity and of the failing to organise and inspire the people to action, through their literature.

Guerilla Poets

At last the voice of the people, their experience and suffering produced the urge for political organization a movement with political aim, having a definite economic content. The voice of soft protest merely stating the ideals of the future and describing the woes of the present on behalf of oppressed humanity was no longer sufficient. Bhagwat was outmoded. Votaries of the militant Amba-Bhawani, the warring Woman God and of khandobs, family deities of the Maratha peasantry, came to the fore. The testament of Ramdas became popular with the poor strata of the village Brahmins. Strict *Chaturvarna*, (unlike the liberal Bhagwat), and Avatar, that is, militant warfare, a just king and a just kingdom were all denoted by Rama, in mythic tradition. Hence Ramdas, contrary to all his predecessor saints chose Rama as his deity. The prince of the dream of the masses came as Shivajo, who straight way abolished the old Vatan, old taxation methods unlimited rights on serf-labour; farming of revenues. A piece of land for every one, stable tenure, tax share only of actual crops, no Vatan claims on peasants' produce were his most fundamental economic reforms.

The masses produced their own military leaders, the old professionals had deserted to an alien aristocracy. It was a peoples upsurge and hence produced the most successful guerilla warfare which is possible only when the fighters are politically conscious loyal to the people and are fighting a just war. That alone explains the defeat of the mighty armies of the Mughals and the Southern States.

Where were our writers in this struggle? Those in the Santa line had failed to see the change that had taken place. The struggle was too much in the hands of the guerilla peasantry and its youthful captains, too outspokenly against the blood sucking Watandars and their State it did not please the intellectual Brahmin who wanted to displace the well paid Kazi and take his place, as a result of Maratha victory. It did not please of course the old feudal aristocracy, Hindu or Muslim, who did everything jointly to crush this new peasant-prince combination. Hence, the Brahmin writers and poets, Mukund, Waman, etc. wrote not a single line about this great struggle or its leadership or its ideals. But the militant masses, who could wage a war and produce its military commanders, also had its own singers and writers. *Santa* poetry vanished, the other writers went to halls of respectability and forward before the millions moved our ballad-singers and composers-the Powada dominated the stage of poetry. Poetry of the people, fighting and victorious.

Marching with the village troop, joining the Guerillas on foot or on horse, the composer fought while battles lasted and sang in the evening rallies to his comrades in arms, the exploits of the day, of the movement of the armies, of its heroes and made them ready for further action. Hundreds of such compositions spread through villages and towns and forts. They spoke of the oppressed who had now taken to struggle. The best of them took the humble name of 'Servant of the unlearned (people)' Ajnanadas. Their nearness to the people,

to their leadership, their sense of reality and their conscious experience, expressed beautifully in a few words is not equalled by hundreds of words of our modern writers of the historical novel. Their great hero Shivaji is not an aristocrat to them, sitting in an Ambari taking mujaras and standing always in country posture with his hand on his sword (even when he did before Jijibai, his mother, as is shown in some of our novels and dramas) When he starts to battle, he simply says to the people, of whom is one 'Maza Ram Ram Dadanoo'. Having made arrangements for the kingdom he bids farewell again 'Nirva nirava dadanoo, Vananti Sakalikala'. Ajnanadas is not touchy about persian words and his Shivaji says 'pehils salam maza Bhawani Shankarala.

The soldiers too are not mercenaries but the people in arms. It is not a motley crowd of various provinces as the later armies of the peshwas were. The people themselves raised questions regarding supply of arms because it was their war of liberation, it was not their job-hunting.

Bin hatyari Lok, kase jaoo Maharajanche bheteela, Akadya Koyatya Kamarela.

This is how the peasantry asked later when the battle of Fruits of British Conquest.

Hundreds of years have passed by and yet our people remember these writers because they expressed the innermost yearning of the people. Were these painters of the people's soul regimented and horsewhipped into the expressly political, economic or religious stand point that they took place before the people? It was their oneness with the oppressed and exploited that moved them to do so. Those that had not the genuine soul of the people refused to do so. Those that had not the genuine soul of the people refused to be touched. Their was not poetry not Kavya but Khataiti of the court and the upper classes.

Several of these writers sprang from the oppressed, suffered with them and hence the grievances and struggles of the exploited were not beneath their art. In fact in one form or another, directly or by implication they were the only basis of their art.

The largest part of their literature was avowedly and openly propagandist. To fight for the birth of the new was the yearning of the people and so was that of the people's art and literature.

These art creators frankly stood for the material well-being of the people and it was writ large on their banner, inspite of the 'spiritual' or religious colour in which it was dyed. They chose the cause of the oppressed and exploited class and thus gave Marathi literature a brilliant past.

Where do we stand now on the background of the past? Compare the 150 years of literature after Jnaneshwar, after the fall of the Yadavase, with the 150 years after the Lacanis and the fall of the Peshawas. What traditions have we created anew or continued from the old? After Jnaneshwar the potters, weavers, tailors artisans, men and women, Hindu and Muslim, stormed literature, gave the sublime tongue to revolt to the insistent demand for freedom. It has to be admitted that the predominant part of modern Marathi literature, especially since 1920, has failed in that task. It has turned traitor to the yearnings of the oppressed and exploited millions.

Till 1857 the defeated feudal princes still dreamed of the return of the lost empire. For that they needed no freedom movement of the people. Mere alliance of the ruling princelings, conspiracy to affect the British sepoy army with any wild tale, true or false, were their weapons. The masses had just settled down to peace. Tired of the perpetual feuds, they had found some relief in the State which while bleeding them white, rid them of internal insecurity and anarchy; and allowed them to develop their agriculture crafts. The pandit writers continued to serve the ruling caste class. There was no real peoples' literature.

But profound changes were slowly ripening. This time the invader was not going to let

your economy run on the old lines and only take the cream off it. The very structure of society, the mode of producing material goods, of class relations, was being altered. The old classes had to crumble and now, hitherto unknown classes and productive forces were to arise. Rail, telegraph. Steamships, factories and workshops were springing. The village community was overthrown. Moneylenders, feudal rent-diggers and planters grabbed land, their heavy demands for money rent turned the peasant out and threw him into the factories. British and Indian capital raised factories where new fangled men, the working men, worked these new-fangled instruments. Old Hindu society and Muslim society was being rent from top to bottom. The vast millions to suffer were the peasantry under the load of capital and feudal landlordism. They work under the load of capital and feudal landlordism. The working class yet looked to the land, was half-peasant, half-worker in outlook. Not yet the banner of a new independent democratic India. Only the intelligentsia, growing at a faster rate than the services and industries could absorb him, could express the vital of the hour-political freedom to lift the deadweight of foreign rule and of its ally, the Indian feudal houses.

Political Essay and Novel

Who roused the middle-class, the rising capitalists, the peasant to think of nationalism, of India as a Nation, to think of asking democratic rights and liberties from the political and social oppressors? It was the great essayists, Chiplunkar, Agarkar, Tilak, Ranade, who inheriting the democratic ideas from the bourgeois literature of Europe, of England especially, put a new vision before the Indian people. The press, the new potential ally of the masses, was used by them to rally the people, at last to speak out, criticise, to mobilize. The class whom they addressed determined both the content and the form of their writings. Tilak a long time mainly addressed himself to the peasant and the middle-class youth. He spoke of forests, wells, taxes on agriculture and wrote these pointed sentences which have become famous. No doubt Tilak quailed before the Brahmin aristocracy, and in the name of presenting an unbroken front, refused to counter social reform, even supported reactionary standpoints. In him was a combination of political radicalism with social reaction. But with all that he remained a fearless mobilizer of the middle-classes and the first voice of nationalism Tilak was first and last of the political essayists, mobilizing men through literature, until the communists came on the scene half a century later.

The breakdown of the old social structure had out-moded every known value of life. Castes had no relation to the daily stream of life — so also religion. In fact conversion gave to some intellectual satisfaction, to some safety from death in famines, to some careers. All these problems poured out through literature. Essayists of the Social Reform School created their own press led by Agarkar, Phyla and others.

But the two most outstanding works came not from these writers. They came from the pen of fiction-writers, in two provinces and to my mind, very well represent the century, in one was from Hari Narayan Apte and another from Bankim Chandra. Apte gave us the little story 'Kal tar Katjin ala' (Times Critical) wherein the ruin of the vast peasantry and its expropriation and conversion into the propertyless worker is most faithfully depicted. No wonder, it was soon banned. Bankim Chandra from Bengal gave us the Anand-Math. The same ruin of the peasantry in Bengal through famines and expropriation is presented there. The ruined middle-class and peasantry organise as Bairagis secretly and fight the British State but are defeated. The work tastes of an anti-Muslim bias in these days, but it got fame as it inspired the early conspirators of Bengal and has given us that song, Vande-Mataram. Literature, it seems, was not deserting the people, art was coming into service of the people. Apte enriched

Marathi literature by interpreting for us the conflict of emotions in the newly rising middle class family, conflicts arising out of the breakdown of the old social structure. The worker had yet found no champion, because he had not yet stamped himself a class apart on the features of the new order. Hence he could not but expected to appear on the literary stage.

Feeble Voice of Revolt

The rise of the emancipation movement in India, the growth of crisis in world capitalism, and its consequent attack on Indian Nationalism, the wave of repression and the peoples reply by boycotts, strikes etc. right to the end of the first world war were such mighty events that they could not but come out into literature. Repression had made the task difficult. To paint Shankar Mamanji's oppression meant to the author a few stones from orthodoxy. To paint Curzon's oppression meant imprisonment. Our writers took to stratagem. They clothed their present day topics with robes of mythic heroes and events. They took to the historical events and characters to speak out the present anguish. Khadilkar's Prataparao or Kanchangad's Mohana was nothing but a nationalist patriots' outburst. His *Keechakvadh* had a very vague, almost invisible reference, to Curzon. Yet it spoke of a slave-woman's oppression, a slave who was once queen (Draupadi) at the hands of the wicked rulers of a state (Kichakas) and the massacre of the wicked at the hands of the powerful husband of the slave (the Pandavas). It was enough to talk of oppression to set the panicky bureaucracy going at it. The drama was banned. The historical novel tried to depict freedom's struggle through the Maratha-Muslim conflict of history. But therein, the analogy, instead of being translated to the plane of the present struggle for emancipation by the readers, gave their communal feelings food to grow and the historical novel failed to serve the real need of the people. Thus in the period of the war-crisis and the growing emancipation movement, our dramatists, fiction-writers and poets did try to raise their voice along with the people, only the voice was too feeble, because the movement had not yet seized the widest masses and hence could not throw up its interpreters. Those who were already in the field, with one or two exceptions, were less politically inclined. The social novel, drama and poetry interested them more than the clash of prison bars. When Tilak was sentenced the working class in Bombay struck work for the three days and challenged the might of the bureaucracy. That mighty event was recorded by Lenin as a most hopeful sign that the working class in India had 'grown up sufficiently to wage a class conscious political mass struggle' that 'the peoples of Asia have become democratically conscious'. But this mighty event and its conclusions did not find expression in a single outstanding work of literature in those days. The middle-class litterateurs were singularly immune from understanding the emotional make up of the working masses.

Post-War Stalemate

The failure of our writers to most of the demands of the crisis in the early of the century still continues, and that too in a worse manner. The Post-War world gave India two crises and two movements—those of 1918-20 and 1930-2. The toiling masses, workers, peasants, middle-classes came by millions in struggle, to political consciousness, to organization for their country and their class. But where are these mighty periods and happenings in our literature? The only effect has been that the middle-class in the social novel has changed his colour, his pose, his problem. But where are the types representing those millions, their thought, emotion, yearning? No where. Gadkari gave us his morbid heroines, monuments of self-obedience Khadilkar had lost his flame, though his Marathi prose had improved. Kolhatkar gave us the

same old criticism of Hindu society from the standpoint of the new bourgeois society. Non-cooperation of students produced one novelist, Phadke, himself a 'non-co-professor'. He saw that the days of Vaddu-Pariksha and 'Who Cares' had gone. Women had moved forward to certain status. The middle-class husband could now speak of his wife in the day time in the house which he could not in the days of Apte – To the middle-class youth now, the problem in this sphere was love-marriage-possible only through college companionship. The grown-up college girl, sweet and coquettish, fashionable and innocent, bold and shy, came into the novel, through Phadke. So also the boy. That was certainly new and good. But Phadke just stayed where he was with these girls. To him they have refused to change or grow. The actual college girl in life had now grown into a different consciousness. But what our author does is merely to flit from party to party, city to city, rename the same girl differently in different places and parties and pass them on as new types. He has ceased to understand even his new middle class girl in the changing times. He is worn-out in content, though his beautiful style still remains its charm, a style, which is his own creation, a new form suited to the polished, simplified, direct approach to the love-theme. Unfortunately he now wields his weapon of style to hawk any rotten stuff.

During these periods of crisis new forces had come into the arena, of economic and political struggles. The ruined peasant of Apte's 'Times Critical' had now emerged as a militant worker founding his organizations, conducting mighty strikes, building up his political party. The peasants were on the march as an independent force. None of these oppressed and exploited found place in art. The blended traditions of the 16th century have been denied by our writers.

Not only that. The growing up surge imparted rudiments of national consciousness to one and all. Though in backward strata, they took narrow communal forms. Instead of uniting all these trends in one national torrent for emancipation some of our writers have fallen victims to reaction and gone over to open or veiled communalism of the exploiting and ruling classes.

British conquest of India and the world marked of the bourgeoisie had broken India's isolation and put her in contact with the peoples of the whole world. In spite of the wall of censorship, we can feel the throbbing of people's hearts for our freedom in every country. The working masses of these countries are our natural allies as we and they suffer from a common ruling class. But our writers have failed to feel the impact of this brotherhood, to sense it and to reinterpret it to our people and to pave the way for an active people's alliance for freedom world-over. Pearl Buck interpreted China to American people. We with common culture with China cannot interpret by translations even. This narrow isolationism has to go if we are to be free.

The mightiest event of the last war, the Russian Revolution and the consequent growth of the Soviet Union, the rise of quite a new world of culture has left our writers cold and ignorant, and hence easy prey to Nazi attitudes towards that fortress of socialism and world freedom.

So it can be seen that after the early literary production, which was near and dear to the life of the people, Marathi literature became divorced from life and reality, except for a bit here and there. Of politics, it took right to her struggles, it remained deaf. And when events moved fast and the crisis became deep and complex, literature just stuck up in a stalemate.

New Writing

No subterfuges of mythology or history could be of help now. The movement and the people had gone beyond them. Hence the New Writing had to become direct. It even chose a

name-Navamatvad. It was only a label to serve as passport for anarchy and stalemate of thought and art. New Writing claimed to set its face towards the masses, towards workers and peasants, towards their philosophy of socialism, as imagined by Navamatvad. The authors of the old generation prided themselves on their learning. The new on their innocence of any learning. Soon we had proofs of this face towards the working class and socialism. Cheap sex-stuff, a harangue to the crowd, some chatter about poverty and exploitation, some display of police, stone throwing, and little love knot of the 'socialist or communist hero' formed the capital of all this new attempt. None of the new writers had worked and felt with the class of whom they were to write. Of their philosophy and glorious victory they were totally ignorant. Phadke, Khandekar, Madkholkar, Varerkar, Hadapa and a number of others tried their best to take the turn, to understand this new class, this force, its feelings and struggles. But honest desire alone cannot make you see life's reality. These gentlemen came with their usual middle-class patterns and simply labelled them with worker names. Instead of themselves taking a turn in their art, they made the working class turn to suit their art. The result, of course, was a ridiculous failure.

New Writing Could Not Break Though the Stalemate

The reason is simple. When these authors began their life the most active conscious middle-class with its individualist outlook and demands was the only one to impress them. With the crisis and growing consciousness and clarification of the role of each class in action, new classes, new forces, parties and ideas have come to the fore. Our authors could not make a new choice. But their attachments, experience and social ties they remained with the old even though they migrated in intention to the new. Seeing growing history, by imagination they wanted to go with the new. To do that they have to relive their experience. They failed to do it. So they failed in the new writing. All the heroic struggles of the new masses become to them merely excuses to consummate the loves of their little pigmy couples, formerly their couples made love in Bund-garden or Malabar-Hill. New writing simply changed geography and placed them as they were in Parel or Mulshi fields. Formerly they declared their loves in a Chaupatti corner, in a picnic etc. Now new writing utilized strikes and satyagraha situations to do the job. That is all. Oppressed humanity is Oppressed only to provide colour to their poems or fiction. The strength, the unity, the dignity, heroism, action, hope, faith and will to win of these millions are all lost upon our artists. The love-theme, sure must be there, will be there. But it must not dominate the work. Turn to Gorky, Sholokhov or any one of them, to see what I mean.

However, it must be said to their credit that most of them recognise this failing. But those dishonest ones who do not want to recognise their failure find other excuses for their failure and desertion. One says 'socialism cannot become an inspiring subject for art as wreckers were shot in the Soviet Union and socialism has many parties'. As if there has been shooting and that too in the dark for private vengeance in these deserters' class. And who ever demanded socialism being made the only subject of art? See where the nightly millions work, feel, fight, grow and battle for emancipation though sunk in exploitation and misery. See and write of them if you can. And if you really make them live in your art, as they are, and grow we shall not ask you if you have not correctly put down the Communist Manifesto through somebody's mouth. Change your image after the masses, not the masses after your image, please. Then the stalemate will break. If you cannot, leave the toilers alone, as Sarat Babu said, to their own artists, who are now coming forward.

Crisis In Marathi Literature

The crisis in our literature has been most blatant since the rise of Nazism and the eventual world War. Some of our writers showed veiled admiration of Nazi view of life in the mistaken belief that it was an anti-British force. Some, like the Kesar group denying their founder's political radicalism, but developing his social reaction, turned to communalism and avowed reaction expecting to take in the masses by the cry of religion in danger. Our writers have completely failed to grasp the full nature of the titanic world struggles. No doubt a section of them has taken a step forward and openly avowed nationalism as a platform of their art. In that they have moved a step from the decadent penmen who would not permit politics in their Sahitya organization, and decried the propagandist bias in art.

No doubt politics and the life of the masses in art will have to follow the rules of art in the matter of expression.

Therein the artist has his own laws, which concretely the artist alone can work out. But because of that he cannot take liberties without politics. Vulgarize or nullify it or pervert it. That is not art but its degeneration. The communalist and the non-progressive authors are guilty of this degeneration.

The Progressive section also is in the grip of a crisis. Some of them avow 'nationalism of the post-August events'. Taking that stand they attack those who are trying to save the people from disaster, the nation from Nazism and the people from death from starvation and economic chaos. In fact some of these 'nationalist' artists are merely using nationalism as a cloak to hide their sterility in the name of Defence of India Act. Or to attack the millions whom they have failed to understand, to attack the Soviet Union and the world people. That life has left them cold as before is evident from the fact that even their 'August Revolution' has not brought forth one inspiring poem, even one might picture of the nation in travail. Neither in their pro or anti-war literature has there been a speck of real art, real feeling, inspiring, guiding and sustaining the people. But stalemate artists have gone dumb in art but very garrulous in out of taste criticisms and reactionary manifestoes against Communists.

People Coming into Their Own Again

Art has flown away to those who are living and moving with the masses of India and the world. The most inspiring playlets, poems, and stories are coming from the writers of the working class. The heroic powadas that vanished in the 18th century has suddenly found its life in a worker poet, Anna Sathe, in the Ballad of Stalingrad. Stalingrad belongs to the life and blood of our working class. Hence it could inspire real poetry in a child of that class. Fascist Jap atrocity is real to the millions of Bengal and the South. Hence there the song, dance and short story has flowered from the people's ranks to depict their will for defence and victory. All forms of folk art there have been rejuvenated with new life, the new content of the patriotic War against fascism and for the liberation of the world people including ourselves. And this is taking place under the banner of the Communist party because our Party goes to the people, is of the people and correctly represents and leads the people. The current is still small and had not yet seized the whole nation, but it shows the place where now to look for people's art and literature and why. It shows the way to correct ourselves in time, before we are swept away by the mighty broom of history just as once the pandits were.

Is not possible for me to take detailed review of all the branches of our literature and all the tendencies. I only emphasize the need of the hour, the need of the people, the demands of the people on their artists: Defence of the country against fascism, against the hoarder and

profiteer, against famine, unity of the people with complete freedom for every nationality to work that unity in its own independent way and thus forward to our national liberation. The people demand of their artists to present these in art-forms, to clothe these sacred emotions and feelings in inspiring, binding, mobilizing pictures of pen and pencil. We shall then have become worthy of the great traditions of our Marathi literature.

What We Need

Permit me to illustrate my meaning by holding up a few examples. We want the Historical Novel to be faithful to real history wherein the people and their heroes have moved in union against oppression wherein not the heroes are every thing. We want a Historical novel like the 'The Rabble in Arms' that depicts the American war of independence in the true way. We want the epochs of social changes done in the way that our Rahul Sankrityayan has done in his 'Volga to Ganges', the most outstanding piece of literature of the present times. It has no equal in any Indian language. Rahulji, the learned, the historian, the Buddhist scholar, the communist has come before us as artist interpreter of the soul of the oppressed and exploited through ages. In political novel it is enough to mention Steinbeck's *Moon is down* to tell you what is required. Political novel in Marathi literature even in depicting the middle-class terrorists never reached the heights of 'Pather dabi'. Some of our writers have simply transferred the detective tale pattern and the movitone stunt scene into the political novel. Naturally, even their own class would not own these work as theirs. Our Marathi social novel, poetry or drama of to day completely fails to give tongue to the greatest mass of oppressed humanity – the woman of any class. Misfits in marriages, frustrated loves, domestic clashes as subjects of art have been handled. But nowhere has the real women's soul been shown to the people except in a case here and there. Novelists in this respect have behaved more like essayists or doctors than art creators. We are miles behind the Bengali novel in this. Our progressives will have to turn themselves inside out before they can give us a work like 'Sesh Prashna'. Our artists are completely oblivious of the existence of heroic working woman. Hundred of women have fought in our political and economic struggles in fields and factories but the steel wall of our writers' coldness and un-imagination has held them off from bursting in people's view. Recreate them quick, for God's sake, if we are to win freedom's battle. Never mind if for a time you do not present idealist pictures of a 'future India of planned economy' as one manifestoes of some writers propose to do.

World literature holds before us such feats of artistic heights that we shall have to work hard to recreate them here in the service of our people. For that we must have disciplined organization of writers. Many of us have to cast off their disdain of learning and the idea that art is just born out of vacuamatic soul. We must put an end to the idea of artists as isolated atoms, isolated from each other and from all. We must have clear-cut ideas and an organization to put them to people in art-creations. Then alone we shall be able to fulfill Tagore's dream of smashing the Achalayatan of oppression and misery, and be the worthy singers of Stalingrad's heroism. These tasks we can and must fulfil to deserve the definition that writers and artists are Engineers of the soul of humanity.

S.A. Dange

The following constituted the Presidium of the fourth All India Progressive Writer's Conference 22 May, 1943 in Bombay.

Josh Malihabadi	Urdu Section
Rahul Sankrityayana	Hindi Section
Satyendra Nath Mazumdar	Bengali Section
Jitubhai Mehta	Gujerati Section
Prof. Jagirdar	Kanarese Section
Tapi Dharma Rao	Telugu Section
S.A. Dange	Marathi Section

1. Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya is Sarat Babu
2. Rabindra Nath Tagore

2. Report on the fourth All India Progressive Writers' Conference by Sajjad Zaheer*

Sudhi Pradhan (ed.), *Marxist Cultural Movements in India* (1949), pp. 1-3

Forward

As in the political field, so in literature and art a 'deadlock' seems to have been reached in our country. The fourth all-India Progressive writers' Conference which met in Bombay in the fourth week of May (1943) attempted to break this 'literary stalemate'. To this Conference came writers of all schools of thought — humanists and romanticists like Josh Mallhabadi (Urdu) and Mama Warerker (Marathi), realists like Pakoolesh (Gujerati), Marxists like Bishnu Dey (Bengali) and Narendra Sharma (Hindi), besides many other distinguished writers. The very fact that these writers assembled together to confer over current literary problems showed that they were anxious to forge a cultural united front of all honest and patriotic intellectuals in our country, so that in this period of grave peril when our culture and civilization is threatened as it has never been threatened before, with the danger of complete annihilation at the hands of fascist enslavers, they might do their elementary patriotic duty and serve the people by helping them to unite, by fighting moods of defeatism and despair, by sustaining them culturally and spiritually.

It is obvious that before our writers can perform these tasks it is necessary that they themselves should draw inspiration and moral sustenance from the people — their inexhaustible resourcefulness, their limitless patriotism, their capacity to stand up to any difficulties and not to give up until it has been solved and victory achieved.

Comrade Dange's address which gives a brilliant socio-economic analysis of the growth, decay and rebirth of Marathi literature should make all our writers sit up and think. Comrade Dange asserts:

The very birth of our Marathi language and literature has taken place in revolt against exploitation of the oppressed masses. The first compositions of our language were born at the hands of the people who broke from the deadening exploiting hand of feudal freedom and its Brahmin law and ideology.

What are the features of the new situation which our writers and artists must take into consideration? Comrade Dange says:

I only emphasis the need of the hour, the need of the people, the demands of the people on their

artists. Defence of the country against Fascism, against the horder and profiteer, against famine, unity of the people with complete freedom for every nationality to work that unity into its own independent way and thus forward to our own national liberation. The people demand of their artists to present these in art forms to cloth these sacred emotions and feelings in inspiring, binding mobilizing pictures of pen and pencil.

Already in many Indian languages literatures are turning in this direction. The new 'powade' in Marathi, the new patriotic songs in Bengali, Telugu, Urdu and Hindi, the anti-fascist play-lets and dances of Kerala and Andhra, indicate that a new literary movement has started in our country. It is essentially a people's movement for it is based on their traditional art forms and it deals with their pressing problems. There is every prospect that the new artistic creations will broaden the scope of our culture since their appeal would be to the widest possible sections of our people. They will also immeasurably enrich our culture since new and vital thoughts and sentiments would be expressed through them.

It is not an accident that the best of world literature of the present period comes from the Soviet Union — Ilya Ehrenburg's *Fall of Paris*'. It is not an accident that most moving 'true' short story 'Tanya' (Zoya) also comes from the U.S.S.R. In that country the artist is completely identified with his people and the people of the world. So in the hour of the supreme trial of Soviet people, when they are fighting the mightiest battle of human history, when they are performing the most stupendous acts of courage, heroism and self-sacrifice, they are able to transmit their valour, their suffering and their glory to their artists as well. The Soviet artist in his turn gives back to his people and to the world artistic creations that are worthy of the great country of Tolstoy and Gorki.

Comrade Dange's address shows the way forward to Indian writers and artists. It is the way which the best creators of our literature have followed in the past, which the Soviet and the Chinese writers are following to-day, the way of patriotism, of love for humanity, of relentless struggle against tyranny and oppression. There is no doubt that the best among modern Indian writers would do the same.

Bombay
June 7, 1943

Sajjad Zaheer,
General Secretary, All India
Progressive Writers' Association

3. An appeal to Punjabi brethren for help to famine stricken Bengalis

(By Ganga Singh, Principal, Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar)
The Akali (Lahore) 12-11-1943 [Punjab State Archives]

I

Laughter has gone, amusements have gone, now it is time to shed tears. Those of you who have a heart may put their hand on it, for the tale of woes is raw indeed. Even the stone-hearted would melt with feeling when they hear about it and tears would start flowing.

In composing this little poem, I have almost put a dagger through my heart.
Listen: and those in particular who are well fed and satisfied, this is the lament of Bengal.
This is the tale of that hopeless state which produced in abundance at one time.

II

While it was perhaps the greenest part of the earth and every foot of land was lush with vegetation.

The ponds were full of fish and every one had fruits like bananas and the rest.

All around there were gardens and orchards, and nightingales chirped on mango trees.

Wherever one looked, there were rice fields and nothing but rice.

Forget about rice now, one cannot find even fodder today.

An even if fodder is to be found, it is men rather than cattle who hunger to eat it.

Throats have gone dry because of starvation and lithe and handsome men now cry in distress.

Time was when they were given to music but now they wail in pain and agony.

No one decks himself, nor is there any bounce in their steps.

Those who were determined or vigorous have lost all energy and sit around idly.

Instead, handsome men have ceased to be handsome and look like burnt faggots.

Hunger has deformed their faces to such an extent that sisters are unable to recognise their brothers.

IV

Women who knew how to deck their hair beautifully look lost and dishevelled now.

With the hearts turning cold, they have lost all desire to dress and deck themselves.

They who were fond of chewing the betel are now racked by hunger.

The beautiful eyes have become hollow and those have turned red.

Because of excessive crying, Bengali women who had magic eyes now have a vacant stare.

Because of hunger, they sometimes mistake lime for flour.

V

Mothers have sold their children and sisters have sold their brothers.

Those who could not be bought for gems and rubies can now be bought for the asking.

A Joseph was sold for a mess of pottage: today you can buy several Josephs in return for a pinch of flour.

Flesh is being torn away from nails and it is the saw of hunger which is tearing everything asunder.

There is hardly any sense of shame or modesty left, nor any bond of affection.

How can any feelings survive when bodies are beginning to shrivel up.

VI

She who was given away with music and dance in marriage.

She whose blouse was made of silk and the saree of gold thread,

She whose eyes were voluptuous and the husband doted on her.

In return for a few grains of rice, the husband has sold his beloved wife.

It used to be said that men were like moths; it is no longer so,

Today the children of men are hungry and famished and are turning their faces away.

VII

Look: in the garbage thrown by a rich man, there is a piece of food.
Both the child of man and a dog fight for it.
The child wants to grab it and the dog wants to eat it.
What we see is that the child of man and a dog are aiming at the same thing.
The child manages to eat that piece and the dog eats up the child.
One of them fell down in the street and died and the other one had to be taken to hospital.

VIII

In the street and on the roadside one comes across dead bodies.
Those who were alive are worse than the dead, and millions of feet are unable to move.
There is nothing to eat and nothing to wear and corpses are without coffins.
Those with a heart do not know what to do except to sit and lament.
The whole of Calcutta has turned into a graveyard.
One does not have to dig any graves, for the entire city has become a graveyard.

IX

How long can I tell this tale of woe?
It is much too much of a load for one man to carry.
Whatever has happened to the neighbour can happen to me also tomorrow.
This is God's truth, as Kabir has told us, times without number.
That is why, my countrymen, the agony of Bengal has to be shared.
We have to share their sorrow, for it is not possible to ignore it any longer.

X

We have some stock of flour whereas they have none.
Our faces look healthy and theirs are dry and pinched.
A baby can get milk here and that is why he is looking for a breast.
There is plenty to eat here and there is little to eat there.
Get up people of Punjab and pass the word around.
Reduce your intake by a fraction and send it to Bengal.

4 News item in *Hitavada* dt 12.12.1943 about Indian Peoples' Theatre Association

Hitavada, Nagpur
{NMML}

Indian People's Theatre Association

Nagpur Dec. 11. Mr G.S. Jog, organizer of the C.P. and Berar Provincial Branch of the IPTA and Mr M.H. Janhri writes.

On the 13th of November last some items of theatrical performance were shown in the City College Hall under the auspices of the IPTA. The response to this performance was

much encouraging and enquiries have been made by those interested in this theatrical form regarding further development and popularization thereof.

The main aims and objects of the organization are: To coordinate and strengthen all progressive tendencies in the field of drama, song and dance, to make our stage art the expression and the organizer of our people's struggle for freedom, economic justice and democratic culture, causes and solution of the problems facing them, to quicken their awareness of unity and their passion for creating a better and just world order.

It may be mentioned that this Association first started about two years ago with the blessings of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. At its last conference in Bombay on May 25, 1943, the Association decided to organise branches in all parts of the country. With this view in mind, it is proposed to hold a private indoor meeting on Sunday December 12, 1943 at 4 p.m. in the Bhide Primary (girls) School at Sitabul. All those who are desirous of and interested in supporting and popularizing its movement both technically and culturally – such persons are candidly invited to attend this meeting and extend their cooperation.

5: Contents of an intercepted letter – Cultural shows

Govt. of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P., File No. SK 511/44
[Bengal State Archives]

Socialism and Communalism

4-1-44

20. Indian People's Theatre Association (CPI)

In a letter dated 28-12-43 (intercepted on 2-1-44) from Anil De Silva, Jassim House, Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay to Benoy Ray* c/o the Bengal Communist Party and also to Bankim Mukharji, President, All India Kisan Sabha, 219, Bowbazar Street, the writer says that comrades should arrange for as many shows as possible of the film in various towns. The IPTA (Indian Peoples' Theatre Association) organizers should write to the towns, to the T.U. Secretaries, the C. Party Secretaries and Kisan Sabhas in order to fix the programme. There should be at least one show in each town in every province.

'Kazakistan' and 'Day of patriotic war' should form one programme. 'Kazakistan' could be given a special Muslim flavour in those parts where Muslim predominate.

The film can be arranged till March, 1944 for Bombay, Khandesh and places near, for Andhra in March, for Bengal in April and then the North. A reliable comrade is being looked for to go around with the films from province to province to attend to the accounts and to look after the films. A monthly salary and his expenses will be paid. All comrades should send in the money for the last bulletin and the new one which is in print will be out soon. Each drama should be given as many shows as possible, instead of only one show, to different sections of the people.

Enclosed with the letter is a report of the proceedings of a meeting of the Film Committee held on 6-12-43 at N.M. Joshi's house, Model House, Proctor Road, Bombay. Anil De Silva reported at the meeting that four films entitled 'Childhood of Gorky' 'Dagestan' (English Commentary) 'Kazakistan' and 'Day of patriotic War' which had been sent by the Society for

Cultural Relations with foreign countries (VOKS) arrived after nearly a year. Comrade Dange arranged for a guarantee and they were released. The Custom duty was paid by B.P. Samant and Co., Charni Road, who are distributing the films. The Bombay Board of Film Censors passed all the films, the two last-named films being passed as suitable for war propaganda. The proceeds of all the films would go towards famine relief, Russian Red cross and IPTA. The Film Committee would write commentaries in different languages. An application for refund of duty amounting to Rs 3000 paid on the films entitled 'Kazakistan', and 'Day of Patriotic War' has been made. While at Delhi, Comrade Dange approached M. Hydari, Secretary to the Commerce Department, for a license to buy raw films in order that copies can be made.

The following plan for the showing of the film was adopted:

Dec: Bombay PTU Conference at Amalner and in Khandesh
 Jan: UP
 Feb: Punjab and Delhi
 Mar: All India Kisan Sabha Conference to be held in Andhra
 Apr: Bengal
 May: Bombay or Tamilnad
 June: Tamilnad or Bombay
 July: Malabar

It was decided to print 1000 copies of the news bulletin. The IPTA was approached to show Uday Sankar's play to the workers in January. This was abandoned because Uday Sankar's agents did not want to reduce the price of tickets to four annas from eight annas. The Secretary of the IPTA was asked to approach some publishers for the publication of a play in translation entitled 'Russian People' by C. Simonov which was sent to them.

6 Intercepted letter — B. Guha to Comrade Prasada Rao

Govt. of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P., File No. 511/44
 [Bengal State Archives]

Session of the AIKS in Bezawada

Copy of an English letter dated 22-2-44 intercepted at Bow Bazar P.O. on 23-2-44.

From B. Guha, Office Secretary, Bengal provincial Kisan Sabha,
 249, Bow Bazar St, Calalla.

To Com. N. Prasad Rao, Secretary,
 Reception Committee, All India Kisan Sabha
 Session — Bezawada, Madras.

Dear Comrade.

Received your letter dated 13th Feb. and 10 copies of invitation cards. We have used so far 9 cards for the following addresses.

1. Tara Sankar Banerji* of Progressive Writers Association.
2. Dr Bhupendra Nath Datta, Ph.D.
3. Mr Manoranjan Bhattacharji*, Progressive Writers Association.
4. Secretary, Anti-Fascists Writers Association.
5. Mr Basan Ali Chowdhari MLA, has progressives ideas.
6. People's Relief Committee
7. B.P. T.U.C.
8. Secretary, F.S.U.
9. Com. Satyendra Nath Majumdar*

Progressive Writers Association

We shall like to know some detail about the preparation that is being made for the ensuing A.I.K.S.¹ Session. Please let us know arrangements for the delegates who will be attending the session. Will you supply with the full programme of the Session. We expect to send a good number of delegates this year.

Greetings

B. Guha
Office Secretary

1. All India Kisan Sabha.

7: *Bishan* by Hemanga Biswas*

(Editor's note: Composed by Hemanga Biswas, taken from the book *Bishan* (2nd ed., May 1944) by Hemanga Biswas. (Published by Assam Publishing House, Guwahati, Assam), p. 22.

The dark shadows of disaster are lengthening everywhere, where, where are you,
patriotic Hindus and Muslims?
The fifth columnists are the people's enemy,
They whisper and conspire to bring the Japanese,
The dark shadows of disaster are lengthening everywhere.
Congress and League, united you stand,
Expel these traitors from our land,
Or else forty crores of Indians are helpless
To defend the country we will end the famine
In this crisis patriots don't stay at home,
You come out if you are a patriot,
And unite to get rid of the famine,
Unite to wrest from them a National Government.
Then will disappear the dark shadows of disaster.



8: Nibaran Pandit, *Janayuddheyr Gan*

(First published August 1945) *Janayuddheyr Gan* by Nibaran Pandit*

[*Editor's Note:* Set in the Baul mode of music, composed in the context of Bengal famine.]

Listen O brothers, listen you listen,
Death is nigh, agony of Hindus and Muslims, you listen.
We labourers live as it is, in skin and bones only,
For at the day's end there is no food to eat,
Lamps are not lit, cottage remains dark, prices have risen frightfully
On top of that invades the fatal Malaria,
Can't get quinine anywhere you try,
So many hundreds die unattended, get buried naked.
Dying lies Salim's mother, Rahim's wife,
No one is alive in Karim's house,
So may Rahims and Karims, alas, been slain on the roads of Mymensingh district.

Nibaran Pandit

9: Circular letter from Sahajanand Saraswati to Provincial Secretaries (dt 18.4.1943) (extracts)

Indulal Yagnik Papers - File No. 22

[NMML]

... The next item was the consideration of the lengthy report prepared by the General Secretary, with regard to which a sub-committee of the President, General Secretary, Yagnik and Prasada Rao was appointed with the power to consider it carefully and authorize its publication thereafter in whichever form it decided to publish the same.

Committee thereafter fixed the following quota of donation from the provinces in addition to membership fee quota, to provide for the sum required for the efficient running of the central office and decided that the entire sum must reach the central office by the end of December next:

(1) Andhra 500 (2) Punjab 500 (3) Bengal 500 (4) Bihar 300 (5) Kerala 200 (6) U.P. 200 (7) Gujarat 150 (8) Surma Valley 100 (9) Berar 100 (10) Sind 100 (11) Maharashtra 100 (12) Utkal 50 (13) Assam Valley 25 Total 2875

At the suggestion of Swamiji it was decided that the provincial Sabhas should secure or get composed songs uniform in tune and composition, on the Red Flag and send the same to the central office for consideration and adoption in due course, so that the same songs may be used on ceremonial occasions by all the provinces.

Next at the suggestion of Com. Yagnik it was decided that the provincial Sabhas must

secure, keep and maintain a pictorial record of the kisan activities and problems in the respective provinces and the same should be displayed in the Kisan exhibitions on the occasion of the A.I.K. Sabha sessions and the various conferences in the provinces.

The meeting terminated late at 10 p.m.

(8) First meeting of the new C.K.C.

The newly constituted Central Kisan Council met at 2.30 p.m. on 5-4-43, Com. Bankim Mukherji presiding. The Members present.

(1) The President (2) Swamiji (3) Jamuna Karji (4) Mansur Habib (5) Muzaffar Ahmad (6) Harshadeva Malaviya (7) Gopal Halder (8) Atta Ullah Jehania (9) Karuna Sindhu Roy (10) M.A. Rasul (11) Jagjit Singh (12) E.M.S. Namboodripad (13) Bhairava Bharatiya (14) Bukhari.

It was decided that the fixation by the A.I.K.C. of the quota of donations from the provinces be taken up and the provinces be asked to move in right earnest in that direction and send the same to the central office without fail.

It was further decided that a pictorial exhibition and collections of pictures concerning the Kisan life and Kisan movement in different provinces should be arranged and towards that end provincial Kisan Sabhas should be asked to take necessary steps.

10: *Navanna*, a play in Bengali by Bijon Bhattacharya*

[The 1990 edition of the Play -- Proma Prokashni, Calcutta]

<i>Characters</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Actors in the first Performance on 24 Oct. 1944</i>
Pradhan Samaddar	(An old Peasant of Aminpur)	Bijon Bhattacharya
Kunja Samaddar	(Pradhan's nephew)	Sudhi Pradhan*
Niranjan Samaddar	(Kunja's brother)	Jalad Chattopadhyay
Makhan	(Kunja's son)	Monica Bhattacharya
Dayal Mondal	(a neighbour)	Shambhu Mitra
Haru Datta	(Local money-lender)	Gangapada Basu
Kalidhan Dhara	(rice merchant)	Charuproakash Ghosh
Rajiv	(Kalidhan's clerk)	Sajal Roy Choudhari
Chandar	(a peasant)	Ranjit Basu
Judhishtir	(a political agitator)	Nihar Das Gupta
Two Press photographers	(Anna Bhattacharya Robin Majumdar)	
First Gentleman	(a customer for some rice)	Manoranjan Boral
A host at a wedding reception		Chitta Hore
Old beggar		Gopal Halder*
Scavenger		Shambhu Halder
Police Inspector		Bimalendu Ghosh

<i>Characters</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Actors in the first Performance on 24 Oct. 1944</i>
Doctor		Samar Roychoudhuri
Digambar		Ajit Mitra
A Fakir		Satyajiban Bhattacharya.
Panchanani	(Pradhan's wife)	Manikuntala Sen
Radhika	(Kunja's wife)	Shobha Sen
Bindodini	(Niranjan's wife)	Tripti Bhaduri (Mitra)
Khuki's mother		Kalyani Kumara-Mangalam
Beggar woman		Bibha Sen
Bengal's Madonna		Lalita Biswas

Plus other gentlemen, Nirmal Babu, beggars, Haru Datta's brother-in law, constable, patients in hospital, Servant, Chandar's daughter, Barkat, peasant, crowd of famine stricken people, etc. etc.

Produced by: Indian people's Theatrical Association.
 Directors: Shambhu Mitra and Bijon Bhattacharya.
 Adviser: Manoranjan Bhattacharya.
 Stage Manager: Chitta Banerji.

First staged on 24 Oct. 1944 at 'Srirangam', Calcutta. Synopsis of play, with translations of select portions, which are indicated by the phrase 'From the text'.

Editor's Note:

1. This document is also relevant for chapter VIII.
2. In preparing the synopsis assistance has been taken of the commentary at pp. 133-43 of the 1990 edition, by Dr Pabitra Sarkar.
3. The play is in Four Acts, with a total of fifteen scenes (5+5+2+3); each scene is self-contained, but chronologically consecutive, giving a sequence of deception, exploitation, torture, indifference and negligence by the administration and the rich, and finally an affirmation of hope through collective action.
4. The dialogue in Bengali in the original play is perfectly natural; it is in the dialect of the peasantry in the southern part of the Bengal delta, besides, the author had captured the hesitant, repetitive mode of speech of the peasants among themselves. The more bookish prose spoken by a political agitator, or the journalist and press photographer, the doctor, nurse, and the middle class gentleman stands out by way of contrast and illustrates the social divisions in the Bengal of 1943.
5. The village Aminpur, in which the play is set, except for the scenes in Calcutta, is a fictional representation of the villages of Midnapur district, where there was violent rebellion after August 1942, police and military reprisals, a devastating cyclone from the middle of October, followed by epidemic diseases and death. The main character Pradhan Samaddar had lost two of his sons during the military punitive measures before the play begins, and is shown to be in a half-demented state as a result. The author's membership of the C.P.I. precluded any open glorification of the '42 movement, but he obliquely

hinted at the colonial counter-attack in the first scene. 'The old woman Panchanani and her death is a reminder of how an old lady called Matangini Hazra was shot dead by the police while leading a procession during the '42 movement in Midnapur.]

Act 1

Scene I

Pradhan Samaddar and his nephew Kunja talk about their troubles, against background noises of bamboos splitting (which is the author's indirect way of referring to the sound of military gunfire). The refrain of Pradhan's remarks is references to the death of his two sons at the hands of 'them' (*the military* – Ed.), and the loss he has suffered by burning his rice harvest in refusing to hand it over to the Government procurement agencies. Kunja talks about taking shelter in the forests from 'their' attack. Kunja's wife runs across the stage to escape being molested by 'them', and the wives of Pradhan and Kunja's brother Niranjan lament the failure of their menfolk to provide for them and to protect them from shameful humiliation. After some hesitation Pradhan, persuaded by Kunja, takes refuge in the forest. At dusk, when the blowing of a conch-shell signals the 'all-clear' sound, they come back. A political worker, Judhishtir, enters, and gives a little lecture on the importance of courage, even if it appears foolhardy, puzzling Kunja. Scene ends with sounds of another attack by 'them', and Panchanani exhorts a fleeing crowd to turn around and return the attack. In the *melée* she falls to the ground, dead.

Scene II

A scene from the dilapidated rural household of Pradhan, where we see the pattern of daily existence of Pradhan, Kunja, his brother Niranjan, and Kunja's son Makhan. Visible evidence of poverty—rows of empty pots — and conversation is all about scarcity. There are references to the boat denial policy of the Government. Tension between each married couple (Kunja and his wife Radhika, Niranjan and his wife Binodini) over the failure of the menfolk to support their wives and child increases when Niranjan thinks of leaving the village to look for employment somewhere else. Quarrel between Binodini and Niranjan provokes Kunja to hit Niranjan with a stick, and then feel highly penitent, thinking he had killed the latter.

Scene III

This brings out the all-round famine conditions prevailing. Pradhan has sold a part of his lands, and thinking of selling more, while Kunja is trying to dissuade him. A neighbour, Dayal, who has lost all his resources, comes to beg for some rice, because his wife is very unwell through lack of food. A Cyclone suddenly hits the village (*reference to the Midnapur cyclone of mid-October 1942* – Ed.), Pradhan's house collapses and knocks Binodini unconscious, and the sea floods into the village. Dayal returns home with the rice to find his wife swept away in the flood.

Scene IV

This depicts utterly stark poverty, with the family feeding on whatever wild leaves, roots, slugs and crabs they can gather. The sick child, Makhan, resents having to eat his tasteless fare, and the doctor advises against it, and Pradhan is afraid the boy will starve to death.

Scene V

The last scene of this Act shows the effects of epidemic diseases in the village. Noises off stage are the chanting of funeral dirges by pall bearers. In this situation the moneylender Haru Datta enters to force Pradhan to make a distress sale of his remaining land. Kunja protests, and Haru Datta's hired ruffians beat him up. In the melee the boy Makhan, weak through sickness and starvation, collapses and dies. Pradhan and his nephews and their wives are forced to leave the village.

Act II

[*The five scenes in this Act shows man's exploitation of man in different ways. — Ed.*]

Scene I

Niranjan, under the assumed name of Rakhahari, has got a job as a labourer in the warehouse of Kalidhan Dhara, a rich rice merchant and hoarder. Haru Datta is revealed as a middleman who sells rice to Kalidhan, and also does a surreptitious trade in women. A middle class gentleman purchasing rice is rebuffed by Kalidhan, then insulted by Kalidhan's clerk when the customer complains about the price demanded by Kalidhan. His threat of calling the police is met with the remark that Kalidhan has the police, judges, and magistrates in his pocket.

Scene II

The streets of Calcutta have become the refuge, along with millions, of Pradhan Samaddar and his family. Two press photographers, show by their behaviour, that the famine-stricken people are to them mere commodities useful for increasing the circulation of the paper; they pay them to take photographs of them. In the second part Binodini loses her way and is taken up by a tout who offers to take her to a 'relief camp', which turns out (in the fifth scene) to be a place where, behind the facade of a destitute home, flesh trade is carried on for Kalidhan Dhara's benefit.

Scene III

The wedding party of a rich family, where defying all guest control orders, many people are entertained, thanks to rice bought at black market rates. Kunja scrounges around, amidst the dustbin outside the house for left-over food, and gets bitten by a dog. Pradhan begs in a shrill, plaintive voice for rice.

Scene IV

Back in Aminpur. The scene describes the way Haru Datta is carrying on the flesh trade. The peasant Chandar is hoodwinked into selling his little daughter for money to Haru Datta.

Scene V

This develops the story of what happened to Binodini who, at the end of scene II, had been taken by a tout to a so-called home for destitutes. This 'home' is owned by Kalidhan, at whose warehouse, in Scene I, Niranjan alias Rakhahari had taken a job as a labourer. By accident he sees Binodini in that 'home', hears from her the torment she has been through, and gets angry, wants revenge. Just then Kalidhan and his clerk Rajiv turn up, scold Niranjan for coming to the 'home'. Haru Datta is seen bringing a couple of young girls to this place, and Kalidhan starts light conversation with him, while Niranjan quietly makes his exit.

Suddenly a police officer (Daroga) enters, with two constables, and the gentleman who, in Scene I, had tried to buy rice but been rebuffed. Niranjan tells about the trade in women, and the constables bring out the two girls and Binodini. Niranjan explains that the girls were from his village (*they were the daughters of the peasant Chander* – Ed.), and that Bindhini was his wife.

From the Text:

Daroga: (To Niranjan) Did you work as a gomashtha for this gentleman?
 Niranjan: Yes, I used to work in his rice godown.
 Daroga: Godown, you mean to say his shop?
 Niranjan: Yes, er – I was actually working at the godown.
 Daroga: Godown, how much rice is still stocked there? (Suddenly, Kalidhan's face shows signs of uneasiness and restlessness)?
 Niranjan: Er, many many maunds.
 Gentleman: Estimate how many maunds.
 Niranjan: Er, You see it could be a lakh and a quarter.
 Daroga: A lakh and quarter;
 Niranjan: (Agitatedly) I give it as my guess, it could be less or even more.
 Daroga: That's all right [*in English* – Ed.] (To Niranjan, pointing his finger at Rajiv): who is this man?
 Niranjan: He is the right hand man of the Babu, his accounts clerk.
 Gentleman: (In a mocking tone) He says that he keeps all judges and magistrates in his pocket.
 Daroga: Indeed!
 Rajiv: No, I never said that.
 Daroga: You keep quiet. (To the constables:) Put handcuffs on these three.

(The constables put handcuffs on Kalidhan, Haru Datta and Rajiv. Haru Datta and Kalidhan look at each other, and their facial expressions and gestures indicate that they envisaged no difficulty in getting themselves released.)

(End of Act II)

Synopsis (Continued)

Act III

Scene I

A 'Free Kitchen' in Calcutta, Crowds of famine stricken beggars including Kunja and his wife Radhika, talking among themselves. Conversation ranges from criticism of the way destitutes are being taken off the streets, separating mother and child and to news and rumour of a good crop having risen in the countryside. That prompts Kunja and Radhika to decide to leave this heartless city and go back to the village, Radhika sheds a tear for her dead son Makhana, who will not be in the village to welcome her.

Scene II

A medical Centre, Crowded with patients, ill-equipped, the doctor and the nurse complain about inadequate supplies of medicines. Pradhan comes as an outdoor patient, complaining of pain, but in his deranged condition cannot explain it, and the doctor dismisses him. He leaves repeating the doctor's words, 'You forget about your pains'.

Act IV (Back to Aminpur)

Scene I

The Samaddar's Cottage, which Niranjan has repaired and made habitable. In this scene a number of peasants—some Muslim, some Hindu — are discussing various problems, in three groups. Stage direction is such that the dialogues of any group is given centre-stage position, the other groups appear to continue talking. It is a relatively long scene, which leads up to a collective decision by the peasants to pool their labour during harvest time. There is an indirect lead given by Niranjan, but more explicit advisory role played by the older peasant Dayal (who appeared in Act I, Scene (iii)) and by Muslim peasants like Barkat and Rahim. Out of this discursive small talk emerges a collective will to share labour during harvest time to avoid wastage. The later parts of the Scene are happy. Dayal teases and plays with Barkat's little daughter, Kunja and Radhika, wandering back from the big City, comes to the Cottage and are re-united with Niranjan.

Scene II

(Set in front of Kunja and Niranjan's Cottages)

The ground is full of freshly harvested bundles of rice-stalks, which Niranjan is shaking to get the grains out, and Radhika and Binodini are gathering them together, dusting them, separating the grain from the chaff. Kunja is supervising and deciding which portion should go to the Dharmagola — which is a Storehouse for the share of the landless labourers: Conversation is cheerful, and a scene of self-confidence has returned. At the close of the Scene:

From the Text:

Enter a Muslim. Fakir (Mendicant), wearing a loose robe. He waves a white fan and sings, and two other Fakirs, behind him, repeat the lines to be sung in chorus):

'It's a lie that by saving your life only, you please your ancestors
 All peasants, Hindu or Muslim, should be comrades.
 There is no other way than this brothers.
 You must learn this now or never.
 Now, knowing all this, anyone who keeps aloof, will meet his life and within six months.
 The sad tale of Jabbal Mian of Khalilpur.
 Was due to his quarrel with neighbour Patitpaban.
 No record remains how many brother peasants lost their lives in the terrible famine of all times.
 No accounts were kept of the cattle which perished.
 So millions of women and children, their lives extinguished.
 The bride of the house gets crazy, runs away,
 Hunger forces her to disgusting profession.
 Tiny sweet children die, starved of milk,
 Mother looks like a witch, her bosoms shedding blood.
 Clothes are scarce, can't cover our loins.
 How to look decent, no person can find a way.
 The wife of Ershad of Kalashkathi cried and begged get me a piece of cloth by digging up a grave
 Good gentlefolk's days are a living death,
 Starvation claims many lives before their time.
 As the eyes shed tears,

The fields shed ripened corn.
 Be firm in your resolve you'll be out of the woods,
 what is the use of this farce of a life?
 Get a grip over your self, if you wish to survive
 The Aman harvest augurs well for every house hold,
 Raise it from the fields all joining hands together.
 The gist of what I say is this.
 Small mind and selfishness does no good to you.

Chorus: (*First two lines are repeated*)

Fakir: Mother — help this singing Fakir out of his difficulties. (Radhika fills a basket with rice and pours it into the bag of the Fakir)

Synopsis (*Continued*)

Scene III

By the banks of the Ganga, which has dried up, the Navanna (new rice crop) festival is taking place.

All villagers are present, eagerly awaiting the Cock-fight and the race of cows and oxen that are planned.

The peasant women sing a folk song. Then the Cock-fight goes on for three or four minutes. Dayal and Kunja supervise the proceedings. The Cock-fight is won by a Muslim peasant Feku Mian who is awarded a prize (a towel and a sickle).

Then the bullock's and cow's race is shown, by a shadow play, with bovine noises off-stage. A Muslim peasant-Rahmatullah-sees his Cattle win, and he gets the prize of a new garment and a new plough, donated by Dayal.

The next item is a game with Lathis (wooden sticks), which is done to the beating of drums. After the first round, when Dayal, dressed as a lathi-player is at the centre stage, some of the crowd notice that Pradhan Samaddar has wandered back to his village, and yell with joy. Kunja hugs him with joy. Pradhan takes some time to recognize him. And then, after a while, with a sad smile, recognizes Dayal.

From the Text:

Dayal: Today is our Navanna festival.

Pradhan: Navanna festival? Good, good, Navanna is nice, good times have come, bad times are over, bad times are all over. They won't come again.

Dayal: If it comes, why be afraid?

Pradhan: Not afraid? You are not afraid of bad times, not afraid of misery? Good, Good, well, well,

Dayal: There is fear, but Pradhan, we have been through this famine, we haven't all died. We are alive, Here is your Kunja, Niranjana, here is Barkat, Sakhicharan, Don't you know them? Why, we have not all died in the famine.

Pradhan: Haven't died in the famine? Good, very good but Dayal, if famine strikes again? If that famine comes again?

(*Noise of thunder. The shadow of a rain-laden cloud falls on the festival grounds*)

Pradhan: (*Looking at the cloud*): Look, so much fun and games down here, but up there, again, see what a big trouble is creeping towards us. What a big trouble. What a big —
 (*He shakes his head with tortured expression*)

Dayal: I know Pradhan, I concede your fears, But you know this also, that unlike last time this time, famine will not be able to come suddenly and, before my own eyes, snatch away, my family, my kinsmen, and (pointing to the crowd) my friends. No, not at all. They will have to take me, kill me first. We shall have to change this whole system, Pradhan, then we'll see. Pradhan, put up a tough resistance this time. Tough resistance. Tough resistance.

Pradhan: (*Shouting as he embraces Dayal*): Dayal: (Final Curtain.)

11: Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from Bengal for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

About a Society Called Congress Sahitya Sangha

... A literary Society under the name of Congress Sahitya Sangha has been formed among Congress Workers and at an inaugural meeting held on the 4th speakers described the present moment as opportune for starting an association of this kind, as for some reason or other, some literary men did not seem to be quite alive to the problem of national independence, and that it should be the duty of all writers to help the independence movement by their unstinted support and co-operation.

12: A Bengali Circular of the Congress Sahitya Sangha

[Congress Sahitya Sangha Papers] Calcutta

[*Editors Note:* The following document, a Bengali circular found among printed materials of the Congress Sahitya Sangha is undated, but internal evidence (para 3) suggests that it was first printed at the end of November 1944. It is included because it provides (i) the names of some of the leading figures of the association in Bengal (2) evidence of a reaction to the cultural work done till then under the auspices of pro-Communist associations like the I.P.T.A. etc.]

Congress Sahitya Sangha Conference on Literature, Arts and Crafts in Murshidabad District

Circular

The time has come that every artist and writer who is sensitive to the needs of our times should pay attention to putting an end to this crisis-ridden age, the age which saw, on the world stage, the coming of great famine behind the smoke-screen created by monsters of frightening proportion. We believe that it is the duty of every devoted artist and writer to keep alive the progress of literature and art in this age of fears and doubts. This is because artists and writers

are the leaders of that band of unvanquished soldiers, who, in every age, inspire the tired slumbering minds to wake up and fight monsters. Therefore today there is the greatest need to have conferences to discuss creative literature, literary criticism and the fine arts.

So the local Congress Sahitya Sangha is arranging a district wide conference on literature, arts and crafts in Murshidabad. We have nothing to do with the fashionable trends which encourage scurrilousness and narrow-mindedness in the world of letters, which, in the disguise of Progress propagate intolerant ideologies of specific groups and unsettle people's minds: We firmly believe that these self-destroying madcaps will be destroyed one day. The proposed function of the Congress Sahitya Sangha supports that belief.

The conference will take place in the last week of December. [*Crossed out and written in ink 'on 3rd, 4th and 5th February' — Ed.*] It is hoped that famous litterateurs like Sri Atul Gupta, Shri Pramathanath Bishi, Shri Sajani Kanta Das, Dr Nihar Ranjan Ray, Shri Subodh Ghosh, 'Moumacchi', Shri Mohitlal Majumdar, Shri Manoj Basu, Shri Bijoylal Chattopadhyaya, Shri Priyaranjan Sen etc. will grace the Conference.

We are warmly inviting every writer and artist in Murshidabad district. With everyone's co-operation we shall acquire the strength for success.

Signed

Nirupama Debi, Jatindra Nath Sengupta, Rezaul Karim, Saroj Roy Chaudhuri, Bibhutibhushan Bhattacharya, Shourindra Mohan Sen, Pushpita Nath Chattopadhyaya, Atindra Majumdar, Uma Nath Sinha, Indra Dugar

13: 'Abhyudaya' a play in Bengali

[Congress Sahitya Sangha Papers] Calcutta

[The dance-drama Abhyudaya had many songs, whose words described the British conquest of India, and the various stages of the nationalist movement till 1942. The producer published a synopsis of the story in English for non-Bengali members of the audience, which is reproduced below. The translation of the two Bengali songs, have been added to the text published by the Congress Sahitya Sangh. The translation is by the editor — Ed.]

Abhyudaya (Awakening)

A dance-drama in eight acts depicting India's struggle for freedom

Act I

The Narrator appears on the stage and unfolds the first chapter of the sad tale of India's bondage. When the merchant vessels from distant Albion come to the shore of Hindustan, the Indians are duped by appearances and offer shelter to those alien traders whom they mistake to be bonafide merchants who lured by India's Wealth have come to this far-away land in search of fortune. Little do the simple folk of Hindustan know that these traders from the West have come to their beloved mother-land to rob them of their liberty. An evil spell

is cast over the soul of India and an alien trading company puts her in chains. A dark night sets in on the plains of the Himalayas.

The flaming sword of freedom glistens for a moment in the fields around Plassey. The valiant Brahmin Nundcoomar perishes on the gallows-the first martyr at the altar of freedom. The morning star of freedom rises in the Orient. Tipu Sultan in the South-the Mahrattas-the Sikhs-all perish before the relentless foe. India's story of shame begins. The gloom deepens: but the soul of India does not die. In the seven lakhs of villages far away from the metropolis the heart of India throbs. The rustics know nothing of the curse of an exploiting alien rule-for Delhi is far away.

Scene — An Indian village celebrating a festival. Here is a typical village crowd who sing of harmony and peace in the quiet setting of their self-contained villages — undisturbed by the political upheavals in the far-way Delhi — the seat of the Emperor. The Farmer is the child of the soil who feels himself to be a king on his throne of the green earth. The Weaver works his magic with cotton and silk, — his symphony in colour is worthy of a fairy land. The women with their lives dedicated to service come and light up the lamps of peace and love in every home.

The alien gold-diggers appear in the villages and shatter the fabric of love and calm. Spurning the warm hospitality of the guileless villages they commence their truthless exploitation of India's hoarded wealth. The sinister rule of a body of grabbing traders starts in Hindustan.

Act II

The Narrator relates how the Company's rule brings in its wake a blazing trail of famine and pestilence. Schools die, arts decay; wheat vanishes and villages are reduced to ruins. A heartless policy of shameful exploitation at last awakens the spirit of rebellion in the bosoms of the oppressed peasantry. Awake . . . peasants, rise against the ruthless oppressors' — sings the rebellious spirit of indigo farmers. The alien gold-diggers enter-with a contingent of vice-soldiers at their back who do not hesitate to slaughter their own country men at the command of their alien rulers. All on a sudden comes from a distance the snatch of a song-What wretch is there that would live bereft of freedom? Even the stooges of the alien rulers break into mutiny; but the deadly guns of the foreigners silence them. British bayonets score a complete victory in Hindustan. The rule of the Company ends; the direct imperialist sway begins. A storm blows over the Indian villages uprooting them completely as they never had been by the political convulsions that from the time to time had shaken the country. The village women came and lament for the happiness that was theirs.

Act III

The soul of India that had fallen asleep rises once again from its deathlike trance. Renaissance comes to the cities built by the alien rulers. India's passion for freedom is crystallized in the Congress which emerges in 1885. The Congress in its early days advances along the path of constitutional agitation. It demands reforms. The imperialists get nervous. They follow the familiar imperialist strategy of Divide and Rule. Lord Dufferin sows the seeds of disunion by stressing the communal differences. Overturning the imperialist apple-cart the child of nationalism grows from strength to strength.

The chorus of citizens sings-Great India awake inspired by the ideal of one nation-one soul-unity.

[*Editor's Note:* The English synopsis of the play says that the following song was at the end of Act III. The Bengali text of the play puts the song at the beginning of Act IV. The Bengali text also gives stage directions, indicating which part of the choir would sing the different lines. All these have been translated.]

Jagey Nabo Bharateyr Janata

- (All members of the choir): People of India wake up one nation, one soul, united.
 (Male voices): Along the path common to all our dreams,
 (Female voices): Riding the chariot rolling on to the common rhythm of sorrow and joy,
 (All members): In comes Congress, leader of new India's soul, with its every breath stirring hundred hearts, hundred places,
 Liberty's harp strums the note,
 One nation, one soul, united.
 (Male members): Who blows the trumpet as I walk along?
 (Female members): Who lights up the darkness of my room?
 (All members): We recognise you, Congress, the monarch all over India,
 We also recognised our powers, have shed all doubts from our minds,
 You have brought equality between the rich and the poor,
 One nation, one soul, all united.
 (Male voices): The hymns in hundreds of temples are for you
 (Female voices): The compassion of the snowwhite Taj Mahal is embodied in you,
 (Male voices): You are the new Himalayas of Great India,
 (Female voices): Yours is the murmuring ripples of the flowing Ganga,
 (All voices): The awakened masses assert with pride,
 One nation, one soul, all united.
 (Male voices): Congress is Vajra, soldered with the bones of Hindus and Muslims,
 (Female voices): Congress blows the Conch-shell for our heart's prayer for the new age,
 (All voices): Congress has broken the shackles, and dispelled fears from within us,
 Congress has enlivened millions of souls with new colours and new tunes,
 This awareness is throbbing to break us out of inertia.
 One nation, one soul, all united.

Act IV

The imperialist tricksters try a new plan-no less sinister to divide the country. Bengal is partitioned in 1905 by Lord Curzon. The fallen country hits back. A new revolutionary surge sweeps over the country.

The alien bureaucracy seeks to maintain Law and Order with batons and bayonets.

The cult of terrorism rises among the youth seeking the road to freedom.

The country takes the solemn vow of Swadeshi and boycotting the foreign goods.

The song of boycott is chanted by the chorus.

Vande Mataram – the national anthem – is born striking terror into the hearts of the alien rulers.

Act V

The settled fact is unsettled. The partition of Bengal is negated.

Which way lies freedom? The Congress asks – through direct action or through petition? The World war flares up in Europe in 1914. By false promises Britain secures India's help. The war ends: But the pledge is not redeemed. The Rowlatt Act and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms cause a rude shock to the whole of India.

Out of evil comes good. Out of darkness comes light. The Apostle of peace – Mahatma Gandhi – comes as the harbinger of India's Freedom. The friend of the Kisan at Champaran, the friend of Mazdoor at Ahmedabad – the champion of the downtrodden and the disinherited assumes the leadership of the Congress and the nation. The mask of the imperialist monster drops off. At Jalianwallabagh in the Punjab India has the first blood-bath.

The chorus sings – who has brought the new timings of Swaraj in the distant corners of Hindustan? The people take the solemn vow of winning their birthright – the Swaraj. The rulers become furious and a volley of shots is showered upon the unarmed masses in the land of the Five Rivers.

Act VI

Jalianwallabagh is a new milestone in India's struggle for Swaraj. The rich and the poor the young and the old, the Kisans, the Mazdoors, the students, the aboriginals, the subjects of the Native States, the Hindus and the Muslims all are galvanized into action. Non-co-operation starts and the hell of repression is let loose. Undaunted the exploited millions in India raise high the Tri-colour – the glorious banner of the nation.

Back to villages, Mahatmaji cries. The lost villages are resurrected. The soul of India breaks its hypnotic spell.

The chorus sings – we won't walk into your trap, ye slain rulers. The agents of imperialism come and thousands are clapped in prisons.

Act VII

A new call comes – the clarion call to freedom. The naked Fakir leads the march to Dandi. The Civil Disobedience movement commences with non-violence as its sole weapon. A new chapter is written in the annals of mankind. The world is amazed – the imperialists are stunned. The Gandhi-Irwin pact causes a momentary stop in the struggle for freedom. Mahatmaji attends the second session of the Round Table Conference but comes back disappointed. The Civil Disobedience Movement is renewed. The Satyagrahis march ahead in bold defiance of the lawless laws.

Women come forward singing the song of freedom. Come and join the battle for freedom they cry to their sisters in cities and villages.

Act VIII

Repression fails to smash the undying spirit of the Congress. In the battle of the polls it emerges triumphant. Congress Government is set up in eight provinces.

Another Armageddon starts in 1939. Why war? – The Congress asks. The Cripps offer is spurned. No immediate recognition of India Independence is made. The Congress prepares for another struggle. Do or Die is the new slogan. Quit India is the new battle.

The Satyagrahi sings the song of freedom – 'We are not the slaves of war; our hearts are without fear'. The alien rulers shake their mailed fists in impotent rage.

[The English synopsis prepared by the Congress Sahitya Sangh ends here, leaving out the last song of

the Satyagrahi, whose translation is given below, because it is a reference to the Quit India Movement – Ed.]

Translation of the Last Song, at the End of Act VIII

We have spurned the threats of imprisonment,
We are holding our heads high,
No one except we can liberate ourselves.
Do or die – this vow
Fills the air of India now
And in our dreams we hear the saga of India Free
Don't you hear the sound
Of Chains breaking asunder, asunder, Celebrating
That the banner of freedom is fluttering in the Sky.
Do or die – this vow
Fills the air of India now
Thy seat is now laid at the altar
Where millions have sacrificed themselves,
Victory, Victory, Victory to India, hail Mother India,
Vande Mataram, Vande Mataram, Vande Mataram.

14: The date of the establishment of Sahitya Sangha

[Congress Sahitya Sangha Papers] Calcutta
(Translated from the Original Bengali)

Congress sahitya sangha
C 18/19 College Street Market,
Calcutta
9.7.45.

To all members of the Congress Sahitya Sangha,

The Congress Sahitya Sangha was established on 11 November 1944, but we could not start work systematically before January 1945. The main reason was that after the rules and regulations were finalized, their printing got delayed in December because the Christmas holidays intervened. So we could not receive application forms for membership before January.

(Rest of the document is a report of the activities in the first half of 1945 (which included the public performance of Abhyudaya on 13th April 1945), and a plea for greater involvement of members in the work of the association – *omitted*).

Signed
Subodh Ghosh*
Sachindra Nath Mitra
(Joint Secretaries)

XIV

Rumours

As evidence of the declining credibility of the Raj, rumours about the likelihood of the continued success of the Japanese against the British forces feature prominently in the documents selected here. These rumours start with exaggerated accounts about the air raids in Calcutta in December 1942, and they are noticed, as was to be expected, in the neighbouring provinces of Bihar and Orissa. Some rumours linked political development in India with the air raids – in one case describing a bombing raid near a jail building (Doc. 14) as having political implications. The Japanese radio from Saigon was listened to and believed in (Docs 17, 22).

Since, notwithstanding Russian and Western victories over Germany and Italy in course of 1943, the Japanese continued their relentless advance through Burma towards the Assam border, defeatist rumours were current throughout 1943 (Docs 18, 24). The presence of American forces in India and reports of Anglo-American differences led to the rumour that the Raj had started handing over India to the United States (Doc. 23). The onset of the Bengal famine brought forth another crop of rumours, in which the government's food procurement efforts were seen as being done at the behest of the military (Doc. 20), the attempts to clear Calcutta of vagrants were also interpreted as efforts to press-gang people into the army (Doc. 46). Document no. 12 shows why rumours have to be included among the historical evidence for the period.

1 Extracts from Weekly Report from the Collector and Magistrate, Ballia district for the period ending Dec. 31, 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 38
[Bihar State Archives]

As a result of this influx of refugees [*refers to people coming from Calcutta because of air raids* – Ed.] there are some exaggerated rumours in the district but they appear to be having little or no effect on the population. The most obvious of these rumours is 50 per cent of Calcutta Police force deserted their post as a result of the air raid.



2. Information about a few Oriya young men who were spreading rumours among the Oriya labourers

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. W/22/43
[Bengal State Archives]

To The Under Secretary,
Home Dept.,
Govt. of Bengal.

6.1.1943

Sir,

I consider it my duty to inform you the activities of a few Oriya young men in Calcutta who are, if not real 5th. Col., rabid defeatist. They speak all sorts of wild stories to illiterate Oriya labourers and being in some favourable position get a certain amount of credence. I have reported the matter to the Govt. of Orissa and have warned these men to stop from such false preaching. Far from stopping, they have, I see increased their mischief after the air raids. They are the following:

1. Behayal Misra, Lecturer in the Calcutta University (now gone home on leave)
2. Baiaram Kanda (a clerk in the Mathematical Section – Survey of India)
3. Rangadhar Biswal (an Asst. in the firm Messrs Ketellwell, Bullen & Co.) living at 61/1A, Wellington St, Calcutta.
4. Ramchandra Benria (an employee of Messrs. Macleod & Co. Ltd. – (now gone home in panic), No. 2, Palgun Das Lane.
5. Pahali Naik (serving as private tutor to some Oriya Mill Labour at Ghusoory and living there)

As I am required to mix with all classes of Oriya labourers I do not like to be known. If you like you may take any action you deem proper.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Lala Nagendra K. Roy
Liaison officer, Orissa Govt.

3. Extracts from the Weekly Report from the Collector and Magistrate, of Ballia district

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 38
[Bihar State Archives.]

. . . Very little alarm or interest is now displayed in connection with the air raids in Calcutta which appear to be taken as a matter of course. . . .

4: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of January 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

The War

All reports confirm that the bombing of Calcutta in December did not produce any panic in Bihar. There was, however, a crop of rumours, the most astounding which was ever heard in Hazirabagh and Dhanbad that the bombing was done by the Allied planes as an experiment. Commenting on rumours and showing their baselessness, the *Bihar Herald* of the 12th January wrote as follows:

In a recent railway journey we were patient listeners to all that was being said by fellow passengers in an overcrowded compartment. Everyone seemed to have received his information from impeccable sources, it only fell short of being first hand information or eye-witnesses account. There was absolutely no agreement among the various purveyors of correct news, and every part of Calcutta was named by somebody or other. On listening to the accounts, it seemed to us that every square inch of Calcutta had been blasted by bombs and the City simply did not exist. We have a slight difficulty in reconciling the total picture given by the above authentic information with the fact that we are still receiving newspapers and letters from that non-existent city and radio broadcasts are coming every few hours.

The influx into Bihar of thousands of refugees from Bengal is largely responsible for generally exaggerated accounts of the damage done in Calcutta and it is reported that the more nervous section of citizens in towns such as Patna and Gaya have already started to remove their families to the interior in anticipation of air raids. Some deserters from the Calcutta Police are reported to have been arrested in Shahabad district and Muzaffarpur and also reports that a number of constables who had run away from Calcutta had been spreading alarming reports. Though most of the rumours have been anti-British, feeling in some circles is said to have turned against the Japanese for dropping bombs on the civil population in spite of the previous broadcast assurances to the contrary. Leaflets recovered from refugees which are said to have been dropped from Japanese aircraft during the raids, depict British troops running away in motor buses and bullock carts leaving Indian soldiers to face the enemy. At Jamshedpur it was stated that some of Tata's employees would leave Jamshedpur after receiving their pay. Actually, however, railway figures appear to indicate that there was no increase in the number of persons leaving Jamshedpur in the period following the Calcutta air raids.

There is little of actual anti-war propaganda, Prejudicial leaflets were recovered from Jharia and in Hazaribagh there has been a stray case of an anti-war speech for which a case has been instituted. The programme of National War Front is making progress, membership is increasing and a number of meetings have been held. The Raksha Dals organized by the Front are reported to be becoming more popular than before. A start was made about N.W.F. work among ladies. Lady Imam paid a visit to Hazaribagh where she addressed two meetings and the response is said to have been good.



5. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of January 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

Although every now and then some *mischievous* rumours are put about by anti-British elements, the number of such rumours is on the decrease.

6. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of March 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

The War

The war news is now very largely overshadowed by the food situation. The prevailing scarcity and high prices are believed by many people to be due mainly to Government Purchases for military purposes, Alarmist rumours and rumours of circumstances unfavourable to the Allied cause continue to circulate. For example there are persistent rumours of disagreement between Russia and America and there are even rumours to the effect that Russia and Germany might make a separate peace. Such rumours are largely spread and encouraged by the anti-British elements in the country. The underlying confidence of the mass of people is however shown by the figures for savings banks deposits in the province which for the six weeks from February the 1st show a 40 per cent increase over the corresponding figure for the previous year, while withdrawals show a very great decrease.

7 Report on the events in Bihar

File No. 3/52/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Confidential

Government of Bihar
Political Department
Special Section

Patna, the 20th April, 1943

Report on the events in Bihar during the first half of April, 1943 – (Pro – Govt. rumours)

1. The War

The deterioration in the food position continues to push the news into the background. There is the usual crop of rumours, the only ones worth mentioning being the persistent rumour that Russia and Germany may make a separate peace, and rumours about our supposed reverses in Burma and enemy advances into Assam and even Bengal. The Commissioner of the Tirhut Division has formed the opinion that the defeatist attitude, which was prevalent a few months ago has largely disappeared, and the people who formerly almost welcomed enemy successes are now pleased to hear of Allied victories. He reports that at one small town, which was heavily fined for its part in the August disturbance, Rs 7,000 was subscribed in defence certificates at a meeting presided over by the Commissioner. In Chapra, which was also a badly-affected area during the disturbances, a short campaign caused the investment of Rs 41,000. From what he has seen in the course of his tours in the Division, the Commissioner considers that we are not likely to have serious trouble until the war is over; at any rate unless we should get very bad news of the progress of the war. But the common people are coming to believe more and more that the war is responsible for most of the troubles from which they are suffering and that the end of the war, accompanied by Swaraj, will bring relief. This belief is becoming very widespread and is being supported by almost all pro-Government speakers 'to further the war effort, who have to combat Japanese promises of Swaraj and do so by pointing out that Swaraj has been promised by Great Britain to India as soon as the war is over. In fact in war propaganda we are inevitably living on the future to some extent.

8. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of May 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

1. The War

The victory in Tunisia by its very magnitude and completeness could hardly fail to make an impression on the public. Nevertheless it is again reported from all over the provinces that people in general are more impressed by the less satisfactory news about Burma Campaign. . . .

9. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of June 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 79
[Bihar State Archives]

1. The War

Public confidence in the ultimate victory of the Allies created by the successes in Europe and in China is disturbed only by absence of any heartening news from Burma and by the worsened

food situation at home. The bulk of the population thinks and talks in terms of the food shortage and high prices of foodstuffs. As a result of the improvement in the war situation, however, direct anti-war propaganda and defeatist rumours are less in evidence. The United Nations Day was celebrated in many centres though there was not much genuine enthusiasm. One obvious reason is that it followed very close on the Tunisia Day and as the Commissioner of Bhagalpur observes 'India having been taught national and communal politics for a generation or more cannot become internationally minded in a moment'. The success of the celebration was also marred by the impossibility of obtaining Allied flags.

Reports of the effect of the food situation on recruitment are conflicting. According to some reporting authorities, people are not willing to enlist as they want to be near their families when conditions are so uncertain. In one district where there was an increase in the number of recruits, the Collector attributes it not to greater enthusiasm for war effort but to hunger. According to another Collector, army men on leave and their families are clamouring for rice and want supplies at cheap rate. It would not be unreasonable, however, to expect that recruitment would suffer seriously unless there was improvement in the food situation as the army pay will be less attractive with the increase in food prices and a prospective recruit will naturally be reluctant to leave his family starving behind him. There have been a large number of desertions also. A third of the total jail population at Dinapore now consists of military deserters and the comment of the Magistrate is that 'recruits who do not desert seem to spend their time in writing false petitions designed to bring pressure on their opponents in some land disputes at home'. . . .

10: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of July 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 79

[Bihar State Archives]

1. *The War*

The news of the success which have attended operations in Sicily and in the Pacific has strengthened public confidence in the position of the Allies; and although the food situation is worrying most people, the feeling is gaining ground that all these problems are due to the prolongation of the war and that better days will come after the victory of the Allies which cannot be delayed for long. The energetic and venomous propaganda carried on by the Axis broadcasts which day in and day out harp on the arrival of Subhas Bose in Japan and 'Shonan' and at the fabulous numbers of Indians in the Eastern countries of Asia who are said to have flocked to his standard is perhaps greedily swallowed by political malcontents, but is not likely to produce much impression on general public who are more impressed by the actual successes in Sicily and the Pacific than by the mere promises of Axis Governments. As a result, it is reported by the District Magistrate of Bhagalpur that there is an improvement in recruitment to the ranks and in the material for Emergency Commissions. Confidence in an Allied victory is reflected in the editorial comments of even the *Searchlight* of Patna as the provincial Press Adviser's report¹ enclosed herewith will show. . . .

1. Not printed.

11: Weekly Report from the Collector & Magistrate, Ballia district for the week ending 31.7.1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 39
[Bihar State Archives.]

1. *The War*

The stirring events of the past week have created little impression in Ballia amongst the general public but the more educated are convinced that the resignation of Mussolini is the beginning of the end and I rather think that they imagine the resignation of Hitler will follow in a short span of time. It is interesting to note that a clerk quite reasonably well educated, in the superintendent of police's office, did not know who Mussolini was and when questioned hastily said that he thought he was on the British side. . . .

12 Extracts from *India Since Cripps*

Horace Alexander – *India Since Cripps* (1944), p. 8

In fact, I do not claim for this book that it is a detached study of Indian affairs. No study of Indian affairs by an English man ever is, though many English writers delude themselves into thinking that their aloofness and apparent detachment show genuine impartiality. I can only claim that I try to be fair to everybody. To be fair to everybody is particularly difficult. For one thing, no true history of India can be written that omits unsubstantiated rumour. On both sides, among Indians and Europeans, the gossip at the Bar Library and the gossip at the club have a powerful influence on affairs. As often as not neither type of gossip has foundation in fact. But there is, on the whole, so little social mixing that the gossip of Indians about the Government and of Europeans about Indian leaders is repeated and repeated without being effectively challenged until it is accepted by all the educated Indians, or by all the Europeans, as the case may be, for gospel truth.

Rumour and gossip of this kind I have had to report again and again in these pages; what is more, in order to give some indication of the intensity of emotion often caused by these things, I have had to use strong expressions. I have done my best to safeguard myself, to make clear to the reader what is only alleged and what is known fact. But I must ask him to be on his guard to distinguish carefully which is which.



13: Extracts from intelligence reports on the Punjab states, for the second half of January for the year 1944

Govt. of Punjab Pol. Dept., Pol. Branch, File No. 431 - P(S) 44
[Punjab State Archives.]

The popular attitude to the war has undergone little change, Victory is taken too much for granted, although there has been some criticism of slow progress on the Burma front. With exceptions here & there, malicious talk has, however, declined, but rumour-mongers are still a danger to be reckoned with as illustrated by the following Punjab case. In this case story got round and was definitely traced to a Durzi, who had first returned full of self importance from Calcutta, that thirteen thousand troops had been killed and many American ships sunk during Japanese air raid attacks on the Calcutta Docks last month. It has not been as suggested that the offending Durzi was a professional fifth Columnist, but he was undoubtedly serving the interests of the enemy just as well. . . .

14: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 - Home oll (I)
[NAI]

The raid which occurred near Berhampur (Ganjam district) on the night of the 3rd-4th, which was followed a few days later by machine-gunning from a plane in daylight, caused no panic, although there was a certain amount of nervousness while the raid was actually in progress. The bombs caused no casualties and did not damage, falling in an open field near the jail. This gave rise to a number of rumours, the most *Mischievous* being that they were dropped by our own aircraft to teach the political prisoners a lesson after the disturbances of 'independence day'. Another was that they were deliberately dropped by the Japanese in the neighbourhood of the jail in a place where they could do no harm to show their sympathy with those who had taken part in the disturbances. Immediately steps were taken to counteract these rumours. There is no doubt that Berhampur town had a very lucky escape, but there has been considerable criticism of the fact that no warning was received, and it is asked what is the use of practising warnings and alerts if, when a raid occurs, no warning is given. Curiously enough, while the Japanese broadcasts to India gave no indication in English from Berlin stated that the targets were military installations in Chatrapur (a town about 12 miles from Berhampur), that the raids was highly successful and that large fires were started.

15: Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from Madras for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

War

The Prime Minister's recent review of the war situations has attracted public attention. Reports indicate that public opinion considers progress south of Rome to be slow, especially in comparison to the present rapid advance on the Russian front. Activity in the South West Pacific zone has attracted considerable attention. There were some rumours that the Viceroy's visit to Madras was a connection with heavy Japanese air raids on the east coast of India and Ceylon. Steps were taken by local officials to counteract these rumours.

16 Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from Bombay for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

War

In my last letter it was stated that the campaign in Arakan, though of comparatively limited strategic significance, is important from the point of view of sustaining morale. So far as can be ascertained that public continued to take a great deal of interest during the last fortnight in reports from this front, far greater interest than they did in events further afield. They seem to have gathered news from two sources – from the All India Radio and the newspapers on the one hand and, on the other from the Singapore Radio – an institution which is coming increasingly into vogue in circles interested in war news from the Far East. It is probably a correct appreciation of the public attitude to say that they think that truth lies somewhere near half way between the claims of the contending sides. For instance, while there is little disposition to believe that the Japanese have destroyed a British Indian division, there is equally little disposition to believe that the British Indian army has scored a sensational triumph. In fact the public has found considerable difficulty in appreciating the grounds for the claims of a first class victory made by the South East Asia Command. So far as he can follow them, the fact apparent to the man in the street are that a Japanese force of some 7,000 men surrounded and tried to destroy one or two British Indian divisions and that after severe fighting and probably substantial losses on both sides the enemy failed in his main objective. It is considered that what Japanese force was attempting was a daring feat against superior odds and that while it is satisfactory that this attempt has been frustrated it is inappropriate to call this great victory. It seems clear that the significance of the Arakan operations is not clearly understood by the public.

17: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

Rumours of Japanese infiltrations into Cox's bazaar and Chittagong and the failure of an Allied commando raid on Akyab were current during the fortnight. On the whole, however, there were fewer rumours than in past weeks, and the British successes in the Arakan and the wide publicity given to the Arakan fighting have restored confidence and produced a feeling of restrained optimism. There is no doubt that in the absence of news from the British side the public is susceptible to suggestions made by the enemy controlled radio, and a proposal has been made to the Director, All India Radio, Calcutta, that during the English broadcasts from Saigon specially attractive Indian programme should be broadcast from Calcutta.

18: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

The success of the Russian armies are being followed with very close interest. The air assault on Germany is also attracting much attention. News from the Eastern theatres of War is again receiving scant attention, as the feeling is growing that a large offensive against the Japanese in Burma is not likely to materialize as early as was expected at one time. Defeatist rumours, which began during the recent Arakan fighting appear to be still circulating. The Deputy Commissioner, Nagpur, reports that rumours to the effect that the Americans are taking over a number of military installations in India, and that there have been disagreements between the American and British forces, and that Tatanagar has been bombed by the Japanese are still current.



19: Two persons prosecuted for spreading false information

Govt. of Madras Pub. (Gen.) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 163
[TNA]

From
R.C.S. Bell I.C.S.
Dt. Magte., Coimbatore

To
The Chief Secretary to Govt.
Public Department, Madras
19-3-44

(Seal) Under Secretary
22 Mar 1944
Public Department

War

Defence of India Rules — precaution under Rule Pub 38(5) of the Defence of India Rules report

One Ramaswami Boyan s/o Karuppa Boyan and Kanni Boyan alias Mottai s/o Bongali Boyan of Coimbatore are reported to have been saying to people in a barber shop during Viceroy's visit to Coimbatore that His Excellency the Governor was wounded by a Japanese bomb and that His Excellency the Viceroy's leg was fractured by a Japanese gunshot. The publication of this false information is a prejudicial act under rule 38(5) of the Defence of India rules. I have sanctioned the prosecution of the accused I request that my action may be approved.

Signed
for Dt. Magistrate
Pub. (Genl.) Deptt.

The prosecution of the persons referred to above may be approved. Draft submitted for signature.

Signed
27-3-44

20: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The rumour that foodgrains procured by the Government of Bengal are being taken over by the Military appears to be a distributed Japanese version of the assistance being given by the Army in disturbing food.

21: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The removal of the second unit of the Orissa Civil Pioneers to field Service led to a local rumour that casualties on the Manipur front had been heavy and that the Orissa Pioneers had been drafted in as reinforcements and also to repair damage to communications.

22: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Rumours inspired by the Saigon radio again became prevalent, and it was common talk that Imphal had fallen to the enemy and that Silchar had been heavily bombed. The rumours received less credence than usual, mainly owing to the sober attitude of the Press, and while there is still some bewilderment as to what is actually happening on the Burma front, public confidence in the ultimate outcome remains unimpaired.

23: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Some of the more moderate elements have commented on the failure of British and American diplomacy in recent months, for instance in the matter of Eire and Turkey. The rumours that Assam is to be handed over to the Americans or that American flags will shortly be flown over all offices, have been current, and one officer was even asked if it was a fact that India was made over to the United States.



24: Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from C.P. & Berar for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The War

The continued rapid series of Russian victories and the drive towards the Balkans continued to attract universal attention. Many people consider that so far as Germany is concerned, Russia alone may be capable of forcing a decision. Although there is general confidence in the ability of the allied armies to prevent the Japanese thrust towards Assam assuming any considerable proportions, there is, nevertheless, some disquietude at the gradual advance made on Indian soil. The Commissioner, Nagpur, reports that suspicions are entertained that everything that has happened in the Manipur area has not been disclosed, while the Deputy Commissioner states that in one village in the district small number of Congress workers made advantage gained by the Japanese forces an occasion for rejoicing. At Wardha there were rumours that the Japanese had taken possession of the whole of Manipur State and that they had entered Assam proper. The Commissioner, Jubbulpore, reported that the Japanese infiltration in the Manipur State is being exaggerated by rumours, probably of enemy origin, into an invasion of India, supported by the Indian Azad army 'which is taking a large number of prisoners'. In Raipur it was rumoured that Manipur and Cox Bazar had fallen, but complete confidence in ultimate Allied victory prevails.

25: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The War

The news from the Burma front has now taken the first place and there is hardly any mention in the Commissioner's reports of public comments on news from the other front. Reactions vary; most District Officers report a great increase in the activities of rumour mongers, many of which clearly show their origin in Japanese wireless broadcasts. Others are said to have originated in careless talk of soldiers passing through on leave. Among these rumours may be mentioned one that a gentleman called Chatterji has been made Governor of Assam by the Japanese, and another that the Viceroy came to Bihar in order to prepare lines of defence. From another district came the rumour that Governor of Assam has gone to Calcutta. Another rumour is that Government is going to tax castor oil and this rumour is said to have already has some harmful effects, in that cultivators have already cut some of their castor plants. However, rumours must be expected and most reports indicate that not much importance is attached to them. The 'Indian Nation' under a new editor the other day published an excellent

leading article urging that now is time for everybody to drop their differences and give united support to the war effort. The 'Searchlight' today (17.4.44), however, has a weak and pessimistic leader with defeatist tendency. Rumours have had little or no effect among the intelligentsia who are confident that the Japanese will be defeated, but some of them evidently believe that temporary success on the part of the Japanese might encourage the British Government to make additional political concessions. A good deal of underground agitation is still reported and no doubt if opportunity offered, dangerous sections of the population would try to exploit any deterioration in the situation as an opportunity for sabotage. It is noticeable that the report of the National War Front still mentions that the shortage of kerosene oil and small change, &c. has been among the more distressing features of the war situation.

26: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

Operations on the Burma front have provided a universal topic of discussion, and interest in other war news including the Russian advance in Rumania has been completely overshadowed. While there is no alarm or panic, and confidence in a final Allied Victory remains assured, some uneasiness is noticeable and a few rumours persist about the desertion of Indian troops to the enemy and the crossing of the Indian border by the Indian National Army led by Subhas Chandra Bose. Other rumours include the transfer of vulnerable Government offices to safer places and the disposal of property by British firms prior to leaving India. Surprise, mingled with criticism of the Allied Commanders, has been expressed at the extent of the Japanese penetration, when the tremendous military preparations carried out in Assam are common knowledge and when the previous defeat of the Japs in the Arakan was given such wide publicity. This has revived the old tendency to believe in the superiority of the Japanese troops in jungle warfare and exaggerated importance is being attached to the Japanese thrust, which is regarded as something more serious than a nuisance raid, but not so threatening as an invasion.

27: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

During the fortnight, exaggerated accounts of Japanese successes in Manipur were current in the Presidency Division while in Rajshahi and Chittagong there were persistent rumours that Imphal had fallen. Rumours of Japanese successes are also said to be circulating in Dacca

and Fandpur. Most of these rumours may be traced to enemy broadcasts to which, it seems, there is a growing body of listeners. For some weeks now, there have been rumours in Calcutta that two well-known British firms had sold out to a leading Indian Industrialist and it is an interesting fact that on two occasions these rumours were referred to in Japanese broadcasts which ascribed the alleged sales to a desire on the part of British capitalists to get out of India before the Japanese advance made further progress. Other rumours were that hundreds of Gurkha soldiers deserted the Indian Army to join the enemy, that Calcutta would be heavily bombed in the near future, and that the Headquarters of the Assam Government had been moved to Jalpaiguri in Bengal.

28: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The War

The lull on the Russian and Italian fronts had resulted in public opinion being focussed on the Burma border, where the improvement in the situation has reassured public opinion, although there is some disappointment that no full-scale invasion of Burma has yet taken place. The explosions, followed by the big fire in Bombay, have given rise to a large number of false reports¹. In several districts rumours spread that the explosions were caused by Japanese bombing which has been kept secret by the Government of India. Speculation as to the date of the opening of the Second Front is still rife.

¹ See Chapter XV Doc.18 for details.

29: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The War

The usual crop of rumour is reported. One of the most persistent and widespread is to the effect that one or more train loads of Indian soldiers (usually Sikhs) in handcuffs passed through Patna on their way from the Front. One of the more fantastic rumours reported from North Bihar is that Bengal, Orissa and Assam have been leased to the United States and that the Americans are building two large towns called Roosevelt-nagar and Washington-nagar in Bengal. From Dhanbad it is reported that some people seem to be eager to find out to what extent people in Manipur have been assisting Japanese and the kind of treatment meted out

to the local people by the Japanese. There is also persistent rumour in this area that European-owned collieries are being sold in consequence of some fear of future developments on the Eastern Front.

After making all allowances for sensational and defeatist rumours, some of which originate in wild talk by coolies and others who have come back from Assam while others obviously originate in the Japanese broadcasts, it may be said that there is no real apprehension in the minds of the people about the progress of the war. The campaign on India's Eastern Frontier naturally attracts the greatest attention, but the people are generally confident that events will soon take a sharp turn in our favour. The left wing press has, of course, been exploiting the temporary Japanese successes, the usual illogical refrain being that if the leaders were not 'clapped behind prison bars', all would be well at the Front.

District and Subdivisional Officials and War Committees have been active in combating rumours and in some places the National War Front has been of help.

30: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The War

Public attention has been focussed on the fighting on the Indo-Burma border to the exclusion of interest in other theatres of the War. The alarm originally felt over the Japanese thrust into the Manipur State has largely subsided as resistance has stiffened and no further advances have been reported, but there is considerable mistrust of official communiques, due partly to ignorance of the geography of the country in which the fighting is taking place and partly to the lack of frankness in the communiques themselves. In these circumstances, the usual tendency to believe the worst has persisted and has been encouraged by an increasing readiness to listen to enemy broadcasts in an attempt to supplement the uninformative and soothing official news given. Distorted accounts of the fighting in Assam have been spread by persons returning to the Punjab from Calcutta and Assam, while the imposition of internal censorship has been quoted as proof that the Japanese advances have again become more numerous, and political extremists have tried to exploit the uneasiness felt by demanding the release of the Congress leaders to organise 'National' resistance to enemy inroads. Public confidence, however, has not been seriously shaken in any way.



31. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Rumours of the fall of Imphal and Kohima are still in circulation in outlying districts but on the whole there have been fewer rumours during the past two weeks. Though the number of listeners to the Jap-controlled radio tends to increase, less reliance is now placed on the broadcast accounts of Japanese successes and intentions, and there is reason to believe that in some respects the Japs have overreached themselves in their propaganda. Complaints are still made that the South East Asia Command communiques are too brief and vague to deflect attention from enemy broadcasts and several district officers think there is much to be said for this view. During recent weeks there have been slight signs of activity among B.V. Group of terrorists and members of the Forward Bloc, who apparently believe that the Japs will soon be in Assam. A number of Japs have been arrested in the South of the Chittagong district and certain persons have been captured who were believed to have infiltrated into that district from enemy occupied territory.

1. B.V. Group – Bengal Volunteer Group, a revolutionary group formed under the aegis of Subhas Bose during the Congress Session in Calcutta in 1928. Members of this group took part in some of the daring and sensational violent attacks on the state apparatus in Bengal in the nineteen-thirties.

32. Extracts from intelligence reports on the Punjab states – second half of April 1944

Govt. of Punjab Pol. Dept., File No. 431-P(S)/44

[Punjab State Archives]

General

The vicious rumours circulating in parts of the Punjab about the fighting on the Assam border appear to have caused hardly a ripple in the calm surface of the States. The Patiala Security authorities have, however, remarked on the fact that panic news about the Enemy onslaught on Imphal has slightly affected the morale of the people, although subsequent events have provided the re-assurance that Nippon will not succeed in her designs on India. Elsewhere, the news from the Indo-Burma Front has been followed with keen interest but without serious misgiving. There has been keen speculation about the date for the opening of the Second Front in Europe.

33: Extracts from Fortnightly Reports from Madras for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The news of the explosions and the fire in Bombay have been given headlines in most newspapers. There seems to be a general vague impression that it was due to sabotage and that the real reasons behind it, though known to the Government are being held back. Another fantastic rumour reported by one collector is that it was the result of bombing by some Japanese aircraft, which flew over the City at that time and that the authorities had hushed up the affair. On the other hand there is a report that some people who had been to Bombay seeking employment and had returned recently had stated that the explosions were purely accidental.

34: Extracts from Intelligence Reports on the Punjab states for the year 1944 – first half of May 1944

Govt. of Punjab Pol. Dept., File No. 431-P(S)/44

[Punjab State Archives]

General

With expectations of the opening of the second Front and hard fighting in Italy and on the Indo-Assam Border, interest in the war has increased. Some panic rumours are reported to have been circulating, but it is difficult to say exactly how much of this is due to Enemy propaganda and how much to real sympathy with the Enemy. The arm-chair strategist is a type found everywhere. In view of his literacy, his views and forecasts command respect, and when adverse, cause alarm and despondency. From his reading of the newspapers, he forms and passes on, probably in all innocence, the opinion that the Japanese will next capture Imphal and then cut the supply routes to Southern Assam and the Hukaming Valley. Such opinions from a man of position do harm. Then there is the rumour monger who, glorifying in spectacular and sensational 'news flashes', broadcasts his poison to all and sundry in public places. Pessimistically, if nothing else, he makes out that the Japanese have once more proved that the Allies are no match for them and suggests that India will be overrun as quickly as Burma. The Civilian with military connections does damage when he returns home with eye-witness or personal stories that Imphal is besieged and can only hold out for a few more days, that civil populations have evacuated, etc., etc. He is a most dangerous type for his observations are liable to attract considerable notice and circulation, whether he is attempting deliberately to help the enemy or is trying to raise himself in public estimation. The amount of rumour or loose talks, which clearly owes its birth to Enemy broadcasts, plainly demonstrated the danger of the listener to enemy propaganda. Some act deliberately in spreading what the enemy wants to be believed. Some are actuated by anti-British motives. Others may be innocent

of evil intention, but all are guilty in fact and in law and the other types mentioned in this account, deserve nothing but rigorous suppression.

36. Military deserters were arrested in the States of Kalsia, Patiala, Kapurthala, Malerkotla and Faridkot during the period under report. It is disturbing to find now-a-days that so many dacoits are in possession of service weapons.

35: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

The slight nervousness which existed after the first news was well fostered by enemy propaganda and by the rumour mongers. This nervousness has now almost entirely disappeared. In consequence the rumour mongers have been very much less active and Japanese propaganda has cut its own throat. In fact the best way to counter propaganda of the kind which is put up by the Japanese is to show by forcible illustrations the way in which their claims are falsified by the facts. There has been a certain amount of criticism of the war communiques about the fighting on the Burma Front, but most people have the sense to realise that however desirable it may be to keep public informed of what is happening, it is still less desirable to risk the lives of our men by giving out daily accounts of the fluctuations of the battle line, and the people whose lives would be endangered would not be the arm-chair fulminators.

36: Extracts form Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

The check given to the Japanese on the Assam border has reassured public opinion and the failure to take Imphal or Kohima is treated as an indication of the strength of the Allies in this area. Rumour-probably of enemy origin-which are circulating in regard to the Japanese invasion of Manipur are now gradually dying down. It is said that rumours spread from railway station, one current at Bilaspur being to the effect that the Japanese cut off the fore-arms of their prisoners. The Deputy Commissioner, Nagpur reports that the suspicion previously prevalent that the fire in the Bombay Dock was caused by fifth columnists is now disappearing and that it is believed that it was only an accident due to carelessness.

37: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

There has been little change in public reactions to the war. The Anglo-American air offensive against Germany and enemy occupied countries in Europe has been watched with interest as the precursor of an invasion of the continent, but the fighting on the Indo-Burman border has provided the main interest in the war. The general attitude to events in that theatre has been one of surprise, rather than alarm, that the Japanese should have been able to achieve even the limited success they have in the face of the defence built up during the last two years. Mistrust of official communiques continues and has not been lessened by the unconvincing reasons given for the evacuation of Buthidaung. There is very little knowledge of what is happening on the Burman border, and this lack of knowledge has assisted rumour-mongering. In some districts there are still exaggerated rumours regarding the size and successes of Bose's traitor army, while stories of Japanese advances and victories are clearly derived from enemy broadcasts.

38: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

The continued heavy blows which are being inflicted by our troops on the Japanese in Burma and on the Assam border have driven the rumour monger and the fifth columnist still further into their shells. There have been remarkably few rumours and this probably reflects the growing disbelief of the people in the enemy broadcasts.

39: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

The universal note is the anxious expectancy, which is rapidly growing to bewilderment, as to when the second front is going to be opened. Many people are beginning to wonder

whether there is going to be a second front at all this summer in Western Europe or whether it is all part of a war of nerves on the Germans and in order to keep them manning their entire sea-board at enormous cost of manpower which might otherwise be employed against Russia, on the Italian front and in the comparatively limited area which the second front itself would presumably occupy. It is thought by some that keeping the Germans guessing as to where and when the second front will be opened is perhaps tying up more of their men and mechanized equipment than even an actual front would do, and in addition there is the benefit of the enormous strain on the nerves of the German nation and its satellites which this much-boosted opening of the second front must have.

40: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Only one rumour came to notice during the fortnight and that was to the effect that Chungking had reached an agreement with Japan.

41: Sequel to Doc. No. 19

Govt. of Madras, Pub. (Gen) Dept. 1944 – File G.O. No. 163
[TNA]

From
D.I.R. Muir, Esq. O.B.E., ICS.
Dt, Magistrate, Coimbatore
L. Dis. 863/M/44

To
The Chief Secretary to Govt.
Public (General) Dept, Madras
dated 6-6-44

Sir,

Political Agitation – Civil Disobedience Movement Prosecution under Defence of India Rules – Rangasami Boyan and Kanni Boyan Mottai – result reported

Ref: This office Ref. 853 M/44 dated 19-3-44 and Govt. Memo. Public (Genl) 16325 – 1 dated 27-3-44

Both the accused in the above case have been convicted on 1-5-44 and sentenced to pay a

fine of Rs 50 each in default to undergo Rigorous Imprisonment for four months each in C.C. Fine amounts are reported to have been collected.

Signed
For Dt. Magistrate
Seal; Under Secretary
8 June 1944
Public Department.

Pub, (Genl). Deptt.
Submitted for perusal.

42: War rumours reported by one S. Prabhu

Govt of Madras Pub (Gen) Dept. 1945 – File G.O. No. 163
[T.N.A.]

From
D.T.R. Muir Esq., ICS.,
District Magistrate
Coimbatore,

Ref: K2. 2797 – M-44

To
The Chief Secretary to Govt.,
Public (General) Department,
Madras

dated: 10-6-44

Seal: Under Secretary Public Department

Sir,

War – Defence of India Rules – Prosecution under Rule 38 (5) Reported for Approval

One Jacob alias H. Eberhard alias N. Surendranath Prabhu son of A. Fernandez Aakanadi, Main Road, Mangalore who visited the Government Hospital Erode on 20-4-44 has reported to have been spreading that he was employed in the military as a clerk in the Assam Border and he was present when the Japanese captured Manipur and he ran away from the battlefield receiving injuries caused by the splinters of the bombs dropped by the warplanes. In addition to this it is also reported that he was saying he was by birth a Brahmin but subsequently changed his religion and styled himself as an Anglo-Indian as he thought he would receive more pay and better comforts than an ordinary Indian. As the above accused is reported to have been carrying on false and alarming propaganda about the prosecution of the war i.e., doing prejudicial act in contravention of the Provisions of Rule 38 (1) (E) read with rule 34 (6) of the Defence of India Rules, I have sanctioned the prosecution. I request that my action may be approved.

Signed
District Magistrate
10-6-44



43: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The rumour mentioned in my last report¹ about Nepal being full of the enemy who were going to invade India through that country still prevails and is now reported from several other areas. Another rumour now reported is that owing to heavy casualties on the Burma front conscriptions is now going to be introduced in India.

1 Not printed.

44: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the second half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The War

The encouraging news of the advance of the Allied armies on all fronts has strengthened the feeling, among people who hear of the news, that the enemy has now little hope of a successful attack upon India. This increase of security is tempered to some extent by rumours and uncertainties about the food situation. If mischief makers, like some of the Communists, fail to cause alarm and despondency by their stories of Allied incompetence in Burma and the imminent danger of a Japanese Invasion, they switch their propaganda to the food front and publish lurid reports of starvation and death. It is evident that these propagandists are in a hurry to make the most of the war situation and its effect on food supplies, before that situation comes to an end; and they are now desperately afraid that it will come to an end before they can use it to the maximum advantage. There is a tendency among the so-called communists, and certain Congressmen to under-rate, if they do not completely ignore, Allied military successes, and to magnify the difficulties and to emphasise the slowness of the Allied Advance. This attitude of course is in keeping with the theme that the allies cannot secure victory unless they give India immediate and complete Independence. At the same time it is true that if there had been no ministerial crisis in Orissa during the last fortnight the local press would have given more publicity to the war news. But it is clear that if the war news cannot provide the required gloom and materials for criticising the competence of Allied commanders, the propaganda will be directed towards the food problem. This is a more vulnerable objective because the difficulties in the distribution of food and other essential supplies affect everyone, and the military success will not be much consolation to the ordinary man if these difficulties persist or multiply. This is the principal danger which the administration and Government propaganda will have to counter in Orissa during the coming months.

45: Prosecution of Arumuga Mudali for spreading false information and opposing collection of war fund

Govt. of Madras Pub (Gen.) Dept 1945 – File G.O. No. 163
[TNA]

35981/18/7/44

Coimbatore District Magistrate Office
Dated the 14th July 1944.

Ref. No. 3450/M/44-K-2.

From
D.I.R Muir, Esq, O.B.E., I.C.S.,
District Magistrate, Coimbatore

To
The Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Public (General) Department, Fort St George, Madras.

Sir,

War – Defence of India Rules – Arumuga Mudali, Son of Kolanda Mudali, Sokkenur – Prosecution – Sanction of Approval – requested.

Ref: Endorsement of the Dt. Superintendent of police, Coimbatore, dated 11-7-44 on the report of the Inspector of Police, Nambiyur.

The Sub Inspector of Police, Nambiyur, reports that when the village Munsiff of Sokkanur, Palladam Taluk was collecting money from the people for the War Fund, one Arumuga Mudali, son of Kolanda Mudali of the above village, came and prevented the village Munsif from collecting money from the War Fund. He also reports that he preached to the people as follows:

‘Are the British going to win the War? Do you expect them to return the money so contributed to the War Fund? Japanese have come to India. many Indians have been killed.’

The District Superintendent of police, Coimbatore reports that speeches made against the War Fund, do not amount to an offence under the Defence of India Rules as the War Fund is not a financial measure undertaken by the Government, but as the rest of the accused’s action and speech constitute a prejudicial act I have therefore sanctioned the prosecution of the above said accused for an offence under rule 38(1) (a) of the Defence of India Rules punishable under rule 38(5) of the same rules.

I request that my action kindly be approved.

Signed
District Magistrate.
S.S.R. 16-7-44
Pub (Genl) Deptt.

The prosecution of Arumuga Mudali reported on pp. 11-12 above may be approved. Are V.M.'s¹ empowered to collect for the War Fund? I thought this was extremely forbidden.

1 Village Munsiff

46: Extracts from evidence of Mr B.K. Guha,* I.C.S., Additional District and Sessions Judge, 24 Parganas, & Formerly Relief Co-ordination Officer, Calcutta. Before the Famine Enquiry Commission

Nanavati Papers – Vol. III
[NAI]

Before Famine Enquiry Commissioner. On 8.9.44.

19. *Dr Aykroyd*: You were concerned with the removal of destitute from Calcutta? – Yes

20. Were they in a fit state for removal? – Many of them were very weak and ill. The general procedure was this. We used to collect them from the streets, keep them in four centres, both official and non-official, for a few days, feed them, give them medical aid if necessary and then by lorries, trains and other conveyances to relief camps outside Calcutta. Most of the destitute came from the 24-Parganas and the South side.

21. *Chairman* Was that a cyclone affected area? – Not exactly. Most of them did not come from the cyclone affected area. Many of them came from places nearer Calcutta. There is a place called Sonarpur about 15 or 20 miles from Calcutta. Lots of them came from that area. There was failure of crops and they could come very easily by train. They did not buy tickets, they simply jumped into the trains, came to Ballygunge, or Sealdah and got down there. They got free feeding in the free kitchen and stayed in Calcutta for a few days. As a matter of fact we had some difficulty in collecting the destitute. They would not agree to go into the relief centres.

22. Why not? – There might have been various reasons. Some of them were professional beggars and vagrants. They found it more profitable to beg in the streets and get their free meals in the free kitchens. And then there was a certain section of the people who were against the Government centres and carried on propaganda. They said to the destitute 'Government will take you to these centres and from there send you to Arakan or Assam and to the breach in Damodar and you would be sacrificed there'. This false propaganda had some effect.

23. *K.B. Afzal Husain*: Who was doing this propaganda? – It is very difficult to say. That propaganda was wide and there was widespread rumour.

24. *Sir M. Nanavati*: Did it appear in the papers? – No, it spread mostly by word of mouth.

25. *Chairman*: Was any particular section of the people responsible for the propaganda? – I cannot say that any particular section was responsible.

26. It was just rumour that travels largely and gains strength as it travels? – I can tell you

a particular instance, not in Calcutta. I was District Judge of Burdawan and I was in charge of an evacuation camp. There was a breach in the Damodar bank and many villages were flooded. There was a very big centre. There were 800 to 900 people sheltered there. An orphanage was being started in Asansol and I and my subordinate officers were trying to select about eight to ten orphans to take to that centre in Asansol. We tried personally for two or three days. At first some of the orphans were persuaded to agree but thereafter they would not go and when we enquired what was the reason, we were told that they had been told by some people that they were being sent to Asansol and if they went they would be killed. It was extremely difficult to get even 10 orphans.

47: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

A rumour current during the fortnight was that after the collapse of Germany, huge Allied armies will be concentrated in Bengal and Assam to deal with the Japanese and that as a result thousands of villages and homesteads will be requisitioned regardless of the sufferings caused to the civil population. Another rumour was to the effect that many large factories now engaged in War production are being stocked with huge quantities of foreign consumer goods which will be released for sale immediately after the war with the express purpose of running the various indigenous industries which have grown up in India during the War.

48: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The apprehension that after the defeat of Germany much suffering and distress will be caused to the people of Bengal and Assam by the concentration of Allied armies in these areas continues to find expression, especially in East Bengal.



49: Prosecution of Kanusa Goundan

Govt. of Madras Pub (Gen.) Dept. 1945 - File G.O. No. 163
[TNA]

Copy of report dated 5-11-44 from the Sub-Inspector of Police Avanashi, to the District Magistrate, Coimbatore.

On the evening of 31-10-44 there was a public meeting in the village of Ayayampalayan in Avanashi Taluk, when the Taluk Propagandist spoke about recruitment to services and Defence Savings Fund. One Kanusa Goundan s/o Marappa Goundan of Oddapalayam (Avanashi Taluk) appeared, then in a drunken state, offered himself to be recruited and then began accusing saying, that such meetings are held to recruit people to be sacrificed and to get money from the people by deceiving them, that the British would be defeated and that the Japanese would become the rulers. He further asked the people that had gathered there to disperse.

A case, in Avanashi station Cr. No. 128/44 has been registered under, rule 38(1) (a) of the Defence of India Rules. The above Kanusa Goundan was arrested on 2-11-44 and has been remanded to custody, by the Subdivisions Magistrate, Coimbatore.

Prosecution of Kanusa Goundan for making false statements.

As the said Kanusa Goundan had done 'Prejudicial act' as defined in rule 34(6) of the Defence of India Rules punishable under rule 33(1) accorded to prosecute him for the offence.

Signed
Sub Inspector of Police, Avanashi

Forwarded to the District Magistrate Coimbatore for favour to sanction please

Signed
J.F.B. Kaye,
Dt. Supt. of Police, Coimbatore.

50: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Of the rumours quoted by local officers, the only one worth mentioning is that which nominates President Roosevelt as the next Viceroy of India.



51: Arumuga Mudali acquitted

Govt. of Madras Pub (Gen.) Dept 1945 – File G.O. No. 163
[TNA]

From
Sri Rao Sahib R.D. Paul, M.
Dt. Magistrate,
Coimbatore

To
The Secretary to Govt.
Public (Genl) Department
Madras

L. Dis. 3450-M/44

dated 29-11-44

Sir,

War – Defence of India Rules – Arumugha Mudali S/o Kolanda Mudali Sokkanur – Prosecution – result reported.

Ref: This Office ref. 3450 M/44-K2 dated 14-7-44¹.
Govt. Memo 28645/44-4 dated 29-7-44²

The accused Arumugha Mudali was acquitted under section 258 CPC on 24-11-44 by the Joint Magistrate Pollachi in his CC No. 432/44

Signed
For District Magistrate
Pub (General) Deptt.

1. Doc. 45.
2. Not printed.

52: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

People in general continue to be more interested in the progress of the War in the Far East than the battles on the Western Front. Rumours about the critical situation in China continue and several districts report rumours that China has actually collapsed. One assiduous spreader of alarmist rumours in the district of Purnea has now plenty of leisure to think out new ones in the district jail.

XV

Disaffection in the Army

The crisis facing the Raj in the middle of 1942 had arisen as a result of its military reverses and the refusal of the nationalists to assist it in the task of defence unless power was shared with them. What is noticeable in 1943–4 is that while the nationalists were being suppressed with a heavy hand, the Raj did not find as much support for the war effort from the mass of the people as it hoped for. The evidence in this chapter gathers together documents illustrating this point.

Notwithstanding official propaganda of the National War Front and of the C.P.I. and the R.D.P., enlistment for the Indian Army was falling short of expectations in many provinces for a variety of reasons. (Docs 5–7, 16, 20–5, 27–31).

'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori' is not a dictum that would appeal to the inhabitants of a country whose imperial rulers involved them in a war against a rival imperial power. Reverses on the eastern frontier of India outweighed the successes of the Allied forces elsewhere in the world in the minds of many Indians (Docs 18, 19). The efforts of nationalists to undermine the morale of the army are recorded in documents 3, 4, 10, and 33. In many places the war was seen as an additional burden imposed by the Colonial state, which had resulted in the loss of the cattle of the agriculturist for feeding the army (Doc.14) – an army many members of which were foreigners, whose behaviour towards the local inhabitants was often ill-mannered (Docs 10, 15, 17, 22).

Apart from such documents, we have included (Docs 9, 34, 36–8, 42, 44, 47–8) data on a couple of mutinies in some units of the army, which show some evidence of the infiltration of leftwing ideas among the soldiers, or the growth of pro-Congress sympathies among the mutineers while they were in detention.

Other Documents Relevant for this Chapter:

1. Doc. 34 (Last paragraph) in Chapter XIV

1. Reasons given by Army authorities and DIB for keeping the mutineers in detention¹

File No. 44/81/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Most Secret

12–3–40

General Staff Branch

There has recently been a serious case of indiscipline amongst R.I.A.S.C. personnel serving with the 4th Indian Division in Egypt. The attached letter will give you a general summary of the circumstances, but my particular purpose is to draw your attention to the most disquieting

feature of the occurrence, namely, the part played by politically trained personnel in fomenting the disorder, and to ask for your co-operation in the measures we are taking to terminate their potentialities for evil.

2. The trouble, or to put it bluntly, the mutiny in Egypt, was investigated by General Strettell and a selected police officer, Mr Morton of the Punjab C.I.D., who were flown to Egypt for that purpose. As regards the part played by subversive elements, Mr Morton in his report based on his own investigations and those of an exhaustive military court of inquiry, expressed the opinions that the methods used by the personnel concerned to express their feelings were distinctly subversive. While no open meetings were held, secret propaganda, to consolidate opinion on the loading issue, was undoubtedly conducted by discontented reservists and serving personnel, most of whom appear to have been seduced by the Kirti Lehar organisation. Mr Morton's general conclusion was that Ghadr-communist influence was strong in supplying the stimulus and direction of the R.I.A.C. trouble in Egypt.

3. As a result of his investigations, Mr Morton named 19 ring leaders, who as free agents had influenced opinion by directing and stimulating the agitation. At the time of writing this report 13 of these had been arrested on military charges. Eight have since been sentenced to 7 years transportation, and two to one year's rigorous imprisonment, by court martial. The remaining 3 were dealt with summarily for minor offences and received minor punishments upto 28 days rigorous imprisonment.

4. It has now to be decided what action should be taken against the 6 remaining ring-leaders now isolated in Egypt, and the 3 ring-leaders who were dealt with summarily and are now also isolated. Mr Morton's information regarding these 9 individuals was obtained from sources which precluded these individuals being charged with subversive activities before a military or civil court. It is, however, most undesirable that these individuals should be allowed their liberty as soon as their return to India, since there is obviously a serious danger that they will carry on their subversive activities. Mr Morton writes 'it has been decided' (after a conference with General Strettell and the military commander in Egypt) 'that as a contributory step to the restoration of normal conditions, these individuals could be quietly removed, returned to India and discharged there for action by civil authorities. I believe that these men who have undoubtedly acted as cells of subversive influence in Egypt, will, on arrival in India, probably act as agents for subversive propaganda likely to cause disaffection and prejudice recruitment. Accordingly I suggest two alternative courses of action: (i) Either that they should be carefully watched in India and dealt with under the Defence of India Rules, if their activities so warrant, or (ii) that they should be arrested on arrival under the Defence of India Rules, thoroughly interrogated and dealt with on their individual merits. The latter course of action would, in my opinion be more advisable'.

5. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has examined the cases against these 9 ring-leaders, whose names are:

- i) Jemadar Waryam Singh, son of Kahn (Sic) Singh, Village Kulachaur, Gujarat.
- ii) Naik Sadhu Singh, son of Mula Singh, Village Panam, Tehsil Batala, Gurdaspur.
- iii) Sepoy Sadhur Singh, son of Santa Singh, Dehlon, Ludhiana.
- iv) Sepoy Harnam Singh Sodhi, son of Sawan Singh, Village Mahlsari, Tehsil Moga, Ferozepore.
- v) Sepoy Zafar Ali, son of Mohd. Ali Khan, Village Shahdara Kircha Jattan, Tehsil Shahdara, Sheikhpura.

- vi) Sepoy Gurbaksh Singh, son of Budh Singh, Village Kundal, Tehsil Fazilka, Ferozepore.
- vii) Sepoy Bagh Ali Khan son of Munshi Khan, Village Rehimpur, Tehsil Nakodar, Jullundur.
- viii) Sepoy Siraj-ud-din, son of Khair Din, Village Inside Shaunwale (Shereanwale) tehsil New Mohila Gate, Lahore.
- ix) Sepoy Kabul Singh, son of Thakar Singh, Village Dhuge, Tehsil Hoshiarpur.

6. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has decided that all 9 should be despatched to India and on disembarkation they should be dismissed from the Army.

7. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is further strongly of the opinion that, in the interests of the State, the central Government should then take action under the powers conferred upon them by the Defence of India Act, 1939, and should under section 26(I) (b) of that Act, direct that all 9 individuals be placed in detention for the duration on the war.

8. The continued presence of these men in Egypt is most undesirable and as they are therefore being returned to India I request that a decision regarding their detention after arrival in this country be made as soon as possible.

Signed
Lt. General.
C.G.S.
12.3.40.

Mr Morton has recommended that the ringleaders now being removed to India for dismissal from the Army should be arrested on arrival under the Defence of India Rules, thoroughly interrogated, and dealt with on their individual merits. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is of opinion that action should be taken under rule 26 (i) (b) of the rules framed under the Defence of India Act for the detention of all nine individuals for the duration of the war.

In my mind there is no question but that detention under the Defence of India Rules is the correct line to take. If these persons are allowed to remain at large, we can be certain that they will continue to be a source of grave danger both to the Army and to the peace of the Province. Organizations exist in the Punjab which are relying on Army deserters (including some of those of the 3/1st Punjab Regiment) and persons of the type involved in the Egypt trouble, to carry on a campaign of murder in the Province under cover of a civil disobedience movement, if such a movement should take shape. It would be unwise to allow these persons to remain at large even if he were under police surveillance. Restriction under the Defence of India Rules is, as experience has already shown us, quite inadequate as a means of rendering determined revolutionaries innocuous. The only really safe thing to do is to lock them up in jail.

Signed
Pilditch
15-3-40.

1. Background material for Docs 34, 36, 37, 38.



2: Sir Archibald Wavell to Lord Linlithgow

Linlithgow Collection
[NAI – Acc No. 2344]

From

H.E. Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell, G.C.B., C.M.G., M.C. Commander-in-Chief in India.

New Delhi, February 24th, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I have received a letter from Christie (No. 414/G.G./42, dated 22nd February 1943) in which he tells me that you would like to have my views as to the effect on the Indian Fighting Forces of the situation created by Gandhi's fast and the position in the event of his death.

2. So far we have had no indication that the attitude of the V.C.Os., N.C.Os., and men of the 'fighting' portion of the Indian Defence Forces will be any different from that hitherto consistently adopted in these matters.

That attitude can be described as either complete indifference or the feeling that the matter does not concern the Armed Forces.

In the event of Gandhi's death, I have no reason to think that there will be any material change in that attitude. I have, in fact, reason to believe that Gandhi's departure from this world would not be unwelcome to some, particularly senior V.C.Os., in that a source of embarrassment which showed signs of interfering with the vested interests of the 'Martial' classes had been removed.

As regards I.C.Os., so far we have only had the one case of the officer, at Ambala, who, after the August disturbances, indicated that his political views made it impossible for him to carry out orders involving action against Congress activities. We have seen nothing to indicate that I.C.Os., as a class have been affected, or are likely to allow the political situation to affect their attitude.

There is no doubt, however, that an increasing number hold strong nationalistic views but our impression is that they realise the necessity for defeating the Axis before India's 'freedom' can be fully achieved.

Some of them have undoubtedly joined the Army to gain social status with a view to taking part ultimately in politics, but we feel that as long as our control is firm, these are not likely to react openly to the present situation. One cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the individual I.C.O. who holds really strong personal views may not follow the lead of the Ambala gentleman, but I do not think that these will be other than isolated cases.

In the event of Gandhi's death it is of course possible that more may come to light who feel that they can no longer reconcile their personal views with military service, but I do not anticipate they will be in any great numbers.

3. The element that presents the greatest problem and is the most uncertain factor is the large number of personnel, such as clerks and technicians, recruited recently from the 'educated' politically minded classes.

Here again, we have had no definite indications, except among civilian clerks in the Secretariat, many of whom are obviously Congress sympathizers.

Both commissioned and subordinate personnel of the Indian Medical Service in particular are in this category and need watching.

1. What I have said above is based on the information available, and this warrants us regarding the situation on the whole as so far satisfactory.

It does not suggest that any serious deterioration is likely to follow Gandhi's death.

If there is deterioration it may follow within the next few months: but it is not likely to affect the rank and file and V.C.Os. of the fighting units of the Indian Armed Forces.

Yours sincerely,

A.P. Wavell.

3. Political agent, Eastern Rajputana states to the Dewan of Bundi state

Bharatpur Agencies (Rajputana States) Bundi State (Pol.) File No. 50
[Rajasthan State Archives]

D.O. No. 882/70/42-II

Most Secret

Bharatpur Agency
13.4.43

My Dear Robertson,

I enclose for the information of the Darbar/Bharatpur Government a copy of a most secret and personal D.O. letter No. 106743/1-G1, dated the 3rd April 1943, from Headquarters, General command, Agra, regarding the Congress plan to undermine the discipline and morale of the Army by means of intensified anti-British propaganda.

2. Will you kindly send me any relevant information which may be available for communication to the authorities concerned?

Yours sincerely,

A.A. Russell

To

A.W. Robertson, Esquire, OBE, DFC.,
Dewan, Bundi State

Enclosure

Copy of most secret and Personal D.O. No. 106743/1-G1, dated April 13, 1943, from H.Q. Central Command, Agra, to the Inspector General of Police, Ajmer-Merwara, and Police Assistant to the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana, Abu.

About a month ago G.H.Q., warned us that a possible development in the Congress Plan might be an attempt to undermine the discipline and morale of the Army by means of intensified anti British propaganda. During the past ten days there have been definite indications

of this development. In each case the theme has been the disparity in pay and conditions of service between British and Indian ranks. In one case the men involved were Brahmins from the United provinces and in another a Madrassi. None had more than a few months service. A further example of this propaganda was contained in para under 'Current comments' on page 4 of the 'Hindustan Times' of the 31st March.

We have no record in this H.Q. of any previous Congress or other attempt to use this insidious line of argument. Its danger is obvious and it appears to be directed against classes not enlisted in the Army in peace and is, therefore doubly dangerous. So far it is in its initial stages and if we can find and stop the source, no great harm should result. It is essential, however, that it should be stopped before it expands, and the Army commander will be very grateful for any assistance which you can give us in solving this problem. It is likely that other propaganda designed to achieve the same object will also appear. We and subordinate formations are taking all the action we can, and it will be a great help if you will send any relevant information you may obtain to this H.Q. and to H.Q. MHOW (I) AREA.

4. Dewan of Bundi to the political agent, Eastern Rajputana state (reply to the letter dt 13.4.1943— Doc 3)

Bharatpur Agencies (Rajputana States) Bundi State (Pol.) File No. 50
[Rajasthan State Archives]

Most Secret

D.O. No. R/574

Bundi

Dated the 21st April, '43

My dear Russell,

Reference: Your Most Secret D.O. No. 882/70/42-II, dated the 13th April, 1943, regarding the Congress plan to undermine the discipline and morale of the Army by means of intensified anti-British propaganda.

There is no information available in Bundi as to the source of this propaganda, nor has any such propaganda come to light here.

Yours sincerely,

A.W. Robertson

Lt. Colonel A.A. Russell, M.C.,
Political Agent,
Eastern Rajputana States,
Bharatpur.

Enclosure: I.G.s report

To
The Dewan Saheb,
Bundi State,
Bundi.

Dated Bundi the 18th April '43

Sir,

With reference to the attached, I have the honour to state that there is no information available in Bundi as to the source of this propaganda, and neither has any such propaganda come to light here so far.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Inspector General of Police.

5: Report on the situation in Punjab (extracts)

File No. 3/52/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Confidential

Extracts from the Report on the situation in the Punjab for the second half of April 1943.

Despite the fact that National War Front meetings continue to attract large audiences, recruitment figures are reported to be falling off locally: this is however attributable to preoccupation with harvesting and to the exhaustion of supplies of man power rather than to political causes. (The quality of such recruits as are now available is undoubtedly deteriorating, and a rise in the minimum acceptable standard seems desirable). The number of combatant deserters from the Army reported during March was 2,942. This represents a decrease of nearly 300 as compared with the figures for February, but the deserter problem generally is still far from being solved, and the measures so far taken to deal with it cannot yet be said to have produced satisfactory results'. . . .

6: Weekly Report from Ballia for the week ending July 24, 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files - 1943 - File No. 38
[Bihar State Archives]

1. *The War*

The war continues to excite no interest in Ballia. As I have several times before reported the

only theatre of war in which the local population is interested is the eastern one i.e. the eastern frontier of India and until there is some activity on that front there will continue to be a state of apathy as regards the war in Ballia. On the other hand I am of the opinion that the allied progress in Sicily and Russia does have the general effect of convincing the better instructed portion of the public that an allied victory is merely a matter of time and makes them less inclined to risk taking part in subversive activity which could only succeed if the British military position is seriously deteriorated.

7. Weekly Report from Ballia for the week ending August 7, 1943

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 38
[Bihar State Archives]

1. *The War*

Little interest continues to be taken in the progress of the war by the majority of people that the British advance in Sicily and the failure of the Germans to make headway in Russia are undoubtedly affecting the more intelligent of the population favourably. But I am still of the opinion that there will be little or no enthusiasm displayed in Ballia until some concrete advance is made in the east.

8. Communication sent to arrested Army officials (Mehman Singh and Udham Singh)

File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

8.2.1944

Notice under section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III) of 1944.

In pursuance of section 7 of Ordinance No. III of 1944, you *Mehman Singh* son of *Teja Singh* are informed that the grounds for your detention were that while serving in the Lucknow District Signals at Meerut, United Provinces, you were concerned in a plot which had the intention and objective of undermining the loyalty of members of His Majesty's Forces.

2. You are informed that you have a right to make a representation in writing against the order under which you are detained. If you wish to make such a representation, you should address it to the undersigned and forward it through the Superintendent of the jail as soon as possible.

(R. Tottenham)
Additional Secretary to the Government of India
Home Department,
New Delhi, the 8th February 1944.

No. 44/15/44 - Poll (1)

Notice under section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944).

In pursuance of section 7 of Ordinance No. III of 1944, you *Udham Singh* son of Wazir Singh are informed that the grounds for your detention were that while you were Granthi in the Lucknow District Signals at Meerut, United-Provinces you were concerned in a plot which had the intention and objective of undermining the loyalty of members of His Majesty's Forces.

2. You are informed that you have a right to make a representation in writing against the order under which you are detained. If you wish to make such a representation, you should address it to the undersigned and forward it through the Superintendent of the jail as soon as possible.

(R. Tottenham)
Additional Secretary to the Government of India
Home Department,
New Delhi, the 8th February 1944.

9. A case history of Mehman Singh dt 8.2.1944

File No. 44/81/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Relevant extract from the History ticket of Mehman Singh s/o Teja Singh caste Jat Sikh of Mullanpur Gharib Daj PS Chandi Garh Distt Ambala, ex-signalman No. 9681, 4th Indian Division Signal, now Security prisoner in the Lyallpur Distt Jail.

Distt Jail Mianwali

Remained in this Jail from 23.3.41 to 13.1.43.

14.1.43 Was received in the Muzaffar Garh sub Jail from the district jail Mianwali.
Muzaffar
Garh Sub Jail

1.3.43 Application of Mehman Singh for transfer to some other Jail was rejected vide Punjab Govt. letter No. 1060-Ji-43/14322 dated 27.2.43.

25.6.43 Application to engage for appeal in the High court Punjab Lahore about his detention under Habeas corpus Act rejected vide Punjab Govt. No. 4316 JL-43/39183 dated 8.12.43.

9.12.43 Application of Mehman Singh to keep his wife in Jail or release on parole rejected vide Punjab Govt. No. 15321-E.S./B./M. 448 dated 8.12.43.

23.5.44 Received in the Distt Jail Lyallpur from the Muzaffar Garh Sub Jail.
Lyallpur
Distt. Jail

30.5.44	Letter addressed to Manogu Prit Lari Risala, Prit Nagar sent to C.I.D. for censorship and posting.
6.6.44	One letter received from Ajit Singh of Patli duly censored by C.L.D. and delivered.

- 7.6.44 Letter addressed to Ajit Singh at Patli Distt Lahore sent to C.I.D. for censor and posting.
- 8.6.44 Risala Prit Lari received duly censored by C.I.D. and delivered.
- 19.6.44 Application regarding family allowance to I.G.P. allowed.
- 20.6.44 Risala Prit Lari received duly censored by C.I.D. and delivered.
- 24.6.44 One letter addressed to Arjan Singh Gargaj 114 Mcleod Road Lahore sent to C.I.D. for censor and posting.
- 30.6.44 A book *Soviet Russia* received duly censored by C.I.D. Lyallpur and delivered.
- 1.7.44 Letter addressed to Com Chanan Singh Dhut Kalan sent to C.I.D. for censor and posting.
- 11.7.44 Risala Prit Lari received duly censored by C.I.D. and delivered.
- 11.7.44 Letter received from Arjun Singh Gargaj duly censored by C.I.D. and delivered.
- 15.7.44 Application to Supdt Police reg the book 'Gharib Hindustan' sent.
- 28.7.44 Letters addressed to Chanan Singh Dhut Kalan and Ajit Singh Margindpuri sent to C.I.D. Punjab for censor and positing.
- 12.8.44 Letter to Ajit Singh Margindpuri sent to C.I.D. for censor and posting.
- 19.8.44 Letter from Ajit Singh Margindpuri censored by C.I.D. and delivered.
- 2.9.44 Letter addressed to Ajit Singh sent to C.I.D. for censor and posting.
- 9.9.44 Letter addressed to Managu Prit Lari sent to C.I.D. for censor and posting.
- 16.9.44 An application sent to Home Secretary Re. Jhatka meat.
- 19.9.44 Received Prit Lari duly censored by C.I.D.
- 20.9.44 Received one letter from Ajit Singh Gandhi duly censored by C.I.D.
- 29.9.44 Addressed a letter to Ajit Singh Ghandhi sent to C.I.D. for censor and posting.

10: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

A military draftsman who was going on active service from Bareilly was found to have 725 objectionable leaflets in his house and it is presumed that he was to distribute these at the front.

Report has just been received of an affray between coloured African troops and villagers in Jhansi district, in which one vil' ger was shot dead and another shot in the hip. Apparently, the cause of the trouble was the African solders' interference with a girl. An unfortunate incident has also been reported from Meerut. Two military officers returning from Meerut to Delhi at night by car were held up by a string of carts. One of the officers fired his revolver killing one bullock and injuring others. The other officer is said to have been wearing 'tabs' and is therefore presumed to have been a Senior Staff Officer. Both the Commissioner and the District Magistrate have commented on the unfortunate effects of this incident on the war effort.

11: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

National War Front: Reports of National War Front activity vary somewhat from district to district, but taken on the whole there has been improvement in recent weeks, and, owing to orders of Government issued not long ago, there is now more touch between the district officials and the War Front. Many meetings have been held and some of them were attended by district officers. The number of Raksha Dals formed by the National War Front has increased in many districts, but there is some scepticism about the extent to which they would actually work in practice, nevertheless there have been occasions when they have done good work. From Chota Nagpur it is reported that the War Front have agreed to supervise the work of village railway patrols. The question of securing greater assistance from them in this respect, is under the consideration of Government.

12: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The atrocities committed on prisoners of war by the Japanese were the subject matter of leading articles in both *New Orissa* and the *Visalandera Vani*, an English-Telugu paper published in South Orissa. The latter paper remarked that these tales of barbarous treatment come as a shocking reminder of the pressing necessity for carrying on the war to a speedy and successful conclusion. The *New Orissa* devoted a leading article to the landing of United States Forces in the Marshall Islands, which it described as a breach in Japan's defence. There has been little in the way of comment on operations in the Arakan. The air-raid which occurred in South Orissa has not received undue prominence, and the newspapers have confined themselves to official accounts of the incident. Editorial comment has complimented the people concerned on their maintenance of morale and has stressed the need for keeping up interest in the A.R.P. Services.



13: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab states for the second half of January 1944

Govt. of Punjab (Pol) File No. 431-P(S)/44
[Punjab State Archives]

Law and Order

Satisfactory progress has been made in rounding up military deserters & particularly good results have been secured by the Special Staff appointed by the Patiala Authorities for this purpose. During the fortnight under report, the staff arrested 20 Deserters & persuaded 50 others to return to their units. A report of the work done by this staff since its formation shows that it had accounted for 37 Deserters, 6 proclaimed offenders, 7 absconders & 11 persons in other cases & had also succeeded in recovering a number of firearms and hand grenades. Some of these weapons were to have been imported from the North-West Frontier Province revealing the existence of private smuggling.

14: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Reference has been made in the Press Adviser's report to the export of cattle by military contractors to provide food for the troops. This is a matter which has been causing the Provincial Government the gravest anxiety and it has been found necessary to impose restrictions on the export. The trouble is that military contractors are prepared to pay almost any amount for animals, and the result is that the poorer cultivators, who are hard hit by the present economic situation, are prepared to sell their plough-cattle at the high prices offered. Milkcows are also being sold in large numbers. If this continues, the effect on agriculture will be disastrous, and it will not be possible to keep under cultivation even land which is normally cultivated quite apart from land which has been brought under cultivation under the 'Grow More Food' campaign. Large scale export has also made it difficult to meet local demands from Military and Air Force units stationed in Orissa. A conference has been called by H.C. Eastern Command to discuss the situation and a representative from this province has been sent to attend, but it is doubtful whether this province will be able to do much to help in the way of large exports of cattle.



15: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Army and the Civil Population

4. A few more cases of minor clashes between soldiers and the civil population have come to notice. In the Tippera district West African soldiers entered a villager's hut and demanded women. The villagers objected and drove the soldiers away, one of them being injured. A similar case occurred in the same district when a British soldier tried to enter a villager's house for reasons unknown. He was resisted and fired two shots from his revolver wounding the house-owner. In Calcutta, four pathan sepoy are alleged to have gone to a piece-goods and hosiery shop and had an argument with the shop-keeper over the price of a jersey with the result that one of the sepoy assaulted the shopkeeper and later came back with a party of soldiers and wrecked the shop. From the Watganj police-station, also in Calcutta, it is reported that four British soldiers assaulted a police constable while on duty at the Kidderpore Bridge and seized his rifle. The constable raised an alarm and two of the soldiers were subsequently taken into custody. A ticket collector at Burdwan was assaulted by a British soldier for asking two other soldiers who had second class tickets to leave a first class compartment. Finally, on the 22nd February, a burning rag soaked in kerosene oil was thrown on the thatched roof of an American Army Hospital. The fire was quickly extinguished. The culprit has not been traced.

16: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Opposition to the Savings Drive has been reported from certain districts and the district Magistrate of Patna has been informed that the ex-Advocate General has been advising Congress workers to oppose the Drive. A meeting arranged by the Subdivisional Officer of Barh had to be abandoned, and a man was arrested at Kathanpura in Bihar police station while distributing prejudicial leaflets against the Savings Drive. Another person is being proceeded against on a written complaint from a collecting agent that he was going round obstruction the Savings Drive. The District Magistrate of Darbhanga reports that there is a great deal of opposition to be overcome. It is reported from Bhagalpur that communists are opposing the Savings Drive in Gopalpur police station. The Sadar Subdivisional officer of Monghyr District received a cyclostyled pamphlet from a Sarpanch of Baraihya urging people not to invest money in Savings Certificates or Bonds. Such propaganda in the matter of the Savings Drive has also been reported from Chotanagpur. It looks as if congress men and leftist politicians generally consider it is a good chance of getting back into the picture.

Recruitment — In the Patna Division recruitment is slack on account of the prosperity of rural areas, and the comparatively unattractive terms of service. The arrest of deserters and their subsequent disposal is giving a lot of trouble, and a suggestion has been made to establish a Clearing Station for deserters at Patna. In Ranchi recruitment has been disappointing.

17: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Army and Civil Population

There has been no change in the satisfactory relations existing between the forces and the civil population, and in many areas where the army has been engaged on famine relief measures relations are particularly good. Further incidents have been reported between members of the forces and civilians, but these cannot be taken as typical of the general situation. The most serious case is a series of highway robberies alleged to have been committed by military personnel using military trucks on the Jessore, Taki, Barrackpore and Krishnagar roads. An enquiry is being held into the matter, and a report has been sent to Eastern command Headquarters. There were two or three incidents connected with women in one of which an airman of the R.A.F. was killed by a Muslim cultivator whose sister he had outraged. The remaining cases occurred as the result of thefts and disputes with shopkeepers or prostitutes.

18: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

2. War

On the 14th of April, between the hours of 4 and 5 P.M., when the citizens of Bombay were going about their lawful business without any particular thought of war or death or destruction, they heard two shattering explosions in the docks and saw great columns of smoke in the air weaving patterns of incredible beauty. Thus did war come into Bombay at a time and in a manner which no one – not even the enemy – could have expected. The same night, a dumb city watched from hill top and terrace long sheets of angry flame and knew it was not the action of the enemy but of a tragic mischance.

If one asked the man in the street to-day what were his reactions to the war during the last fortnight he would probably say something connected with explosions and fires of last Friday. There he would be deceiving himself. Such reactions as have developed from that tragedy pertain to the current fortnight. Last fortnight, although people have now temporarily forgotten

it, they were thinking, such of them as think about the war at all, of an entirely different subject-viz-the war on the Assam Burma frontier which held public attention to the exclusion of every other theatre of War.

It would be correct to say that public reason was a mixture of anger and bewilderment. The anger arose out of the manner in which news was given out regarding the operations and bewilderment at its contents. As was reported in my last letter people here had accepted at its face value the commander-in-chief's picture of enemy operations and were not disposed to regard them as anything more serious than a border foray by small forces. They were not prepared to be told that the enemy was much stronger than was first thought or that it was necessary for allied troops to retreat long distances or that Imphal was almost in a state of siege. There grew very uneasy feeling – which still exists – that our generals have been merely boasting about how clever they have become in jungle fighting and that in fact they have a good deal to learn from a tough and intelligent enemy. It was when people were in this state of confusion that they were told that the retreat of the 17th Division was a triumphant hurdle race with flags flying and the enemy quite disconsolate. The general view here is that the men in the South East Asia Command responsible for this kind of publicity have an entirely inadequate knowledge of Indian psychology and seem also to have a quite distorted sense of humour. After the examples of England and Russia which have seen many and costly retreats but have turned from the imminence of defeat to the certainty of a victory, people are not afraid of retreats but they are very touchy about the manner in which these retreats are announced to them.

19: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

Dissatisfaction with the progress of events is the general reaction to the recent fighting on the Indo-Burmese border. The seeming lack of initiative on the part of the Allies is not understood and there is doubt whether even now the Allies are not underrating the Japs. Criticism of the High Command is becoming noticeable and there is an increased tendency to contrast the comparatively minor activities of the Allies on the Burmese front (and also in Italy) with the dazzling successes of the Russians which have made a deep impression throughout the country. Morale is steady and the Commander-in-Chief's statement in the Legislative Assembly had helped to allay needless apprehensions, but if Imphal were to fall or the Japs were to secure other marked successes the psychological effect would be bad. Complaints are made about the brevity and inconclusive nature of the South East Asia command communiques and the scrappiness of the news given out on the British and Indian Radios.



20: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

3. Recruiting results continue to be poor and during the months of February and March only 994 recruits were secured as against 2,422 for the corresponding period last year. The best results achieved have been in the Jubbulpore Division, which may perhaps be due to the unfavorable crop situation which prevails there.

21: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Recruiting

The drop in recruiting referred to in my letter of 4th April still continues. The total figure for February was 505 as against 717 for January 1944 and 1,015 for December 1943. The decline was general in all districts except in West Khandesh and Kaire which showed some improvement. The question of securing better results is engaging the serious attention of Government.

22: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

4. The District Magistrate of Burdwan reports that clashes between American soldiers and civilians are becoming frequent in Burdwan and that more military police are required there. It appears that in one of these cases two drunken American soldiers created a considerable disturbance on the evening of the 16th April while searching for women and that an angry crowd collected and protested. A dangerous situation was averted only by the timely arrival of the police who arrested the soldiers and removed them. In another case, two American soldiers and a railway employee are alleged to have raided the refreshment room on the Burdwan railway station shortly after midnight on the 12th April. They are said to have threatened the staff with a large knife and a revolver, to have seized all the drink they could lay their hands on and then to have decamped, committing several assaults on outsiders as they left. In Calcutta on the 19th April, an American coloured soldier armed with a tommy

gun visited a prostitutes' quarter of the city and is said to have made obscene gestures and remarks in the street. Some of the local residents protested at his behaviour and stones were thrown at him. The soldier then fired his tommy gun at a young mistry who was wounded and later admitted to hospital. The soldier ran away after the incident and has not been traced. At Santahar on the 21st April, an American soldier is alleged to have fired five shots with a pistol at a British sergeant in the course of a dispute in the Railway Transport Office. Other incidents, all of a minor nature, took place mainly in the Chittagong Division where West Africans seemed to have been largely involved.

23: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab States for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

36. Military deserters were arrested in the states of Kalsia, Patiala, Kapurthala, Malerkotla and Faridkot during the period under report. It is disturbing to find nowadays that so many dacoits are in possession of service weapons.

24: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour for Military Works

About 1,300 labourers were recruited for the Madras Labour at Avadi but a large number have deserted and there are only about 900 on rolls.

In view of the high priority assigned by the Army authorities for Ceylon labour, the following districts have been asked to stop further recruitment for the Civil Pioneer Force and to concentrate on recruitment of labour for Ceylon.

Trichinopoly, Salem, Tinnevely, Madura, Ramnad, East Godavari, South Arcot, West Godavari, Guntur, Kistna, Nellore, Anantapur, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Chittoor.

The Secretary, Provincial Labour Supply Committee, Madras is now touring in Salem District and has so far sent 26 recruits. As recruitment was commenced only in the fortnight the progress made so far is not appreciable.

In Vizagapatam about 2,500 workers in the Burma Evacuee Labour Camp are engaged in the military Transit Area, while the Naval Base Labour Camp is supplying about 1,500 workers for works in the Naval Base.

Law and Order

A fairly serious clash between Assamese sepoy and civilians is reported from Ranipet in the

North Arcot district. Following a dispute a party of sepoy raided a police station, assaulted and injured two sub-inspectors and some police Constables and destroyed a number of records. The matter is being looked into by a Court of Enquiry.

25: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Recruiting and other War activities have continued as usual, but in general the reports continue to refer to the dearth at present of suitable recruits. This is inevitable after several years of intensive recruiting in an area where recruitment is still on a voluntary basis and primarily from an agricultural population which at the present time is very prosperous compared with what it was before.

26: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Commissioner of Tirhut reports that two soldiers whose numbers and names were taken, were over-heard by an assistant Sub-Inspector of the Security Section talking in an anti-Government strain in the train. The matter is being taken up with the Unit concerned.

Amenities for troops – Lady Rutherford is organizing work by Indian ladies and has already had a considerable measure of success. Regular visits to the wounded soldiers in the hospitals in Dinapore by Indian ladies as well as by European ladies are now taking place. The Amenities Committee of the War Committee has made considerable grants to the Army Welfare Departments for clubs, canteens etc.

The National War Front. As usual, varying reports of the activities of the National War Front are received. The Commissioner of Tirhut says that his own impression is that 'the only usefulness of the National War Front is that its leaders are men of influence. The activities are practically nil'. The District Magistrate of Patna says that there have been more meetings of the National War Front lately but he is doubtful about their value, because in some of them there is considerable criticism of Government policy and the speakers seem to have spent a good deal of time in criticising Government for not releasing the Congress leaders. Further reports about these activities of the Nation War Front are being obtained.

2. Political: Congress – The release of Mr Gandhi has been very well received throughout the province and it is generally regarded as an act of statesmanship by His Excellency the Viceroy. The only discordant element seems to be the Congress Socialist Party, whose members, there is reason to believe, hoped to exploit the situation which the death of

Mr Gandhi in jail would have offered to them. There is no doubt that the release has led to hopes among certain political circles that there will be some sort of reconciliation with the Congress, and the ambitious see a chance again of getting back to office and power. At the same time, some of the strongly pro-Congress Editors, when they were called for a warning that they should not make too capital out of the news, made it clear that they hoped that Mr Gandhi himself would be little more reasonable than he had been before he was detained. A meeting was held in Patna, presided over by a leading Bihar politician and Public man, Rai Bahadur Shyamnandan Sahay, C.I.E., at which demands were made for the release of Jawahar Lal Nehru and the formation of a Congress Ministry.

There was a serious incident in the Santal Parganas when a section of the 8th Punjab Regiment under a Naik appears to have been sent to carry out a patrol inside the Santal Parganas. Apparently the patrol should have kept to the railway line, but entered the Damin-I-Koh, away from the railway line. No previous intimation was given to any of the local officers in this provinces that the patrol was going and it should certainly not have been permitted to go into Santal Parganas under the charge of only a Naik. The patrol is alleged to have entered a small village, to have cleared out the men of the village and to have committed rape on two Santal Women in the village. Fortunately the Deputy Commissioner, who was on tour in the area, happened to pass through the village a few hours afterwards when the whole story was told. He took measures to try to secure the arrest of the patrol before they could do any more mischief, but the men refused to permit themselves to be arrested by the police officers and ultimately after telegraphic information had been sent to Burdwan, they were received there by officers and armed escort under were placed under arrest.

27. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Recruiting

The drop in recruiting referred to in my letter of 4th April still continues. The total figure for March was 476 as against 505 in February and 717 in January 1944, His Excellency the Governor is reviewing the whole position afresh with a view to considering what measures should be adopted to stimulate recruiting.

28. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

4. A disturbance occurred at Lalmanirhat in Rangpur when some American soldiers went

round a village firing revolvers and demanding women. No one was injured, but one or two persons are reported to have been roughly handled. The soldiers were arrested by the military police. At Shamnagar in 24-Parganas a military lorry containing aviation spirit collided with a railway engine at the level crossing to the south of the railway station and the lorry burst into flames. Two men including the lorry driver were burnt to death and the engine driver and fireman and seven other persons were injured.

Several cases have been reported of Indian and West African soldiers committing trespass and theft in the Chittagong and Tippera districts, but, on the whole, the number of incidents reported has shown a welcome decline.

29: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Reports from areas regarding recruiting and allied activities continue to tell of disappointing, and in some cases even poor, results. The general complaint is that recruiting for the Army is well nigh impossible when ordinary labour is so much more profitable. To counteract this some District Officers are instituting schemes of rewards by landlords of land for cultivation or remissions of rent to those who join the Army, but as regards the latter it is putting a financial burden on the landlords which is of arguable justification. The marriage season has of course also had a deterrent effect on recruiting both for the Army and for the labour force recruited by the Gorakhpur. Labour in Assam is also partly responsible for the fall in labour recruits.

30: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Recruiting

Recruiting figures for the first five months of this year have been consistently far below those for the last two years. As stated in previous letters this is a matter to which His Excellency has given repeated and anxious consideration, but unfortunately no quick remedy seems possible. The number of military works in the Province and the intensity with which factories are working are providing a wide field of employment, and the rates of wages are high. In fact the wages in textile mills are so high it is a matter of some surprise that Mahratta recruits from the Konkan—who form the bulk of textile labour—offer themselves at all as recruits. The difficulty of the food situation in the heavy recruiting areas is another serious deterrent. The provincial Government is doing what it can to assist families of soldiers, but this help is

necessarily very limited and unspectacular. It appears that nothing short of providing rations for soldiers' families, a task clearly impossible for the Provincial Government with its limited resources, will dispel the anxiety that is keeping numbers of potential recruits away from the army. Various other suggestions-individually perhaps of limited importance but collectively likely to be effective – are under active consideration.

31: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Recruiting, both ordinary and technical, continues to be disappointing on the whole, though the Unao district must be quoted as an exception to this remark. It is most unfortunate that the good efforts of that district should have received a setback as a result of an unfortunate motor-lorry accident in which 42 enrolled recruits were involved while being taken to Lucknow. Three of them died of injuries and all the rest were injured in one way or another, though many of them not seriously, and practically all have now joined their units. One noticeable feature is the large percentage of rejections which is becoming almost as noticeable in the case of ordinary recruits as in the case of candidates for commissioned rank. One Commissioner remarks that all the 9 candidates who recently attended the divisional selection board for emergency commissions were rejected and he had never seen poor material. He considers that neither psychiatrists nor changes in the selecting bodies can solve this problem of supply and the suggestion is made that its solution possibly lies in promoting young and tried V.C.Os to commissioned rank. It is also suggested that less insistence might be laid on English as the sole medium of instruction. This last point is not an uncommon complaint and there is a good deal of feeling that the present system of selection, while possibly eminently suitable for selecting young British officers in Britain, is not suitable for selecting young Indian officers in India, or at least that the western method has not been sufficiently adapted for India by Indians who know the customs in India and that much better results might well be obtained by at least having the tests done, not in English but in the mother tongues of the candidates.

32: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Recruitment to the Armed forces has been going on satisfactorily, though one or two districts showed a slight fall, the labour units going to Ceylon. On the other hand Malabar, one of the heaviest recruiting districts shows an increase for May over the figures for the previous month. A programme of Special Recruiting Weeks, has been adopted by some districts and

seems to be proving very successful. With the agricultural season starting however in the next few weeks, a fall in figures is to be expected.

Military Labour

Recruitment to Ceylon Units has been very encouraging. Over five units have been completed and the total strength is over 5,400, Ramnad and Tinnevely districts especially providing large numbers. In fact the collecting centre is full and owing to want of accommodation, collectors are being asked to stop sending men to the centre for the time being. In Vizagapatam 211 men have been recruited for a labour unit for the Vizagapatam Transit area and the labour camps also continued to provide men for the Naval base and the P.W.D. works. But 2,000 more workers are needed for these camps and efforts are being made to provide them.

33: Anti-Recruitment Propaganda

Govt. of Madras Pub (Gen.) Dept 1943 – File G.O. No. 117
[TNA]

R.C.D.1.929/44M. Proceedings of the District Magistrate, Tricky, Dated 27.6.44.

W.H. Mitchell, Esquire, B.A., Dt. Magistrate. Trichinapalli

Sub: Defence of India Rules – Prejudicial Act by Subramania Padayachi of Perambalur – Sanction of Prosecution.

Ref: Letter No. Pdl.2/44 dated 22.6.44 from the Tahsildar, Perambalur.

On 15-6-44, one Subramanya Padayachi, a petition writer at Perambatur went to the shed where the coolies recruited for the Ceylon Labour Force were kept for despatching to the collecting Centre Nathapettai, abused the coolies and the Recruiting officials in vulgar language and asked the coolies to run away saying that they were not recruited as coolies for Ceylon Labour Force but were taken for enrolment in the regular army and terrified them by saying that they would get their pay in the shape of enemy shells in Ceylon, as a consequence of which three coolies disappeared. The above action of Subramania Padayachi has impeded the war efforts and his prejudicial act amounts to an offence under Rule 38(1) (a) read with Rule 34(6) (d) and (h) of Defence of India Rules. Hence sanction is accorded for the prosecution of Subramanya Padayachi for an offence under Rule 38(1) (a) read with Rule 34(6) (d) and (h) of the Defence of India Rules.

Signed
G.S. Sundarayya
For District Magistrate.
Tinn. 28.6.44.

To The District Superintendent of Police, with the records of Enquiry and copy of Tahsildar's report dated 22.6.44 for necessary action. The Assistant Public Prosecutor (I) may please be asked to conduct the prosecution.

Copy to the Sub Divisional Magistrate, Ariyalur and Tahsildar, Perambalur
Copy Submitted to Under Secretary to Government Public Department Fort St George, Madras
for favour of approval by Government.

34: Army Mutineers in Egypt – Official Notings (dt 7.7.44) (extracts)

File No. 44/81/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

(Intelligence Bureau, H.D.)

A brief background note may assist the consideration of this case. The mutiny in Egypt in the M.T., it is believed was not the result of deep-laid enemy or political plot. It happened mainly from dissatisfaction, fear, organizational defects, and discipline which was not all that it should have been. Dissatisfaction was supplied in very large quantities by the reservists who had been called up. Most of these men had found civil employment, and on having to rejoin had no time nor were they able in other ways to settle their private affairs satisfactorily. For example, some were plying their own lorries which they had taken on hire purchase and they lost them because they could not pay in one sum the amounts outstanding against them. At the same time, the majority of them had been 'living soft' and there were very few who wished to face the dangers of modern War.

Political taint crept into the matter through the 25th M.T. Company. This Company had been stationed in Meerut and it had contact with the Communist cell there. This resulted in some of the men imbibing ideas which prepared them to conduct themselves in ways subversive of good discipline. From Meerut the 25th M.T. Company went to Poona strengthened by the advent of disgruntled reservists. There they witnessed trouble in a Punjab Regiment and the fact which appealed to some most was that those who made trouble escaped going overseas. A desertion plot was hatched in the 25th M.T. Company but was frustrated. The Company went overseas to the accompaniment of arrangements which showed that little trust was imposed in it. From Egypt Sikhs of the Regiment which had given trouble in Poona were sent back to India. This apparently emphasised the view already held that troublemaking brought its own reward.

There is little doubt that in the atmosphere prevailing almost any excuse would have been seized on. Sikhs were in the majority and to the fore in the manufacture of trouble.

The Sikh helmet business almost provided an opportunity, but the Sikhs had their way about not wearing helmets and this failed. Then came the loading and unloading orders. They affected many and furnished an opportunity which was too good to be missed. The trouble which resulted was serious and was described in one report as immobilizing a whole division.

Those men who openly defied discipline were dealt with by court-martial. The nine men whose cases are now under consideration owe 'intelligence' for the detention action taken against them. This intelligence was secured by a section of Punjab C.I.D. officers sent to investigate the trouble when it broke out. Working through agents information was secured which alleged that the nine men in question were the ring-leaders and, keeping in the

background, were responsible for what had taken place. Some significance must necessarily be attached to the fact that the action taken furnished a complete cure and there has been no further trouble.

Two of these nine men — Partap Singh and Teja Singh — are sentenced to one year's imprisonment and served their sentences before they were detained under Section 26 of the defence of India Rules. The other seven were interrogated in India by an officer of the Punjab C.I.D. Notes on all nine are attached and in these, in the cases of the seven, the result of the interrogation is mentioned¹.

In considering these cases the following facts have to be kept in mind:

- (1) Before detention the men were discharged and are no longer in the Army.
- (2) A decision has been taken that men who were sentenced are not to be detained in Security interests after serving their sentences. These nine men have been in prison for four years. It would seem that a fair decision would be to keep in detention only those whose records justify the view that they would constitute a greater danger to Security than those who have been released as a result of the decision mentioned above. Harnam Singh Sodhi, Bagh Ali, and Siraj-ud-Din seem to fall clearly enough within this category. In Teja Singh's case the alleged Meerut activity goes against him and the fact that he is resident of a State² would increase the difficulties of keeping any kind of a watch on him if released. It would therefore seem that some grounds exist for continuing his detention also.

It is suggested that the others may be released and that the Punjab should be asked to keep an eye on them. It would also help if the Punjab submitted a report on their behaviour every three months for the next year. Such reports will show whether there is anything in the apprehensions which the Punjab have expressed in opposing such releases and will help materially when the cases of those who continue to be detained have to be further considered.

It should not be thought that the Bureau considers that the fears the Punjab has voiced are groundless. The Bureau gave very nearly the same reasons in support of the recommendation it made that persons who had served their sentences should be detained and not released. That recommendation was not accepted. The recommendations made in the present case are framed to fall within the broader policy which Government's earlier decision indicated.

The Director has not seen this case, but it has been discussed with him and what has been said has his general approval.

Home Deptt. (Mr Sahay)

(W.N.P. Jenkin)
Deputy Director (C).
D.I.B. U.O. No. 32/A.I./44, dated 7-7-44.

1. Not printed but see Docs. 36 & 44.
2. Kapurthala State.



35: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Recruitment

The present is normally a slack season for recruitment, but there is no doubt that recruitment both to army and to the military police and other police forces has fallen off, largely owing to the greatly increased wages which have been paid even for unskilled labour. The terms offered for unskilled labour recruited for military works, viz. a rupee a day for 6 months and all found, are very attractive. The Provincial Government are considering an increase in the pay of the lower ranks of the police, both in order to stimulate recruitment and to remove dissatisfaction at the low rates of pay in these times.

36: Official Notings – Army Mutineers' case history (8.7.44)

File No. 44/81/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

D.I.B.'s note above¹ refers to the cases of the following nine R.I.A.S.C. security prisoners in detention:

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. Waryam Singh | 6. Kabul Singh |
| 2. Sadhu Singh | 7. Partap Singh |
| 3. Harnam Singh | 8. Teja Singh |
| 4. Zafar Ali | 9. Bagh Ali. |
| 5. Siraj-ud-Din | |

I place below the individual case files of each prisoner.² These were referred to D.I.B./General Staff in March 1944 for comment on the representations made by the prisoners. D.I.B. and General Staff were at that time unanimous in recommending that none should be released from detention.

2. We have throughout in this case been handicapped by lack of any precise statement of the grounds for detention against the individual prisoner concerned. A general statement of the case on which action was taken is in our file No. 98/40 – Poll (I) placed below,³ this is concerned more however with the general circumstances than with the individual case against each suspect. Our file No. 44/43/42 – Poll (I)⁴ is also placed below, it will be seen that the case was not actually reviewed by the Dain Committee⁵, the principal reason in being the impossibility of producing the full records of the cases before the Committee (notes pages 8-11).⁶ Such material as was available to the Committee was examined by Sir John Dain, however, and his rough comments at pages 4/c are of interest.⁷

D.I.B. has now added brief notes on each of these nine prisoners, which contain among other things an indication of the result of their subsequent interrogation which we have examined and it is not easy to assess the relative merits of information from the original police reports and later information obtained through interrogation, but in the absence of any comment indicating unreliability under interrogation, considerable weight must I think be attached to the latter. On this basis, there certainly seems little to substantiate the original suggestion about Jamadar Waryam Singh, Sepoy Sadhu Singh, Sepoy Zafar Ali or Sepoy Kabul Singh, that they were ring leaders in the mutiny. The indication in the case of Sepoy Bagh Ali is also not particularly clear. Neither Sepoy Partap Singh nor Sepoy Teja Singh appear to have made statements. D.I.B.'s proposal that all except Harnam Singh Sodhi, Bagh Ali, Siraj-ud-Din, Teja Singh should be released is based largely on the decision that the court martial prisoners sentenced for participation in the same mutiny should not be detained after serving their sentence. The jail Section file No. 85/43-Jails on this subject is also placed below^a and attention is invited to pages 8-14 of notes. The present position is I understand that the following prisoners have already been released:

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Puran Singh. | 6. Najjar Singh. |
| 2. Chand Singh. | 7. Gurdeo Singh. |
| 3. Balwant Singh. | 8. Karnail Singh. |
| 4. Karnail Singh. | 9. Jagjit Singh. |
| 5. Karnail Singh. | 10. Daulat Singh. |

I think we must accept the force of this argument, it would be extremely difficult for us legitimately to exhibit ourselves as satisfied that the further detention of all these prisoners was necessary in the face of evidence that their more active co-conspirators had already been set free and had not caused any disturbance or acted in any prejudicial manner. We may I think therefore accept D.I.B.'s recommendation for the further detention of Harnam Singh Sodhi, Bagh Ali and Siraj-ud-Din. I am not so happy about the case of Teja Singh, against whom the evidence seems very slight and I should have thought that Kapurthala State could probably have looked after him. In the time at our disposal, however, it will be virtually impossible to make the necessary arrangements and I would therefore accept D.I.B.'s recommendation in his case also.

4. I have linked below the three C.I.H. case of Udham Singh, Mehman Singh and Thakar Singh, since H.M. has expressed a wish to consider the matter further on receiving D.I.B.'s further recommendations. It will be seen however that these further recommendations are purely concerned with the R.I.A.S.C. cases and do not touch the C.I.H. cases at all.

8.7.44.

(S.J.L. OLVER)

-
- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 1. | Doc. 34 |
| 2, 3, 4 and 6. | These are references to 'es which are not printed. |
| 5. | See also Doc. 38 - reference to Dain Committee. |
| 7 and 8. | Not printed. |



37: Official Notings regarding Waryam Singh (dt 15.7.1944-17.7.1944) (extracts)

File No. 44/11/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Home Dept.

As directed by H.M., an order extending the detention of Waryam Singh was issued. The case is now resubmitted for further examination.

2. Attention is invited to

- (a) The brief statement of the case at flag 'S'¹
- (b) The full statement of Waryam Singh under interrogation at flag 'P'; significant portions of this statement have been sidelined;²
- (c) The brief notes on his case by Sir John Dain at flag 'Q'; these were recorded on admittedly incomplete evidence;³
- (d) Grounds of detention communicated to Waryam Singh at serial No. 1;⁴
- (e) Representation in reply to this communication at serial No. 2;⁵ and
- (f) Recommendation by General Staff Branch at page 3 ante.⁶

3. There is not in my opinion sufficiently clear evidence to establish that Waryam Singh was a real ringleader in the mutiny or that he would now if released resume prejudicial activities. I would recommend his release under suitable restrictions.

15.7.44.

(S.J.L. Olver)

Though little solid evidence has been quoted against him it is difficult for us to question the verdict of those who investigated the affair that he was a ringleader of some sort. But there is no answer to the fact that even if he had been convicted and sentenced to 4 years (which was the sentence some of the convicts got), he would have been released now. His application, his conduct in Indore and his attitude during interrogation. (see the portion marked at flags)⁷ do not indicate that he is likely to be a serious danger to security.

He should be released and restricted to his village.

V. Sahay

17-7-44

H.M.

Jemadar Waryam Singh s/o Kalu Singh Jat of V. Kulachaur, District Gujrat, Punjab.

It was reported that he was thoroughly unreliable and disaffected. It was said that he had advised the Sikh leaders of the agitation to spread the infection among the Hindus and Muhammadans so that the Sikhs should not be 'badnamed' for the unrest. He was lending the movement his full moral support.

Was listed as a ringleader.

Used to hold secret meetings with members of his party. Ex-Naik Sadhu Singh's statements was inclined to whitewash Waryan Singh and none of the detents interrogated at Belgaum named him as a ringleader.

When the Belgaum interrogations commenced, Waryam Singh was the only man who did not adopt a defiant attitude. According to his statement he tried to dissuade his men from joining the agitation and swore that he had no hand in the trouble. He admitted his previous refusal to name the ringleaders, giving as his reason that he was told he would have to appear as a witness in the court-martial proceedings; he would have had to swear on the Granth Sahib and yet his evidence would be only hear-say.

His interrogation did not establish whether he was in fact a ringleader.

Waryam Singh served for seven years in Meerut. The police had nothing against him prior to enlistment.

1. Waryam Singh

Allegations — ‘Thoroughly unreliable, disaffected and a ringleader.’ ‘Believed to have advised other Sikh leaders in an attempt to spread infection among Hindus and Moslems so that Sikhs might not bear full responsibility for the unrest.’ ‘Said to have lent the movement his full moral support.’

Outstanding Fact — Not a jot or little of evidence of any kind in support of this.

Only two facts about W.S. emerge

- (a) He tried to dissuade Sikhs from resorting to hunger-strike in this affair,
- (b) He undertook to prevent Gurubaksh Singh from visiting lines of 25 M.T. but failed to do so.

There is absolutely nothing else. ‘Spreading infection’. It is clear that Moslems at least were equally and simultaneously affected. No question of spreading infection.

W.S. was not personally affected by loading order, He must have long service and a pension in prospect.

The above allegations cannot be accepted without some evidence.

1. See Docs 34, 36, 44 & 47

2, 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7. Not printed.

38: Official Notings — Regarding review of cases of Mutineers (dt 15.7.1944–Oct.1944) (extracts)

File No. 44/81/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

... Extension orders have issued. As directed by H.M., the cases of these nine R.I.A.S.C. prisoners are now resubmitted for further examination.

2. The individual cases of each prisoner are linked below. This file deals with the general background of the case and attention may be invited to the following notes, in the order given:

- a) Notes dated 12.3.40.¹ In the General Staff, with D.I.B.’s comment thereon dated 15.3.40.² This — and no more — was the information on which action was originally taken against seven of the present nine prisoners; to this group of ‘ringleaders’ were subsequently

added Pratap Singh and Teja Singh (relevant notes are on the individual files of these two prisoners).³

- b) Report of the officer who investigated the mutiny in Egypt. (Mr Morton). The proceedings of the Court of Enquiry and the various appendices referred to in Mr Morton's note are not available. (I understand that these records are not in G.H.Q. here but are in Mid East where of course enquiry took place). The 'Diary of Events' mentioned by Mr Morton is however in the same collection and is worth looking at.
- c) General comments by Sir John Dain.⁴ It has not been possible from the file to trace exactly what material was submitted to Sir John Dain when it was proposed that his Committee should review these cases. It is clear from internal evidence, however, that the material was extremely incomplete and in fact the entire proposal to review these cases was dropped largely on account of the difficulty in securing complete records; in particular, it seems clear that Sir John Dain was not shown the full interrogation statements which we now have in seven out of the nine cases. The 'notes on particular cases' referred to in para. 12 of Sir John Dain's note have been placed on the individual files, they are not of much value, except as a commentary on the incompleteness of the material hitherto assembled regarding these people.
- d) D.I.B.'s background note at pages 1-3 - ante.⁵
- e) Letter No. S-1692 EDSB/3(3) 18 dated 22.6.44. from the Punjab Government.⁶

It will be seen that original action against these men was taken on the view expressed by the investigating officer and Court of inquiry, and accepted by General Staff, that these persons were ring leaders in the mutiny. This contention has never, except possibly in the cases of Harnam Singh Sodhi, Bagh Ali and Siraj-ud-din referred to in Mr Jenkin's note of 7.7.44, been supported by very solid evidence, and the individual statements placed on the individual files below give in most cases a definitely contrary indication. Clearly, unless this leadership of the mutiny can be fully established against a prisoner, the case for further detention is extremely weak. . . .

'At the same time they were not brought to trial; they have been kept in detention for a long period, while some of the mutineers themselves who were court martialed and convicted have already served their sentences; and there is the fact that these dupes of the Communist leaders are still in custody, while those who were responsible for instigating them have been released after the change in the attitude of the party towards the War. I feel extremely doubtful whether we are justified in the review of their cases, which is now being undertaken under Ordinance III, in taking no account of the changed circumstances since the time of their arrest.'

4. I regret that these cases do not appear at any time in their history to have been referred to War Department. We have dealt throughout with General Staff direct. General Staff's views are recorded on each of the individual case files; they are unanimous in opposing release.

15.7.44

(S.J.L. Olver)

(I have already expressed my apologies to H.M. for putting up the case as it was put up complete records were not kept, when these cases first came up in 1940, and D.I.B., after several reminders, sent his notes only on the 7th June).

For a description of what happened in Egypt. H.M. may begin with the note at flag u, pp. 149-51.⁷ For a contemporary analysis of the causes, the letter dated 12.3.40⁸ at flag Q may

be seen. Then the papers mentioned in para 2 of Mr Olver's note (above note) may be seen in the order named.

2. At 'A' on page 2 notes, D.I.B. refers to a decision that convicted person in connection with this affair are not to be detained in security interests after serving their sentences. The reference is to the decision on a request from D.I.B. and D.M.I. that these convicts be automatically detained on the expiry of their sentences, as the chances were that detention had aggravated their anti-Govt. feelings and on release they would spread disaffection. The argument against this proposal was that it involved, in effect, a continuation of their sentence, and the decision was not that detention would never be ordered but that something more than their conviction was required to justify their detention, i.e., it could not be automatic. Thus for instance, if a convict's conduct in jail showed that he was likely to be a danger to security if released, there would be a case for detaining him after the expiry of the sentence.

3. An important consideration to my mind is the conduct of these men in jail. They have been in Indore Jail for over two years, during which period, the Sikh ex-military convicts there have indulged in two bouts of hunger striking. The bulk of these detenus have however behaved well, and unless they have been particularly cunning in concealing their feelings, that is an indication that they have learnt their lesson.

4. I have noted on the Individual cases

5. We have the views of the Gen. Staff but not of War Deptt. Before final orders are passed, it might be desirable to discuss the case with D.M.I. and if H.M. approves I will arrange a meeting, inviting W.D. also to send a representative.

V. Sahay. 17/7

H.M.

I have gone through all the records, general and particular, and my conclusion is that all these men should be released except Harnam Singh Sodhi and Bagh Ali.

2. Harnam Singh Sodhi is a proper person to be further detained: But, if the medical report shows him to be physically incapacitated, he can be released with suitable restrictions.

3. Bagh Ali, whose prison record is bad, should be further detained. If his conduct in prison improves he might be considered later for release, with restrictions.

4. As regards the other seven prisoners, I am doubtful about imposing restrictions. If restrictions are to be imposed on any, Teja Singh and Siraj-ud-din are perhaps the persons to be restricted.

5. I do not much like asking the Punjab authorities to keep an eye on men who are to be released without restrictions. Surveillance always conveys a stigma; and if the mutineers who have been convicted, sentenced and released are not subject to it, I see no reason why these men should be.

6. Before action is taken above, War Department should be consulted. If my proposals are not accepted, it will be necessary to discuss the matter with the Hon'ble War member.

J.A. Thorne,
Home Member, 18.7.44

WD may now see.

J.S.

V. Sahay, 19/

W.D. (Wright)

H.D. s/o No. 44/81/44 – Poll (I) dt. 9.7.44.

War Dept.

We should be grateful for the views of the general staff.

Signed
21-7-44

Reference H.M.'s noting dated 18 July 44. (note above)

2. We have already agreed to the release of Harnam Singh Sodhi on humanitarian grounds, provided that he is kept under surveillance.

The other cases have been re-examined in detail and we are in general agreement with Mr Jenkin's recommendations given in his note dated 7 July 44,¹⁰ i.e. that Bagh, Siraj-ud-Din and Teja Singh be further detained. We further agree to the release of the others provided they are restricted, placed under surveillance and reports called for as recommended by Mr Jenkin in his above quoted note, in order that their attitude may be properly assessed. It is possible that detention for over four years may have made them more disaffected than they were and their future behaviour will be a guide in the consideration of other cases.

Major-General,
DMI
3 Aug. '44.

War Dept. (Mr Wright).

War Department

H.E. The War Member has seen this case and discussed it with A.G., D.M.I. and me to-day. After careful consideration of all the circumstances, including the Punjab Government's recommendation: against the release of these men, he is inclined to agree with the views of D.M.I., namely, that Siraj-Ud-Din and Teja Singh should be further detained and that Waryam Singh, Sadhu Singh, Zafar Ali, Kabul Singh and Partap Singh should be released subject to restrictions. As Home Department are aware, arrangements have been made for the interrogation of these detenus. If the results of these interrogations are satisfactory, War Department are prepared to reconsider their present attitude. The best solution, therefore, appears to be let the orders of detention stand pending the interrogations which will, it is understood, be completed shortly. We have, however, no objection to the immediate release, subject to restrictions, of the 5 prisoners mentioned above, should Home Department desire to do so.

(C.M. Trivedi)
Secretary
16.9.44

Home Department. (Sir Richard Tottenham).
Submitted.

In these cases too the detention orders will be in force until 15.1.45 unless previously revoked. I would myself see no objection to the imposition of restriction (as a security measure) on those when released. The question is whether physical detention is still necessary in order to prevent them acting in a prejudicial manner.

R. Tottenham.
18/9

Home Department

The present position in all these case is that in deference to the wishes of the War Department detention orders have been extended which are to expire in January. This position may remain. I have not, therefore, closely examined all the cases as apparently interrogations are still going on. But it is essential that before the present detention orders expire we must be in a position to come to a definite conclusion on the question of the release of these persons.

2. I do not understand why interrogation is still going on in certain cases. These people have been detained for four years and if interrogation were necessary I should have thought it would have been completed. I hope that it will not take long. In order that cases may be fully considered I should like the definite views of the War Department by the 1st of November. If there are any cases in which they consider that the present detention orders should be renewed when they expire, I hope that full reasons will be given.

3. Although I have not examined all cases with the care that would be necessary if a decision were required at this stage, my present examination, as far as it goes, shows that if we do detain these persons after the present orders expire we would be applying in their cases a standard much more severe than we are applying in other cases. It is not a question of their further detention giving rise to political agitation. It is a question rather whether we are justified morally in detaining them. Some time ago the policy was adopted throughout India of reducing the number of detenus by gradual releases. There were two main reasons for this. First, it was felt that we were not justified in detaining persons longer than necessary; second gradual releases seem to be preferable to mass releases later on when the situation might be more difficult than it is now. Both these reasons apply in my opinion to the cases with which these files deal. I am not impressed by an argument which is advanced in some cases that although there was nothing very much against some of these detenus originally, yet then may have been soured by their detention. The obvious answer is that if this is so, the longer they are detained the sourer they will get.

4. When the file is next put up before me it should contain a brief summary of the case against each of these detenus, giving briefly the facts known against them and the opinion of various authorities, including the final opinion of the War Department asked for in para. 2 above.

5. If the Home and War Depts. eventually differ about any cases I would like to discuss them with H.E. the War Member if he so chooses.

R.F. Mudie,
Home Member, 19.9.44
Secy.
War Deptt.

H.D. u/o No. 44/81/43 – Poll (I) dt 29.9.44
D.M.I.

1. Reference above notings.
2. In order to ascertain whether there was any change of heart D.S.P. Rai Bahadur Badri Nath and S.P. Sampuran Singh of the police intelligence Section, War Department, interviewed these men at the Central India Agency Jail, Indore, where they are at present detained.
3. Copies of their report, with our revised recommendations regarding the men's continued detention have been submitted to War Department under our u/o No. 6443/11/GSI(b) of 11 Oct. 44.

4. It should be noted that these investigations by the D.D.P. were not in the nature of interrogations, as is implied in the note
5. The suggestion contained in our noting 3rd Aug 44 (see top of p. 12 of these papers), that detention may have made the men more disaffected than they were, is an argument for the imposition of restrictions on those men recommended for release.

War Department (Mr Wright)
u/o No. 6443/11/GSI (b).
D.M.I.
Oct. 4

- 1 and 2. Doc. 1
3. Not printed.
4. See also Doc. 36.
5. Doc. 34
6. Not printed.
7. See Doc. 34.
8. Doc. 1.
9. Doc. 34.
10. Doc. 34.

39: Talk with Col. R.W. Crampin – extracts from R.G. Casey's Diary (dt 18.8.1944)

R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 39
[NMML]

August 18th.

Col. R.W. Crampin (Chief Civil liaison Officer) called. Actually he looks after the wives and families of Indian soldiers enlisted from Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Orissa and the U.P. He is located at Lucknow and is under Gen. Lewis (G.H.Q. Welfare) at Simla. 12,500 Bengalis have enlisted in the Army-out of a total of over 3 million Indians enlisted in the various Services. The leading districts of enlistment are: Chittagong (18,908), Noakhali (17,263), Dacca (13,332), Tippera (12,858), Faridpur (8,907), Bakergunge (8,781), Mymensingh (7,718), and Darjeeling (6,000). There are District Sailors' Soldiers' and Airmen's Boards in each district with over 2000 enlisted men, of which the District Magistrate is president. There is an Assistant Civil Liaison Officer (Capt. Mookerjee) with office in Writers' Buildings. There are Welfare workers (paid by G.H.Q.) in each district in which there is a District Soldiers' Board.

40: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Relations between the civil and Military continue to be cordial on the whole. One or two incidents have been reported from Cocanada, where some B.C.Rs were alleged to have made indecent overtures to some women and the matter has been taken up with the Military authorities. In Vizagapatam there was a slight fracas between a few sepoys and some civilians in a cinema, but the police intervened promptly and no appreciable injuries were caused. Another slight fracas between Muhammadan sepoys and some villagers is reported from the same district, where two villagers and two sepoys were slightly injured. A third incident in the same place was that of a private of the East Coast Battalion, who for no apparent reason, fired two shots at some sepoys waiting outside their section Hospital and injured three of them, of whom one subsequently died.

41: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

2. Another Sikh was stabbed in Calcutta on the night of the 31st August 1944. It appears that at about 8 p.m. three coloured American soldiers were travelling along Chowringhee in a taxi on their way to the Lake Road when one of the soldiers urged the driver to drive faster. The driver protested owing to the blackout and one of the soldiers then dragged the brother of the Sikh driver from the front seat where he was sitting next to the driver into the rear of the car and the other two soldiers stabbed him in the shoulder and abdomen. The driver of the car then stopped the taxi and tried to free his brother, but he too was attacked and wounded, and before help could be obtained the three soldiers left the car and made off. The brother of the taxi-driver was at once removed to hospital, but he died on the following night. A post-mortem examination was held on the 2nd September and the body of the deceased was then taken in procession to the burning ghat followed by about ninety taxis and a large number of drivers and owners. The procession passed off peacefully and no untoward incidents occurred. There was a taxi strike on the 2nd September, but the cars were back on the road before noon on the 3rd. The incident has caused further resentment among the Sikh bus and taxi-drivers and feeling is particularly bitter because it is now known that the accused in the Howrah taxi-driver stabbing case was acquitted for reasons which were not entirely convincing. No other incidents of importance involving troops and the civil population have come to notice during the fortnight.

42 Official Notings – Army Mutineers in jail develop Congress links (dt 17.9.1944) (extracts)

File No. 44/81/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Report on the present outlook of detainee Thakar Singh, Ex-Sowar, C.I.H., s/o Prem Singh caste jat Sikh of V. Bhairi Matuwan P.S. Jhabbal Distt. Amritsar, now detained in the Yeraveda Central Prison under the Defence of India Rules by the Order of Government of India.

In order to ascertain the present outlook of detainee Thakar Singh with a view to recommend his release or otherwise, I had to work on the following lines:

1. Examination of his jail record.
2. Opinion of jail Officials regarding his behaviour in the Jail.
3. His demeanour and attitude during interview.

I had a mind to find out the inner-most views of Thakar Singh from some of his co-prisoners but the Jail Officials say that there was no such reliable man to help in that direction, as at present besides the Congress prisoners, there are some Sindhi convicts and bad characters who have been segregated in that yard on administrative grounds and it is not possible to get any useful information from them.

It is needless to re-capitulate the grounds on which Thakar Singh was originally detained under the Defence of India Rules but it is, however, certain that he would have participated in the C.I.H. mutiny if he had not been sent out to Ahmad Nagar as an orderly to Jem. Kartar Singh.

I would now take up the case in the serial numbers mentioned above.

1. Examination of Jail Record

During the period of his detention in the Yeraveda jail from 30.10.40 to date, Thakar Singh contravened the jail Rules only once on 30.8.41 when he wrote a surreptitious letter and tried to smuggle it through a prisoner who was to be released that morning. He was punished for one month bar fetters. His health was indifferent in 1941 and 1942 when he was under weight but afterwards he is keeping normal health. (see Appendix 'A').

2. Opinion of Jail Officials

N.K. Joshi B.A. Junior jailor, Yeraveda jail says that detainee Thakar Singh has been in his charge in the section called as 'Separate Yard' since Oct. 1942. He is a well behaving person and has not given any cause of breaking prisoners' Rules excepting the attempt to smuggle a letter in 1941 before he took over charge. It has, however, come to notice that he has been associating and talking to Congress prisoners admitted in his Yard, one of them being Vibhute Marhatta. Thakar Singh, he says, could have remained aloof if he wanted to do so. It would of course be better if he is transferred to a jail of his province where he could avoid such association.

Mr R.C. Bharucha, Chief jailor, fully confirms the views mentioned above.

3. Interview with Thakar Singh

I have had a talk with detainee Thakar Singh on the 17th inst. in the presence of the Chief and junior jailors. It has been ascertained that parents of Thakar Singh are alive and one of his younger brothers, Indar Singh, joined the Hong Kong Artillery but his present whereabouts are not known to him; the other brother, Gulzara Singh is still a minor and is a Student in the village school. Thakar Singh knew Urdu and Gurmukhi before but has learnt Hindi and a little Marhatti during his incarceration in the Yeraveda jail. He admits of having made an attempt to smuggle a letter through a prisoner in 1941 as he had not heard anything from his relations for about a year. He also admits of his association and talk with Congress prisoners and detainees, one being Vibhute, but says that he always forgets the talk held by the Congress prisoners. He is repentant of his misdeed in C.I.H. Unit and says that he had totally forgotten the whole episode. He promised to shun the association of Congress prisoners in jail in future. He further says that none of his relations has come for interview since his detention obviously the place being far away from his home. In the event of release, he says that he would occupy himself in tilling his land, the area of which he does not know now. On being questioned about Congress, he refrained to express his views.

4. Conclusion

Thakar Singh is a youth of 26 belonging to Amritsar Distt. It would appear that during the period of his incarceration, Thakar Singh contravened the jail Rules only once in 1941. He is well spoken of by the jail officials but the only snag is that he has been associating and talking to Congress prisoners in the jail which he promised to avoid in future. He appears to be a reserved sort of person and is repentant of his misdeed. In view of his association with Congress prisoners, I would not recommend his immediate release but suggest that he might be transferred to one of the Punjab jails where his movements be watched for sometime and if he behaves there, his case for release could be considered.

In the end, I would like to thank Dr Col. R.T. Alvani, I.M.S. Supdt. jail, Mr R.C. Bharveha, Chief jailor and N.K. Joshi Junior Jailor for the co-operation in my enquiries in the jail.

Signed Sampuran Singh

Dy. S.P.

17.9.44.

Camp Poona.

43 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

At a meeting held in Tuticorin it is reported that a sepoy on leave made a speech condemning the attitude of the Government in interning Jeevarathnam, a 'Communist' Justice party worker, and more or less implying that such actions would result in the soldiers turning against the Government. The local police have reported his name to the Officer commanding his unit.

44: Fate of Army Mutineers held during C.I.H. and R.I.A.S.C. Mutinies

File No. 44/81/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Statement showing old and new recommendations by G.S. Branch in the case of those persons held as a result of C.I.H. and R.I.A.S.C. mutiny.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Old recommendations</i>	<i>New Recommendations</i>
<i>A. C.I.H. & Meerut Signals</i>		
(1) Thakur Singh	Udhan Singh and Mehman Singh carried out subversive propaganda in their unit. Thakur Singh, kept under observation the unit at the time of the mutiny, was a proved member of the Kirti cell and in close contact with Bishen Singh – one of the four men executed for their part in the mutiny. In the absence of any evidence of a general change of heart, we are still of opinion that the three men should remain in detention. We agree with the views of the D.I.B. & Punjab Govt.	(1) To continue in detention, but to be transferred from Yervada to a Punjab Jail; to be kept under observation for a period of, say, 6 months and a report then submitted on his behaviour and outlook to the Jail Superintendent.
(2) Mehman Singh		(2) To continue in detention; to be kept under observation for a few months and a further report on his behaviour and outlook to be submitted.
(3) Udham Singh Granthi		(3) To be released and confined to his village in Patiala State or, alternatively, to be prohibited from entering British India.
<i>B R.I.A.S.C. Mutiny</i>		
Bagh Ali	To continue in detention. H.M. (Home) agreed. (There was no difference of opinion over this man, so his case was not considered in W.D. Summary.)	To continue in detention
(1) Waryam Singh	We . . . agree to the release . . . provided they are restricted, placed under surveillance and reports called for as recommend	(1) To continue in detention
(2) Sadhu Singh		(2) to be released subject to restrictions.
(3) Zafar Ali		(3) to be released subject to restrictions.
(4) Kabul Singh		
(5) Partap Singh		

<i>Name</i>	<i>Old recommendations</i>	<i>New Recommendations</i>
	ed. by Mr Jenkins . . . in order that their attitude may be properly assessed. It is possible that detention for over 4 years may have made them more disaffected than they were and their future behaviour will be a guide in the consideration of other cases.	(4) to be released subject to restrictions. (5) To continue in detention
(1) Siraj-ud-Din	The . . . cases have been re-examined in detail and we are in general agreement with Mr Jenkin's recommendation . . . that Siraj-ud-Din and Teja Singh be further detained.	(1) To continue in detention. (2) To be released subject to restrictions.
(2) Teja Singh		

Secretary,

R.W.H.
19-10-44

Appendices

Secret

Slip D

Secretary will find below a note from the D.M.I. dealing with both the C.I.H. and M.T. mutiny cases.

2. I have been through the reports which the D.M.I. attaches.

3. The continued detention of *six men* is recommended by D.M.I. although it is suggested that two of them should be kept under observation for a few months and then a further report called for and their release considered. I give my opinion in respect of these men below:

Slip D *Thakur Singh*
pp. 2 & 3

The report appears to bring out particularly nothing new about this man except that he has associated with Congress prisoners. I do not think that this is a point which carry much weight and I do not consider that we should press for his continued detention even with a view to securing another report later on. We should, however, I think, be well advised to press for his restriction and surveillance.

Slip D *Mehman Singh*
pp. 6 & 7

The new material regarding Mehman Singh is very similar to that against Thakur Singh, but he is also said to have correspondence with certain undesirable persons. I gather that these 'undesirable persons' are so classed because they are connected with followers of Congress or detenus. My views concerning this man are the same as those concerning Thakur Singh.

Slip D *Waryam Singh*
pp. 15 & 16

This man has not behaved well in jail and there are good grounds for thinking that he assaulted a co-detenu to stop him working. He has himself resisted work for considerable periods and appears to be a person who has instigated detenus to make trouble generally. He is reported upon as being thoroughly disaffected. This opinion would appear to be justified from the materials before us. This is the strongest case we have got and if we are going to make a stand at all we should do so on his case. Even so, my view is that it would be sufficient to draw the attention of the Home Department to the materials at our disposal and say that our view is that his detention should be continued, but that if after consideration of the facts they are of an opposite view we do not propose to press the matter further, provided they will agree to his being released subject to restriction and surveillance.

Slip D *Bagh Ali*
pp. 13 to 16

This man has had a bad jail record and his position is much the same as that of Waryam Singh although he does not appear to have assaulted anybody to try and stop him working nor does he appear to be quite so much of an instigator. I think that we should take up the same attitude concerning him as we do concerning Waryam Singh.

Slip D *Siraj-Ud-Din*
pp. 13 to 16

This man also has not had a good jail record and has refused work, but he does not appear to be quite so bad as either of the two men referred to immediately above. There are, however, I think sufficient grounds for treating him in the same way as them.

Slip D *Partap Singh*
pp. 13, 14, 15 & 17

This man's record in jail has not been good, but is not as bad as the three men mentioned immediately above. It would perhaps be justifiable to deal with him in the same way as the others, but I doubt if we can press this against much opposition.

3. D.M.I. has proposed that the other five men concerned, viz Udham Singh, Teja Singh, Sadhu Singh, Zafar Ali and Kabul Singh should be released subject to restrictions, and we should, I consider, support this view.

4. We should, I suggest, send the spare copies of these detailed reports to Home Department and say that our views will follow later. Secretary will probably want to mention these cases to H.E. the War Member before putting forward the final recommendations of this Department to Home Department.

W.A. Wright
Joint Secretary II
13-10-44, Tel 35366

Secretary

45: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Relations between the troops and the civil population. Relations were on the whole good, with one exception in the vicinity of Chakulia. There have been some trouble between American personnel and local people apparently due to American Soldiers attempting to get hold of women in the adjoining villages. There was one incident in which some American enlisted men set fire to a number of houses in a village near the camp.

46: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 -- Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

On the 31st October an Indian Soldier who had been travelling by train shot at and wounded (apparently not seriously) a number of people at Sonarpur Railway Station (24-Parganas) after a number of Indian soldiers had tried to remove a passenger from a carriage. Following the struggle on the platform 7 or 8 Indian soldiers were arrested by the police, military and civil. Investigation is proceeding.

On the 31st October two British sailors with revolvers in their hands trespassed into a house in Howrah and both raped a sick daughter of the owner of the house at the point of a revolver. They fired at the crowd collected, in order to effect an escape but were arrested by the police and handed over for trial by naval court martial.

On the 1st November a boy of ten years was meddling with wires which were being fitted to railway posts at Serajganj, and was shot at by a military fitter. A case has been started and is under investigation and the culprit has been remanded to jail *hajat*.¹ On the 6th November the Captain of the unit concerned appeared before the jail gate and gained entrance into the jail at the point of a revolver, without permission from the Superintendent of the jail in order to interview the culprit. The officer concerned was later interviewed and apologised, pleading ignorance of jail rules.

On the night of the 3rd Novem. er four white American Soldiers tried to get into a prostitute's house in Bishnupur (Bankura district), and failing, set fire to and burnt down a house before departing. No arrest has yet been reported.

On the 3rd November a coloured American soldier shot at and wounded a rickshaw-puller in Calcutta for refusing to carry him by rickshaw, lack of a light being given the reason for the refusal. Subsequently a coloured American soldier fired six rounds at a Sikh driver and was caught in a drunken condition. The same pistol was used in both shooting incidents. The

coloured American soldier who was caught has been identified by the rickshaw-puller as his assailant. The soldier is being court martialed.

1. Bengali word meaning police lockup

47: Official Notings – Mutineers' release opposed by Punjab Govt. (dt 25.11.44) (extracts)

File No. 44/81/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

This is the case of the men detained in consequence of the CIH Mutiny, and the RIASC mutiny in Egypt. There are really two separate issues regarding these men, the question of whether they should be released, and subsequently the question of whether any men released should be kept under surveillance after release. Since there is agreement between the General Staff and the Home Department that some of the men should be released, the question of surveillance arises in any case, and I propose to discuss this first, since the arguments on this question apply to all the cases equally.

2. The men we are at present considering were detained because they were associated with mutineers and were regarded as in varying degrees sympathizers or instigators. It was considered that these men had (in most cases) worked behind the scenes without revealing their activities, and therefore that their liberty was a danger to security. The men all come from recruiting areas where, to say the least, they are unlikely to be a good influence; and the Punjab Government has opposed the release of any of them partly on the grounds of their influence on recruiting, and partly because they are the kind of material Bose agents would try to contact. These are reasonable grounds for detention, and the danger will remain until the end of the war, while no argument based on their behaviour in jail can give a firm indication of how they will behave on release. It appears to me therefore that if we have been justified in detaining them, we are certainly justified in keeping them under surveillance for a period of say one year after their release, with restrictions on their movements and periodical reports on their behaviour, and it would be illogical not to do so. If after a year the behaviour of the released man has been satisfactory, surveillance should be relaxed.

3. I now turn to the question of release, and here each man must be considered separately. I take first the RIASC men. We have to consider the reasons for their detention, and their present attitude and behaviour in jail.

(1) *Jemadar Waryam Singh*

This man was detained on the grounds that he had been a sympathizer with the mutineers, and indeed had been directing and stimulating the agitation from the background. There is no evidence linking him with Kirti activities. Waryam Singh was on hunger strike at the time of his return from the Andamans in 1942 and is stated to have instigated other prisoners not to work. He also assaulted Bagh Ali, who refused to stop work at his persuasion. There was later, in May 1944, a collective refusal to work by the detenus, in which also he was concerned.

It is also believed that Waryam Singh is surreptitiously corresponding with the Gurudwara Committee in Indore to whom he supplies false material against the jail officials for propaganda purposes. In the opinion of the office who interviewed him in Jail, Jemadar Waryam Singh is thoroughly unreliable and disaffected and would whenever possible be likely again to incite acts of indiscipline and mutiny, taking care not to come to the forefront himself.

(2) Bagh Ali

This man collaborated with Gurbachan Singh in carrying on propaganda among Muslin drivers in Egypt and shouting slogans. During his detention he has been guilty of a number of offences against prison discipline such as obtaining unauthorized food, shouting anti-British slogans, singing loudly in his cell, abusing warders, quarrelling with the assistant jailer, refusing to work, has received a number of punishments in accordance with jail discipline, and has also been sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment by the District Magistrate, Indore. He appears to be the most refractory of the detenus and is described by the interrogating officer as politically disaffected.

(3) Siraj-Ud-Din

Led the march in protest to the detention barracks where the mutineers were detained. Was prominent in this own unit in spreading disaffection amongst the drivers in Egypt. No previous political background. Has committed a number of offences against jail discipline, such as going on hunger strike in 1942, giving part of his rations to a prisoner on hospital diet, refusing food, quarrelling with fellow prisoners, threatening a warder, refusing to work, Described by interrogating officer as 'of a rebellious nature'.

(4) Partab Singh

Sentenced to one year's imprisonment by Court Martial and afterwards detained. Led the drivers' resistance to the loading order and courted arrest in Egypt. Has no Kirti background. Has committed the following offences against jail discipline. Absenting himself from the superintendent's rounds; abusing a warder; refusing to work; carelessness in kit inspection; making allegations against jail officials and impertinence. Described by the interrogating police as 'strong-headed and of an incorrigible nature'.

(5) Sadhu Singh

Had some influence, at least in his own unit, and said to have had political leanings. Took part in hunger strike in June 1942 (for three days), refused to work in 1944, passed his newspaper to another prisoner without obtaining permission; said to be unintelligent.

(6) Zafar Ali

Joined in resistance to loading order, but evidence of instigation slender. No previous political history. Went on hunger strike in 1942, quarrelled with a fellow prisoner in 1943, refused to work in 1944.

(7) Teja Singh

Sentenced to one year's imprisonment by Court Martial for his part in the mutiny. No previous political history. The only bad behaviour in Jail on the part of this man was that he absented himself from the superintendent's rounds in 1942 and refused to work in 1944.

(8) Kabal Singh

Detained on the report of Mr Morton that he was a ringleader, but no evidence available of over 1942, refused to work in 1944.

4. With regard to these eight men, the DMI's recommendations are that (1) to (4) should continue in detention and that (5) to (8) should be released subject to restrictions. The first four men were active instigators in the mutiny and their jail record certainly does not show that they have become more amenable to discipline. It is a question whether we can afford to let loose such men in a recruiting area at present. Bagh Ali appears to be definitely hostile, while Waryam Singh appears to be an habitual stirrer up of trouble. The Punjab Government have recommended that these men should not be released, and I must say that as a District Magistrate in a recruiting area I should certainly not wish to have such men as Waryam Singh and Bagh Ali released from jail until the drive for recruits had diminished. The case against the other two men is less strong, and although I consider they would constitute some danger to security if released, I do not think we should press the matter if, in the light of their jail record, Home Department still consider that they should be released. I suggest, however that we should ask definitely for the continued detention of Waryam Singh and Bagh Ali; that we should also recommend the detention of Nos. (3) and (4) but should not press the matter if Home Department consider they should be released; and that we should agree to the release of Nos. (5) to (8) subject to surveillance and restrictions.

5. CIH.

(1) Granthi Udam Singh

This man has a record of sympathy with the Akali organisation and served a year in jail. He was interested in the Kirti movement. His behaviour in jail has however been good and, for what it is worth, he has expressed the intention to return to his village and confine himself to religious work. This man has clearly learned to submit himself to discipline when it is advisable, and is, I think, likely to remain of good behaviour for so long as he is kept under restrictions and surveillance. The General Staff have agreed to his release subject to restrictions, and I agree.

(2) Thakur Singh

This man was not present at the time of the mutiny but was a member of the Kirti party and in close contact with Bishan Singh who was one of the men executed. He has behaved well in jail and the only breach of discipline that he has committed was an attempt to smuggle a letter in 1941. It has however been stated that he has been seen talking to Congress prisoners in the yard 'when he could have remained aloof had he wished to do so'. I do not consider that this can be regarded as a serious charge against him. The General Staff consider that he should be detained for a further 6 months under observation and then released if it is reported that his attitude has changed. I am sceptical of the value of such a report, and I think that the sole grounds for his detention lie in his past history, and not in his jail record. If it is considered that he could after 6 months further good behaviour be safely released, I consider that he could be released now. I recommend that this should be done but that he should continue to be subjected to restrictions and surveillance.

(3) Mehman Singh

Was overseas at the time of the mutiny but was an associate of Udam Singh and was connected

with the Kirti organisation. He has behaved well in jail but has written for pamphlets on Socialism, Fascism and the life of Guru Gobind Singh. Has corresponded with various Congress sympathizers; is a matriculate. This shows that he is probably of a more distinctly Congress turn of mind than Thakur Singh, but I do not think it should be regarded as surprising or blameworthy that a man in jail should wish to read pamphlets, and the subjects chosen show that his interests are not exclusively in the Congress. His attitude when interrogated was penitent, though this does not go for much. The General Staff consider he should be kept under observation in jails for few more months. On the whole I consider that the same arguments apply in his case as in the case of Thakur Singh, and that we should agree to his release subject to restriction and surveillance.

Recommendation

I consider that War Department should recommend:

Waryam Singh and Bagh Ali – Continued detention.

Siraj-ud-Din – We should prefer their continued detention.

Partab Singh – If however in view of their jail record, Home Dept. consider that they should be released, we should not insist, provided they are kept under surveillance and restrictions for one year.

Remainder to be released provided they are kept under surveillance and restrictions for one year.

Home Department will no doubt in any case consult the Punjab Government again before taking action.

6. If Secretary agrees, I do not think we should trouble War Member at this stage, as we do not yet know the attitude of Home Department to these revised recommendations.

Secretary.

(P. Mason'),
25.11.44

Secretary War Dept. has seen and agrees.

(P. Mason'),
25.11.44



48 Army Mutineers with Left Wing background

File No. 44/81/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The Inspector General of Police,
Kapurthala State,
Kapurthala.

Dated 6-3-1945

Reference your letter No. 315p/45 dated the 24th January, 1945, addressed to the Superintendent, Central India Agency Jail, Indore. A short history of security prisoner, Teja Singh is enclosed.

(F.G. Cracknell)
D.S.I.

Teja Singh Son of Chanda Singh was one of the ring leaders who organised and instigated a mutiny which occurred amongst Royal Indian Army Service Corps personnel serving with the 4th Indian Division in Egypt in 1940. He had also some contact with the notorious Kirti Lehr group of Meerut (U.P.) which was the headquarters of the Punjab Kirti Kisans from 1937 to the outbreak of the war. As a result of the investigations which followed the mutiny he was court-martialled, dismissed from the army and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. After serving his sentence in Egypt he returned to India and was detained under section 26(1) (b) of the Defence of India Rules immediately after disembarkation. He has been in detention for more than four years but seems now to have seen the wisdom of behaving in future.

XVI

The Indian National Army

In the run up to the final transfer of power from British to Indian hands in 1947, the trial of the I.N.A. prisoners in 1945-6 played a significant role. Probably the most important contribution made by the I.N.A. to the cause of Indian freedom was made in those years, and that is outside the time-span allotted to this volume. However, for the record, it is important to note in this volume evidence about its activities near the eastern frontier of India in 1943-4, and the part played by the underground movement sympathetic to it within India. It is not a success story in material terms, but it strained the administrative resources of the Raj and contributed to its declining prestige before the military situation turned in favour of the South-East Asia Command in course of the latter half of 1944.

In January 1943, when our volume begins, the I.N.A. as originally raised by Mohan Singh from Indian soldiers taken prisoners by the Japanese, had been dissolved, but efforts were being made by the veteran Indian revolutionary Rash Behari Bose of the Indian Independence League to revive it. These efforts culminated in the reconstitution of the League on 4 July under the Presidency of Subhas Chandra Bose, who had arrived in East Asia in May 1943.¹

The documents in this section can be broadly classified in two groups. The first group includes the story of the I.N.A. propaganda via radio broadcasts (Docs 3-5, 9) whose appeal became stronger after the I.N.A. forces entered Manipur (Docs 55, 63, 70); the formation of the Azad Hind government in Oct. 1943 (Doc. No. 26) and the successful campaigns in the Arakan-Bengal border from January till September 1944 and in Imphal and Kohima in Manipur about the same time. (Docs no. 33, 40, 69, 76); the way the news of these advances, often exaggerated, travelled across India, as far as Ajmer and Bombay (Docs 36, 47-9, 53-9, 65, 67, 70); and finally, the secret emissaries of the I.N.A. who were smuggled into India by submarine and who were expected to make contacts with members of the Forward Bloc, and other supporters of Subhas Bose (Docs 7, 13, 34, 49, 68, 83).

The second group of documents show the elaborate counter-espionage network of the Raj which hauled up most of these secret emissaries and Indian supporters and relatives of Subhas Bose. The Raj was reluctant to acknowledge publicly the existence of the Indian National Army.² The first public mention of it was made in answer to questions in the Central Legislative Assembly in November 1943 (Doc. 28). In official notings the I.N.A. was invariably referred to as the J.I.F. (Japanese Indian Forces) or as the 'Bose Conspiracy'. The general preoccupation with countermeasures against this 'threat' is seen in Docs 6, 7, 16 and 20, Doc 16 shows (para 2.) that in July 1943 Raj apprehended a greater danger from J.I.F. infiltrators now that Subhas Bose was in Command.

The counter-measures of the Raj against the 'Secret Service' of the I.N.A. was cruelly successful. Most of the infiltrators were apprehended, tried under the Enemy Agents Ordinance and executed. Doc. No. 83 which is the English translation of a memoir written by a Bengali detenu in gaol while awaiting his trial under this ordinance, gives an account of his activities from the time a Japanese submarine landed his party of four on the Orissa Coast on 14 March 1944 till his arrest on 18 Jan. 1945. It shows the great difficulties he faced in trying to make contact with leftwing leaders whose names he had been given. Most of them had already been

arrested as security prisoners. It is a story of heroic self-sacrifice at the personal level, but of failure before the might of the Raj at the operational level.

1. K.K. Ghosh, *Indian National Army* (Meerut 1969), pp. 123-42.
2. Linlithgow to all provincial Governors, 7 May 1943, paragraph 1. (T.O.P. Vol. III, Doc. No. 690)

Other Documents Relevant for this Chapter:

1. Docs. 111 and 112 in Chapter I – Section B – Doc. 36 in Chapter III.
2. Docs 60 & 61 in Chapter V.
3. Doc. 47 in Chapter XV.
4. Doc. 27 in Chapter XVIII.

1. Commissioner of Police to the Secretary, Government of Bengal – Relaxation of restriction order on Sisir Bose

Government of Bengal (Home) Defence Branch, File No. W/32/43
[Bengal State Archives]

Government of Bengal
Office of Commissioner of Police Calcutta

No. C.P. 662

From
C.E.S. Fairweather, Esq., C.I.E., I.P., J.P.,
Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

To
The Addl. Secy. Home Department,
Defence Branch,
Government of Bengal.

Dated 14/1/43

Sir,
I have the honour to refer you to Government order No. 1762D dated 2.10.42,¹ restricting the movement of Mr Sisir K. Bose s/o Mr Sarat Chandra Bose to his house at 1, Woodburn Park Calcutta, and to state that Mr N.C. Mitra, of Mitra and Mitra Solicitors, 5, Hastings Street, Calcutta, has applied to me, on behalf of Mr Sisir K. Bose, for the withdrawal of all restrictions imposed upon Mr Sisir K. Bose under the Government order mentioned above, in order to enable him to resume his studies in the Medical College and to ensure his safety in view of the enemy air-raids.

I have no objection to the cancellation of the above Government order, but I propose to serve upon him an order under rule 26(1) of the Defence of India Rules, preventing his from attending meetings etc., and forbidding him to leave Calcutta and its suburbs without first obtaining a permit from me.

Government order, cancelling Government order No. 1762 Def. dated 2.10.42 referred to above, may issue.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Signed

For Commissioner of Police, Calcutta

1. Not printed.

2 Withdrawal of restriction order on Sisir Bose

Government of Bengal (Home) Defence Branch, File No. W/32/43
[Bengal State Archives]

15.1.1943.

Reference: Your letter No. C.P. 662 dated the 14.1.1943¹

A signed order (in duplicate) on the above subject, is forwarded herewith.² You are requested to serve it upon Sisir K. Bose as early as possible and report compliance to Govt.

2. There is no objection to your serving upon Sisir Bose an order forbidding him to leave Calcutta and its suburbs without permission of C.P. Calcutta and prohibiting him from attending meetings etc.

Copy with the copy of order forwarded for information, in continuation of this Deptt. No. 1762/1 Def. dated the 2.10.1942 to the DIG, J.B. CID, Bengal.

1. Doc. 1.

2. Not printed.

3. Government of India to the Govt. of Madras (illegal possession of wireless sets)

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – 1943 – File No. 1577
[TNA]

D.O. No. 42/3/42 – Poll (I),

Government of India,

Home Department.

New Delhi, the 15th January, 1943.

My dear Ramamurty,

I enclose a copy of letter No. F.42/3/42 – Poll(I), dated the 15th January, 1943, to the Chief

Secretary to the Government of Bombay, on the subject of sentences in cases of illegal possession of wireless transmitters and receiving sets.

Yours sincerely,
(R. Tottenham)

S.V. Ramamurty, Esquire, CIE., ICS.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Madras.

Enclosure

Confidential.

D.O. No. 42/3/42 - Poll (I).

Government of India,
Home Department.
New Delhi, the 15th January, 1943.

My dear Panjabi,

Will you please refer to Kripalani's D.O. No. W.259, dated the 9th September, 1942,¹ to Frampton, regarding the prosecution of certain persons for illegal possession and use of wireless transmitters. We note that the accused were convicted and sentenced under section 20 of the Indian Telegraph Act and that the sentence in each case was only a fine. We are not clear why the offenders were not prosecuted under Rule 16(5) of the Defence of India Rules under which the maximum penalty is imprisonment for a term which may extend to five years. In any case, considering the seriousness of the offence in war time of possessing illegal wireless transmitters & receiving sets, a sentence of fine only appears to be quite inadequate and we suggest that general instructions may be issued to prosecuting agencies to press in such cases for deterrent sentences of imprisonment, in addition to fines, if necessary. These instructions might also be brought to the notice of magistrates in a suitable manner if you think it desirable.

Yours sincerely,
R. Tottenham.

Panjabi Esq., I.C.S.
Chief Secy. to the Government of Bombay.

¹ Not printed.



4: Memo on illegal possession of wireless sets

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – 1943 – File No. 1577

[TNA]

Public Department

Memo. No. S/2455-4/42.

Dated, 23/1/43

War – Illegal possession of wireless transmitters and receiving sets.

In continuation of the instructions issued in Memo. S/245.¹

All D.Ms. and the C. of P., Madras are informed that the Govt. of India consider that the possession of an illegal wireless transmitter or receiving set is a most serious offence in war time. They are anxious where offenders are prosecuted under Rule 16 of the Defence of India Rules deterrent punishment should be inflicted. They are of the opinion that a sentence of fine only in such cases is inadequate and have suggested that general instructions may be issued to prosecuting agencies to press in such cases for deterrent sentences of imprisonment, in addition to fines, if necessary. D.Ms. and the C. of P., Madras are requested to note these instructions and to take action accordingly should the necessity arise.

All D.Ms.

C. of P., Madras

Copy to:

P.M.C., Madras

C.I.D., Madras

I.G. of Police, Madras.

1. Not printed.



5. Government of India to all Chief Secretaries (regarding wireless sets)

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files - 1943 - File No. 1577

[TNA]

Secret

Government of India.
Defence Department.
New Delhi, the 1st March 1943.

To

All Chief Secretaries (except Bombay and the Punjab).

The Home Secretary to the Government of Bombay

The Joint Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Home Department.

All Chief Commissioners (except Andaman and Nicobar Islands)

Subject: Defence of India Rule 16.

Please refer to the late Defence Co-ordination Department's letter No. 1285-SM/42, dated the 8th May 1942¹ and to Home Department's letter No. 15/6/42-Poll (I), dated the 12th September 1942.²

2. Both these letters refer to the confiscation of individual transmitting or receiving sets known to be in use for undesirable purposes, the method suggested being the use of powers under Defence of India Rule 16. Doubts have been expressed regarding the scope of these powers and the appropriate way of using them, and the Government of India therefore think it desirable to explain the position as they see it.

3. Rule 16(2) authorizes the making of general or special orders for the purposes specified. A general order could be made prohibiting the use of an apparatus for an undesirable purpose, e.g. the dissemination of enemy broadcasts, and any apparatus used in contravention of such order could be seized under sub-rule (6). In this context, an individual set could be seized only after the general order had been made and contravened.

4. A special order could be made to the effect either that a specified person should not use his apparatus for certain purposes, or that he should not possess an apparatus. In the former case, seizure under sub-rule (6) could be effected only after the relevant order had been contravened by a further use of the apparatus for the forbidden purpose. In the latter case, sub-rule (6) would technically cover the seizure of an apparatus found in the possession of the relevant person immediately after the order had been made; but equity would require that the person concerned should be given some period of grace in which to dispose of his apparatus.

5. In the result, it appears that rule 16 confers no power covering the unconditional and immediate seizure of an apparatus known to have been used for undesirable purposes, if such use is not in contravention of a definite order. The Government of India are advised that such a power could not be taken under the Defence of India Act, but would require special legislation. They believe that in practice provincial Governments have found the existing powers adequate for the control of wireless apparatus; and they would not wish the foregoing remarks to stand

in the way of any line of action which has been found administratively satisfactory. They would like however to receive information as to how the Provincial Government has taken action regarding the seizure of wireless sets used by undesirable persons or for undesirable purposes and whether it is considered necessary that further legal powers should be taken. It may be pointed out that with the turn in the tide of War news, it is doubtful whether enemy broadcasts are capable of doing so much harm as previously and the necessity for a separate ordinance on the subject appears at present to be very doubtful. It is considered that the existing powers if properly used should suffice even if they do not permit summary forfeiture.

(L.J.D. Wakely)

Copy to:
The Home Department,
The Information and Broadcasting Department.

(L.J.D. Wakely)

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

NH.
1/3/43

1 & 2. Not printed.

6 Agenda for the fourth security conference to be held at Nagpur on the 8th and 9th March 1943 (extracts)

File No. 111/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

5. The Dissemination of Coastal Intelligence

The importance of quick dissemination of coastal security intelligence to Services and Civil Authorities who have to use the information cannot be over-stressed. In connection with such intelligence cases have come to notice in which reports have reached Civil Authorities intimately concerned in a most indirect manner, often via Delhi. This has resulted in the matter being taken under review in order to ascertain what action should be taken to bring about the improvement which is necessary in Security interests.

The War Book made provision for coast-watching with emphasis of the types of information required by the Fighting Services. In Bengal and Madras, elaborate schemes are in function under Civil Control and general security intelligence is included in the matters on which watching sections are required to report. In Orissa there are two schemes – one for coast watching to obtain and transmit the information of which the Navy, Military and Air Force stand in most need; the other a Coastal Intelligence Scheme. In the Bombay Province the Police do not appear to be greatly concerned in Security measures of this nature. The Maritime States have coast watching arrangements.

It may be stated that there is general recognition that the first duty of these watching organizations is to inform the Fighting Services of matters which may concern them and reports are sent direct, according to the dictates of local circumstances, to Military, Air Force or Naval

Intelligence Centres, H.A. Immediate Priority telegrams being the manner of transmission. Messages are repeated to District Superintendents of Police who, in turn, inform District Magistrates, Inspectors-General of Police and Government.

In order to remove defects which may exist in dissemination, General Headquarters have made the proposal that all Fighting Services Intelligence agencies should report matters of importance and interest to the Military District concerned. The Military District would hand on to the C.I.D. any Intelligence of civil concern which the C.I.D. would disseminate to the Civil Authorities concerned. Civil reporting agencies should report direct to the C.I.D. and direct to the Military District on matters of Fighting Services concern, and the C.I.D. and Military District would in turn disseminate within their own responsibilities. The above arrangement would not exclude Fighting Services Intelligence agencies or Civil reporting agencies passing to local authorities intelligence known or believed to be of interest to them. The efficient working of the latter part of the arrangement would depend greatly on the promotion of adequate local liaison, where this does not already exist.

Provincial authorities may differ regarding the defects and the remedy. . . .

9. Security Measures Relating to Japanese Infiltration Over the Burma-India Frontier (I.I.L. and I.N.A.)

The present arrangements on the Eastern Frontier provides for a series of forward collecting Posts and behind them a number of Examination centres. The forward collecting Posts have staffs capable of exercising some measure of discrimination and are permitted to allow free passage to persons meriting no further attention; in the main such persons are 'cheap labour'. The remainder consists of possessors of important information or suspects and these are sent with escort to Examination centres. The examination centres' staffs consist of C.I.D. Officers with a Superintendent of Police, assisted by a Military Officer, in charge. Examination Centres grade persons into three categories-white, grey and black. Whites are released and the cases of 'greys' and 'blacks' are referred to the Central Government for orders. Persons considered specially important either from the nature of information they possess or the degree of suspicion which attaches to them are sent to the C.S. D.I.C. at Delhi for further attention.

In order to keep Provinces in the picture the following dissemination of information has been suggested:

- i) Forward Collecting Posts should send particulars of all persons (excluding cheap labour) permitted free passage to the Provincial Authorities concerned.
- ii) Forward Examination centres should
 - (a) Send out Particulars of Whites released.
 - (b) Copies of statements of Greys and Blacks
- iii) C.S.D.I.C. should act in the same way in the matter of dissemination, if necessary.

It is necessary to give recognition to the fact that there may be special cases concerning which it would be undesirable to disseminate information. Information in regard to military personnel would be useful to the Civil authorities as a provision of background in the event of those concerned being discharged or subsequently proceeding on leave. In the case of civilian 'Greys' and 'Blacks' the Intelligence Bureau would keep concerned authorities informed of the action taken on the recommendations made. At the same time the Intelligence Bureau would continue the series of notes already appearing in the Foreigners Surveys in order to provide further 'background'.

7: Trial of enemy agents at Madras

File. No. 2/4/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The names of the accused and the advocates who defended them.

The 1st day of April 1943.

Present: E.E. Mack Esq., I.C.S., Bar-at-law, Special Judge.

Special Case No. 1 of 1943

Rex. vs. 1.	V.M.A. Khadir.	11.	A. Andrew.
2.	S.A. Anand alias Thanu Pillay.	12.	K. Kochu Govindan.
3.	Mohammed Ghandi.	13.	K.M. Cheriya alias M. George.
4.	K.A. George.	14.	M. Gangadharan.
5.	C.P. Eapen.	15.	Suprabhat Ranjan Paul.
6.	Leon D'Cruz.	16.	Phanidranath Roy.
7.	S.C. Bardhan.	17.	Jagdish Mitra Kaura.
8.	Boniface B. Pereira. alias Mani.	18.	Fouja Singh.
9.	K. Mathai Mannen.	19.	G. Santha Pillai.
10.	C. Gopalakrishnamurthy Reddy		

Accused 1, 3, and 4 were defended by Mr Rajagopalacharya of the Madras Bar.

Accused 2 by Mr G. Chandrasekhara Sastri of the Madras Bar.

Accused 6 to 9 were defended by Mr T.M. Kasturi of the Madras Bar and

Accused 11 to 13 and 15 to 19 were defended by Mr N.M. Sastri of the Bellary Bar.

Advocates appointed for the Crown, and

Accused 5 by Mr S. Govind Swaminathan of the Madras Bar,

Accused 10 by Mr V.T. Rangaswami and Mr P. Vasi Reddi of the Madras Bar and

Accused 14 by Mr C.P. Damodara Menon of the Coimbatore Bar.

- Charges.*
1. Entering India as Enemy Agents of the Government of Japan, punishable under section 3 of the Enemy Agents Ordinance No. 1 of 1943.
 2. Conspiracy to deprive His Majesty the King Emperor of the Sovereignty of British India by aiding and assisting the Government of Japan, punishable under section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code.

Plea . . . Not guilty.

Finding of Court: As. 1, 2, 7, 8 and 18 guilty under Section 3 of the Enemy Agents Ordinance No. 1 of 1943 and under Section 121-A. I.P.C. and As. 3 to 6, 9 to 17 and 19 not guilty.

Sentence . . . As Each to suffer death under section 3 of the Enemy Agents Ordinance No. 1 of 1943. *As. 1, 7, 8 and 18:* Each to rigorous imprisonment for five (5) years under Section 121-A.I.P.C.

As.2: Transportation for life under Section 121-A. I.P.C.

Order . . . As All restored to their previous position as detenues pending further orders
3 to 6, 9 to 19: of Government.

Details About the Accused

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name of Accused</i>	<i>Father's Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Caste or race</i>	<i>Occupation or calling</i>	<i>Residence or native place</i>
1.	V.M.A. Khadir	Vevakunju	23	Mohammedan	Surveyor	Vakkam, Chirayankish Taluk (Travancore)
2.	S.A. Anand Alias Thanu Pillay	M. Parasu Pillay	30	Nanchinat Vellala	Foreman of Works	Thykad, Trivandrum Town
3.	Mohammed Gham	Badrudin	19	Mohammedan	Student	Kirambur, Musiri Taluk, Trichinopoly
4.	K.A. George	Joseph	27	Christian	School Teacher	Mannady, Ampelapuzha Travancore State
5.	C.P. Eapen	Philipose	24	Christian	Stenographer	Vanikulam, Eiruvella Taluk Travancore State
6.	Lepon D'Cruz	Peter D'Cruz	30	Christian	Salesman	Poonthura, Trivandrum Town
7.	S.C. Bardhan	D.C. Bardhan	26	Kayastha	Telephone Mechanic	Bitghar, Tepparah District (East Bengal)
8.	Boniface B. Pereira	Bastuan P. Pereira	26	Christian	Draftsman	St Andrews Chittat-tumoka Travancore State
9.	K. Mathai Mammen	Verghese Mathai	24	Christian	Chemist	Ayloor, Tiruvella Taluk (Travancore)
10.	C. Gopal. Krishna Reddy	C.S.V. Reddy	22	Reddy	Marine Engineer	Cattamanohi Chittoor District
11.	A. Andrew	Arokiasamy	28	Christian	Radio Grapher	Bangalore City
12.	K. Kochu Govindan	Kutti Krishnan	24	Nair	Clerk	Tiruvillamala Cochin State
13.	K.M. Cheriyan Alias M. George	Cheriyen Mathayi	27	Christian	Asst. Examiner of Accounts	Airoom, Travancore State
14.	M. Gangadharam	A. Unnikrishnan Nair	24	Nair	Draftsman	Puthiangam, Palghat Taluk
15.	Suprabhat Ranjan Paul	B.B. Paul	27	Kayastha	Telephone Linesman	Yoynagar, Soleniganmy
16.	Phanindranath Roy	N.N. Roy	28	Kayastha	Clerk	Satoan, Tipperah Dist. (Bengal)
17.	Jagdish Mittra Kaura	Durga Das	22	Khatri	Landlord	Sri Harvindpur, Gurudaspur. Dt. Punjab
18.	Fouja Singh	Beant Singh	24	Sikh	Farming	Marhana Amritsar Dist. Punjab
19.	G. Santha Pillai	Gnana-prakasam	24	Christian	Student	Siruperambur Tanjore Taluk

Judgement

1. On 15-2-1943 the Criminal Investigation Department of the Madras police laid before me as Special judge appointed under section 5(1) of the Enemy Ordinance No. 1 of 1943 a charge sheet against these 19 accused indicting them for the offence of being enemy agents under section 3 of the Ordinance and also for offences under sections 121, 121-A and 123 of the Indian Penal Code. The trial was commenced on the 8th March and held strictly 'in camera' in the penitentiary, Madras. Only three of the accused, namely As. 5, 10 and 14 were in a position to engage Counsel to defend them. The remaining accused were defended by 4 Counsel I appointed for the Crown, Mr V. Rajagopalachari for As. 1, 3 and 4 Mr G. Chandrasekhara Sastry for A.2, Mr T.M. Kasturi for As. 6 to 9 and Mr N.M. Shastri of the Bellary bar for As. 11, 12 and 15 to 19. All Counsels needless to say were approved previously by the Central Government as required by section 11(1) of the Ordinance. From the outset of this trial accused have had the advantage of being skilfully defended by one of the ablest array of defence counsels available in this Presidency.

2. The salient and undisputed facts are these. As 1 to 5 landed at Tanur on the Malabar Coast in two rubber boats off a Japanese submarine during the night of the 27th September 1942. As 6 to 9 and the approver in the case K.P. Balan (P.W.I.) similarly landed into rubber boats off, it would appear, another Japanese submarine on the Kathiawar Coast at a small village Okhamadi, a few miles away from Dwaraka in the Baroda State at about 6 p.m., two days later on the 29th September 1942. The other accused entered India later by land. G.G.N. Reddi (A.10) appeared by himself at the Teknaf Police Station in Chittagong District on the 25th October at 5-30 p.m. He was a marine Engineer on the B.I.S.S. *Cjika* when it was sunk by enemy action off Sumatra on 11-3-1942. One other accused entered India in two groups. As. 11, 12 and 13 were found by an Assistant Inspector (P.W.24) of the Girjiana out-post, five miles from the Burma border, in the Bazar there on the 27th October. He interrogated them and took them into custody.

There is no evidence as to the circumstances under which As. 14 to 19 crossed the border. They say they voluntarily gave themselves up to a British patrol. The evidence shows that they were taken in military custody to Brigade Headquarters at Palel where they were interrogated by Lieut. Hart (P.W.4) of the Military Intelligence staff between the 22nd and 26th of November. Exactly when they crossed the border is not clear but they did so several days prior to the 22nd November.

3. The prosecution case disclosed in the evidence of the approver (P.W.) is that he and all these accused passed through an intensive course of training in Penang in a Swaraj Institute which was really an espionage school under Japanese domination and control in August last year and there after graduation in this institution and further training they were each given Rs 500 in ten rupee British Indian currency notes and sent to India to spy out the land and conditions here, to supply all information gathered by an elaborate process of communication through partners to the Japanese at Akyab and to help generally in the furtherance of achieving Indian Independence by Japanese Military assistance. The Swaraj Institute was ostensibly a creation of an organization known as the Indian Independence League which was formed by the Japanese in their endeavours to capitalize Indian National feeling and exploit it for their own purposes. The accused whom I examined after the evidence of P.W.I. and the C.I.D. Investigating Inspector Mr Gopalakrishna Menon (P.W.2) all admitted the truth of most of the approver's evidence, As. 1 to 9 in particular admitting that they landed off Japanese submarines. The defence of all the accused is common, namely that under economic pressure they were

lured into the Swaraj Institute primarily to obtain employment, that received Rs 500 each from the Japanese to carry out their orders, that they had no intention of working for them after entering India and that their dominant intention was to go home.

4. Of the 19 accused no less than 14 come from south India, Eight are Travancoreans (as 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 13). four are from the Madras Presidency, Trichinopoly District contributing one (A.3), Chittoor District one (A.10), Malabar one (A.13) and Tanjore one (A.19). A.11's native place is Bangalore City. A.12 comes from Cochin. Three of the accused As. 7, 15 and 16 hail from the Bengal Presidency and two As. 17 and 18 from the Punjab. No less than eight of the accused (As. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, and 19) are Indian Christians. There are eight Hindus (As. 2, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 17) and two Mohammedans (As. 1 and 3). Fauja Singh (A.18) is a Sikh. The Territorial and communal classification of these accused is interesting. All with the exception of Anand (A.2) who gives his age as 39 are young men well under 30, the majority being in their early twenties. Except for Anand (A.2) who says he was a clerk of works employed in the British Royal Engineers in Penang on a salary of 300 dollars when Singapore fell and the Marine Engineer C.G.K. Reddi (A.10), all the other accused on their own showing were employed in humble capacities mainly as clerks in Government Offices, Firms, rubber estates etc., on comparatively low salaries. The majority of them had left their homes after education in India within the last years to obtain employment in Malaya.

5. British Indian Currency ten rupee notes to the value of Rs 8,500 were recovered from all the accused except from A.4 and A.10 in varying quantities. Rs 1992-8-0 (M.O.11) was received from As. 1 to 3 and 5. Nothing was recovered from A.4 who says he lost his money in the sea while landing. Rs 2410-3-3 (M.O.12) was recovered from As. 6 to 9 and the approver. The notes recovered from each of these groups were not kept separately but mixed up. Notes recovered from A.11,12 and 13 who had between them Rs 1993 (M.O.13 series) were kept separately and so were the notes recovered from the other accused, Rs 630 from A.14, Rs 370 from A.15, (Rs 400 from A.16) Rs 370 from A.17 Rs 385 from A.18 and Rs 160 from A.19. A remarkable feature about the ten rupee notes recovered is that no less than 302 were in one series C.20. 288 in another series C-14, 182 in another series B-51 and 61 in another series B-78. There were only a few notes in other series. The C.I.D. Inspector (P.W.2) has prepared himself an elaborate statement, Ex. F,¹ showing in differently coloured pencil that each group or individual had in their possession a fair proportion of notes in these series, there can be no doubt that these notes were taken out of a British Treasury in enemy occupied territory and distributed to the various accused. Quite apart from the evidence of the approver the notes therefore furnish strong 'prima facie' evidence of some close association between these accused. C.K. Reddi (A.10) had in his possession only one ten rupee note (M.O.9) bearing No. A 4/1340 31. His case which obviously falls into a different category will be presently considered.

6. This case is in fact complicated by its apparent simplicity; or its difficulty minimized by the absence of any reference to intention of *mens rea* in the definition of the very grave offence of being an enemy agent under Section 3 of the Ordinance 'shall be punishable with death'. Section has two alternatives. We are not concerned with the second which has relation to a specific overt act with intent to aid the enemy. The first alternative shorn of the second in this section reads as follows: 'Who ever is enemy agent shall be punishable with death'. An enemy agent is defined Section 2 (b) 'as a person not operating as a member of an enemy armed force'. 'Learned Counsel have strongly criticised the absence of any reference to intention in the definition of this offence and also this new grave criminal offence of being an enemy agent

being given retrospective effect from the 2nd of September 1939 in Section 4 of the Ordinance. I shall deal briefly with these two legal objections. The very grave offence of an enemy agent appears to be one newly created and designed to meet a grave and special emergency. My attention has been drawn to the Treachery Act 1940 (3 and 4 George 6, Chapter 21) published for information on page 989 of the Fort St. George gazette dated the 6th August 1940, Section 1 of which prescribing the death penalty for treason is copied practically verbatim in the second alternative of Section 3 of the Enemy Agents Ordinance with an 'intent to help the enemy', clearly set out.

Mens rea or the intention which has to be established in criminal offence except in the domain of revenue, fiscal and other special laws, where intention is immaterial can only be generally established by overt acts. A difficulty in the present case is that no overt act in British India is attributed to any of the accused except to A.1 who after landing at Tanur is said to have endeavoured to win over two Moplah brothers (P.W.S. 12 and 13) who gave them shelter, to the cause of Indian Independence before the authorities took him and his group over. It is extremely easy to criticize from the generally accepted principles of criminal law, and from the safe vantage ground of peace and security special legislation such as this intended to meet a grave crisis. I am bound by the definition of an Enemy Agent in Section 2 from which it would appear that the prosecution has to establish no 'mens rea' or criminal intention other than any volition, consent or intention implicit in the words 'employed by, works for or acts on instructions received from the enemy'.

Employment in enemy occupied territory by the enemy under conditions of duress or compulsion cannot of course 'per se' make a person an enemy agent within the meaning of Section 2 of the Ordinance. As I interpret judicially these Section 2 and 3 it is necessary for the prosecution to establish that each of these accused entered India as an enemy agent, that is that he intended at the time of entry to continue in the enemy's employ or to work for the enemy or to act on their instructions. I therefore framed after examining the accused two simple charges against them (1) of entering India as enemy agents, an offence under section 3 of the Ordinance and (2) of conspiring at Penang and other places between August and November 1942 to deprive His Majesty the King of the sovereignty of British India by aiding the Government of Japan, an offence under Section 121-A of the Indian penal Code. At the same time in view of these accused having on their own showing, each Rs 500 to act as spies after a course of training in espionage school the onus lies on them to show that they entered India with the innocent intention of merely going home.

Their state of mind at the time that entered India is extremely difficult to gauge, and can only be gleaned from the circumstances of their entry, their behaviour and their early statements to the authorities. Many such statements have been exhibited, some of great length and written by the accused themselves.

7. The second legal objection as regards the retrospective effect given by Section 4 to the offence of being an enemy agent is, as I understand it, that no penal legislation can create a grave crime and make it a capital offence with retrospective effect, and that in any event the Governor-General in Council acting under Section 72 of Schedule IX of the Government of India Act 1935 has only the same powers of the Indian Legislature which not being a sovereign body but a creation of the state cannot without special powers conferred on it by parliament create penal offences retrospectively and that the ordinance is therefore 'ultra vires'. It is impossible for me to hold that the Indian Legislature of the Governor-General in Council has no powers to enact any legislation of the most drastic and unprecedented character in the last

resort for the preservation of the State itself if its very existence should be threatened by impending attack from enemy forces. Maxwell in his interpretation of statutes, fifth Edition at page 348 cites *West V. Gynne* (1911) 2 Ch. 15 for the proposition it is a fundamental rule of English law that no statute shall be constructed so as to have a retrospective operation, unless such a construction appear very clearly in the terms of the Act. This decision which is not before is obviously in the domain of civil law, but it clearly recognizes the power of the legislature to give specific retrospective operation to a statute. The language and scope of section 4 of the ordinance has been criticised but there can be no doubt of its meaning and intention to make the offence being an enemy agent both punishable with retrospective effect from the 2nd of September 1939 and also triable under the very restricted procedure prescribed in this Ordinance.

8. A final point of legal interpretation has given some difficulty. Under section 3 'an enemy agent shall be punishable with death'. This language does not appear, so far as I am aware, in any other penal legislation which prescribes a death penalty. Section 302 of the Indian Penal Code used the words 'shall be punished with death or transportation for life'. The words used in Section 1 of the Treachery Act are 'shall suffer death'. The words 'shall be punishable with imprisonment' appear only in sections 154, 155 and I.P.C. under which owners or occupiers of land on which fines in certain circumstances and in other sections the words 'shall be punished with imprisonment or fine' as the case may be are used. I observe however that the words 'shall be punishable' are used in the penal sections of the Defence of India Rules. The word 'shall' is mandatory. The ordinary dictionary meaning of 'punishable' is liable or subject to be punished by law and implies a discretion understandable in the period of imprisonment awarded or amount of fine levied.

The intention of the section appears however perfectly clear, notwithstanding this ambiguity, prescribing as it does no other punishment as all the learned Counsel before me agree. Despite the ambiguity of the Penal wording, the law making power must be deemed to have intended that an enemy agent proved to be such shall be sentenced to death leaving no discretion to the Court. The ordinance therefore as it is framed lays as a particularly heavy responsibility on me as Special Judge, and, it is necessary to scrutinize the case of each accused in this ostensibly simple, but, in many ways difficult and very extraordinary, case with the greatest care lest there be any miscarriage of justice.

9. I shall first deal with the first party, namely As. 1 to 5 who landed in rubber boats off a submarine at Tanur on the Malabar Coast on the 27th September 1942, it would appear shortly after midnight. It was a Ramzan night when most of the village were awake. One of the rubber boats was seen by K.P. Poker (P.W.11), a Moplah, who was easing himself on the beach. The second rubber boat arrived shortly afterwards. A.2 asked P.W.11 to buy them tea and plantains as they were hungry and gave him a ten rupee note. He took it to Tanur to Syed Ali Kutti (P.W.12), a substantial shop keeper who sent him to report at the Tanur Police outpost, in the meantime a coastal patrol Syed Ali (P.W.10) saw 'two things' coming from the sea, ran to the Tanur outpost and reported there that 10 or 12 Japanese had landed, This was recorded in Ex. JJ in the outpost diary and telegrams, Exs. GG and GG (1) sent from the Tanur Railway Station. The outpost Police Head Constable (P.W.15) hastened there also to get messages through. P.W. 12 and his two brothers, one of whom is Kunhi Mohanad (P.W.13) with commendable coolness and promptitude sent for tea and food and themselves went to the beach. There they found As. 1 and 2 standing near two rubber boats and As. 3 to 5 digging in the sand. A.2 said that they were looking for a lost watch.

They explained that they were on a pleasure trip from Travancore, that they had touched at Alleppey, Cochin and Ponnani and had landed to repair a leak in their boat. P.W. 12 took them to his shop with the rubber boats which he placed in his veranda downstairs. He then took As. 1 to 5 to a room upstairs and there gave them refreshments. In due course the outpost Constable recovered his composure on hearing that the Japanese were really five Indian and found As. 1 to 5 in P.W. 12's shop. There he recovered Rs 493-8-0 from A.1 and Rs 500 from A. 3 and went back to the Railway station to send corrective telegrams. The Sub-Magistrate and Sub-Inspector of Tirur (P.W.5 and P.W.14) arrived by car before dawn and questioned As. 1 to 5 in this upstairs room. A.2 repeated to them their pleasure trip story. P.W.5 says that when he told A.2 that he did not believe it expressed his 'desire to make a statement and was told he could do so in the morning. A.5 handed over Rs 500 to P.W.14 and says he was asleep from exhaustion till P.W.14 woke him up.

The District Superintendent of Police Malabar, Mr Kaye arrived at 6 a.m., saw As. 1 to 5 in P.W. 12's shop and had them taken to the travellers' bungalow where they were questioned separately. A.2 who was brought up first according to P.W.5 wanted to write out his statement and was given a sheet of paper on which he wrote out Ex. L (1). Separate statements, Exa. L.L (3) and L (4) were recorded by the Sub-Magistrate from As. 1,3,4 and 5. after this A.2 who had previously given up Rs 9 to P.W. 14 took the police to the beach and dug out Rs 490/he buried there.

10. Abdul Kadir (A.1) a Travancorean, in Ex.L first repeated the stupid picnic party story but subsequently said that it was false and made at A.2's suggestion and that they all landed in rubber boats off a Japanese submarine. He said there 'inter alia' that he joined a Japanese organization at Penang as a political student from 1/8/1942, that he was put on board the submarine on the pretext that he was to be trained wireless and then instructed to do propaganda work in India and to locate military centres in Madras and given Rs 500 for his expenses and also that he met his four companions for the first time in the submarine. In this court he says he had no relations in Malaya, when he went there for employment in 1938, that his first job was a telephone attender in the Singapore Naval Base after which he had other jobs until he joined the Butterworth Aerodrome in Penang as an Assistant Surveyor in February 1941 and was there when war broke out.

Mohammed Ghani (A.3) from Trichinopoly District admitted straightway the landing from submarine and said that Japanese officers instructed him to investigate security conditions in India and get back to Penang by land and gave him Rs 500. A sentence in Ex.L (2) in his favour in this: 'When I agreed to do propaganda work my idea was somehow to escape to India'. In this court he says that his father, a hotel keeper in Johore State sent for him in Malaya in 1937, that he went there with his uncle and completed his education there. He is now only 19. He says his father returned to Trichy sometime ago and also his uncle three or four months before the Japanese attack on Singapore asking him to finish his studies and he then lived with a distant uncle. He appears to have been unemployed when war broke out. K.A. George (A.4), an Indian Christian of Travancore in Ex.L (3) said 'inter alia' that he left Travancore in 1938 in search of employment and that at the time of the Japanese invasion he was a teacher in a Government School at Kuala Lumpur, that he then evacuated to Singapore and was employed as a clerk in Army Headquarters under Col. Pratty and then taken prisoner and treated badly by the Japanese. When they asked him to go to India to do propaganda for them he agreed in the hope that he could escape. It was only in the submarine that he found his companions and was there given a bundle of notes which he lost on the

sea. In this court he has given the same antecedents but does not say that he was employed in Army Headquarters at Singapore as a clerk.

C.P. Eapen (A.5) also a Travancorean Christian in Ex. L said he went to Malaya in 1940 and was a stenographer in the R.A.F. workshop at Kuala Lumpur when it was taken by the Japanese. He then described how he joined the Indian Independence League and a Japanese Organization at Penang which sent him out with the others to do propaganda for Indian Independence. He gives the same antecedents in this court.

11. Anand (A.2) wrote in Ex. L (1) that at the fall of Singapore he was a defence foreman of works in the R.E. 36th Company stationed at Penang which moved back to Singapore, that after it fell he was taken prisoner and kept in a Japanese camp till April and then transferred to Penang. There the Japanese invited him to go to India and spy out the war situation. He wrote that they were taken in a submarine, each given Rs 500 and at the end of Ex. L (1) offered to disclose in secret all the tactics of the Japanese to the Sub-Magistrate or to any authorized person. The case of the man Anand is very peculiar and of absorbing interest for when the C.I.D. Inspector (P.W.2) interrogated him on the 29th and 30th of September he gave out to him not only the whole story of the Swaraj Institute or the espionage school in which all these accused were admittedly trained, but also told him that another batch of five trainees would be landing shortly on the Kathiawar Coast, mentioned the true names of As. 6 to 9 and the approver Balan, and, then informed him that another party would be coming by land and mentioned names of persons including As. 10 to 19. It may be said here that As. 1 to 5 also when interrogated gave out to P.W.2 substantially the same details as As.2 and that the next batch As. 6 to 9 when interrogated by P.W.2 followed suit as did also As. 10 to 19 later on. The choice of an approver by the C.I.D. investigating staff in the circumstances must have been by no means easy. During the trial A.2 continued behaving in a very curious manner.

At first I appointed Mr Rajagopala Ayyangar to defend this batch of accused for the crown. A.2 after the trial began said he preferred to defend himself, and, when I commenced to examine him in his turn after the evidence of P.W. 1 and 2, made an extraordinary request to be examined strictly in private on the ground that he had matter of great importance to divulge which affect the lives of many persons. I granted it, cleared the Court of all the accused and the defence counsel and examined him only in the presence of the public prosecutor. He then commenced his statement by asserting that he deliberately joined the Indian Swaraj Institute in Penang with the intention of gathering as many secrets as possible from the military authorities in Japan. I took down a long statement from him in which absolutely no material not already disclosed in the Approver's evidence was forthcoming.

It would appear from his statement that he was interrogated at length by military officers whose time he wasted and who abandoned him in disgust. He ultimately blurted out that he did not want it made public that he said in court that he wanted to help the British and expressed his fears that if this reached the ears of the Japanese in Malaya they would take revenge on his friends and country men. His statement was of course read out in the presence of the other accused and the defence Counsel, who quite rightly had not the slightest objection to its being read as part of A.2's examination under Section 342 Cr. P.C. The antecedents A.2 gave in this court which like those given by the other accused it is not possible to verify are 'prima facie' very suspicious. He claims to have joined the British R.E. in Penang first as a Maintenance Overseer in 1937 and to have been drawing 300 dollars a month as Clerk of works when Singapore fell. When I asked him about his history prior to 1937 he said he

worked under a Mohammedan Contractor for a year, that prior to that he tutored some children in Udumalpet in South India for two years earning about Rs 60 a month, and, prior to that was attached to the Ramakrishna Mission in Trivandrum for about 10 years on no pay doing religious work. He claims to have been educated in the Maharajah's College of Science, Trivandrum up to the Intermediate and to have discontinued his studies to join the Ramakrishna Mission. How a man with his previous record come to earn 300 dollars a month first as a Foreman and then as a clerk of Works in the British R.E. passes my comprehension. A.2 concluded his examination by a further strange request to be kept separate from the other accused, I granted it, and, I then appointed Mr G. Chandrasekhara Sastry as Counsel for the Crown to defend him separately, a course to which A.2 acceded. I shall have more to say about A.2's most peculiar behaviour throughout this case presently.

12. I must before leaving this group deal with the only overt act in the case attributed to accused after landing, namely to A.1. P.W. 12 and P.W. 13 both say that in independent and confidential conversations they had with A.1 when he called them downstairs and spoke to them separately he told them that they were really coming from Malaya as Japanese spies, that they had plenty of money and men both in Travancore and Cannanore and made an appeal to them to help in achieving Indian Independence. The main attack on their evidence is the admitted absence of any police record of any such statement made by P.Ws. 12 and 13 that day. The sub Inspector of Tirur says he questioned P.Ws. 12 and 13 at about 5. a.m. that morning, but made no record of their examination. No case against these accused was registered in Tirur Station, nor was any information reduced to writing at all under section 164 Cr. P.C. The omission is not surprising, however vital and important such evidence of an overt act may be in this trial much later. What loomed very large in the minds of the authorities and the police that night was the landing of these accused in rubber boats off a Japanese submarine and the matter of doubt was considered primarily to have military importance of an all India nature. The Sub Inspector (P.W.14) admitted in cross-examination that the only report he sent up on the 30th September to the A.D.S.P. on his return from Calicut after escorting the accused there, recommending rewards for P.Ws. 12 and 13 but that he did not mention in it that A.1 had exhorted P.Ws. 12 and 13 to work for Indian Independence. P.W. 12 admitted that he was given a gold medal worth Rs 400 and that his two younger brothers were each given a medal worth Rs 200 and said further that they contributed of their own accord Rs 800 towards the war fund. I can see nothing inherently improbable in the evidence of P.Ws. 12 and 13 that A.1 who is also a Mohammedan made a strong appeal to them primarily to help them get away without noting from the authorities and when this failed there is nothing surprising in making a final appeal to them on the subject of Indian Independence partly in a despairing attempt to obtain assistance and sympathy. It is in evidence that in the Swaraj Institute there was intensive propaganda about the break-down of the Civil Administration in India and scares and disorders reigning here. I see no grounds whatsoever for rejecting the evidence of P.Ws. 12 and 13 who in view of their commendable and praiseworthy conduct have well deserved the medals accorded to them. . . . I find their evidence to be in substance true and the A.1 appealed to them for assistance in the last resort on the ground that he and his party had come to India to work for Indian Independence.

13. Coming now to the next batch, A.6 to 9 and the approver who landed on the Baroda Coast they were first seen on the 29th September at about 6 P.M. by Hassain Maka (P.W.17) a labourer employed in Cement Factory in Okhamadi on his way home from work. He says he saw them coming from the sea shore and A.7 who spoke Hindi asked where they could

get tea and produced a ten rupee note. He took them to a shop where they made some purchases and then to a temple where a Sadhu made tea for them. He then took to a choultry and on the way informed the son of the village patel Ran Chod (P.W.18) about these strangers. The Patel came to the choultry at midnight. The explanation they first gave was that they were Madrassis who had come from Madras by rubber boats and were on their way to Calcutta. He provided food for them and paid all their expenses in the village out of A.7's ten rupee note. In the meantime P.W. 18 sent a message to Dhrewad Rana, the nearest Military Police outpost from which Naik (P.W.19) arrived with a police party at 2. a.m.

In the meantime according to P.W. 17 he accompanied A.7 to the Railway Station to get change for the ten rupee note without success. On interrogation by the Naik (P.W.19) A.7 admitted that they had come from Madras in rubber boats and after consultation with the others A.7 and the approver took P.W. 19's party to the beach to a place about three-fourths of a mile from the village and dug out four pieces of two rubber boats (M.O.1) series) and a paddle (M.O.2) which they had buried in the sand. They were then taken to Dwarka before the District Magistrate Mr P.V. Gaejwar before whom the approver and As. 6 to 9 wrote out himself statements, Exs. A.M.N.O. and P, respectively in which with variations they gave an extremely stupid story that they had come to do social relief work on behalf of the Congress on orders from some Distress Relief working Committee, that they had left in a ship from Madras, were put into rubber boats, which on instructions they put out on landing and were proceeding to their destination, Karachi, As 6 to 9 gave assumed names but the approver his real name K.P. Balan.

On the 2nd 3rd October according to the acting Inspector of Dwaraka (P.W.2), who was also present when the statements were written, these five persons were all separately interrogated in the presence of the District Magistrate by a Naval Commander who doubtless called their bluff and satisfied them that they could only have landed off a Japanese submarine. They all then in their own handwriting wrote out very long statements, Exs. A.1, N-1, O-1 and P-1, in which they set out in full detail their training in the Swaraj Institute and the elaborate instructions which the Japanese had given them re. their duties on landing in India. As. 6, 8 and 9 had their Rs 500 intact. A.7 had 490/3/3 and the approver Rs 470. After giving each of them Rs 10 for personal expenses the balance of Rs 2410/3/3 recovered from them was deposited in the Treasury in one bundle. In due course on the orders of the Dewan of Baroda they were all sent to Madras under police escort. It was not till 16-10-1942 that the Assistant Sub Inspector of Dwaraka (P.W.21) registered a formal F.I.R. (Ex.oo) and a supplementary F.I.R., Ex. oo-1 prepared on 10.11.1942 for various offences under the Defence of India Ordinance for landing to spread disaffection towards the British in India and for purposes of espionage. This belated F.I.R. is a commentary on the omission to make any F.I.R. or any police record by the Tirur Police, an omission I have considered supra.

14. Leon D'Crus (A.6), a Travancorean Christian, aged 30, says he left India 13 years ago to join his brother who was working in an Estate and taught him Estate accounts. At the time of Jap invasion he says he was in the employ of Underwood and General Agencies Limited at Singapore till the 9th of January when his manager Mr Vandaatsellan left Singapore asking him to look after his house. In Exs. M and M-1 he gave the false name of P.Dick.

S.C. Bardhan (A.7) comes from Tipparah District, East Bengal. In Ex. N-1 and in this court he says he went to Malaya to his uncle in 1936 in search of a job and from 1938 till the Jap invasion was employed in the Post and Telegraphs Engineering Department at Seramban on 30 dollars a month. In Exs. N and N-1 he gave the name of Rup Kumar Roy.

Boniface P. Pereira (A.8) gave the false name of Mathew in Ex. 6 He is a Travancorean Christian aged 26 and in Ex. O-1 and in this court said he went to Singapore in 1938. He has however given in Ex.1 and here totally different accounts of his employment prior to the Jap invasion. In Ex. O-1 he said he joined the United Engineers Limited, Singapore as a draftsman till a month before Singapore fell. To escape bombing he went to Kuala Lumpur to the Batuorang Estate nearby in which his uncle A. Joseph was employed and remained there till he joined the Indian Independence League and was ultimately selected for the Swaraj Institute as a good swimmer and athlete who used to race for the Indian Association. In this Court however while admitting that he was employed in the United Engineers Limited at Singapore he said that he worked there till its fall, that he was in the Indian Passive Defence Force organised by Mr Goho, President of the Indian Association of Singapore with the permission of the Governor, that he became an Assistant Food Controller in this Organization but that after Singapore fell the Indian Independence League subsequently organized, took over the hospital and food stores of the I.P.D.F., that he continued to work there but under the Indian Independence League till Mr Raghawan came to Singapore in July and then on his advice he went to Penang and joined this Institute. He has suggested in his statement here that the Naval Commander made copious notes of his interrogation and directed him to copy them out in Ex. O.-1. It has of course been 'impossible in the nature of things to verify any of the antecedents of the accused as set out in their statements. The contradictory versions given by A.8 however are ill explained by this suggestion or fright when he wrote Ex. O-1. I think that fully alive to the possibility of a verification of his antecedents at some future date he has thought better of his false statements in Ex. O-1 and decided to speak the truth here. Unfortunately for him if this be the case it suggests an attempt in the first instance to conceal his activities in Singapore before and after it fell. He has himself to blame if an adverse inference is drawn in the circumstances that at Singapore he was a fifth columnist in Japanese employ.

K. Mathai Mammen (A.9) also a Travancorean Christian, took the false name of M. Mathan in Exs. P and P-1. In Ex. P-1 and in this Court he has been consistent about his antecedent, that he went to Malaya in June 1940 in search of employment and that he was a Chemist in the Anglo Oriental Malaya Mining Co., at Kuala Lumpur till December 1942 when the Company closed down and he was stranded as he describes in Ex. P.-1 with 'no work; no money and no rice'. He too says that a Naval Officer asked him to copy out the notes he made in Ex. P.1 but I think he is merely saying this to give some support to A.8. In Ex. P-1 he set out 'in extension' his recollection of the orders given to him by the Japanese.

15. Before taking up the cases of As. 10 to 19 who entered India by land some weeks later it would be convenient here to consider in some detail the evidence of the approver. K.P. Balan was tendered pardon by the District Magistrate of Malabar and made a very long and detailed confessional statement, Ex. B, before the sub-Divisional Magistrate, Calicut on 6-1-1943. His father was a clerk in a Sub-Registrar's office in the Malabar District. After completing his S.S.L.C. in 1935 he went to his uncle Dr Nair who was in Malaya working on the Dublin Rubber Estate in Kedah. P.W.1 got employment there as a conductor. After the sudden and treacherous attack on Singapore on 8th December 1941 he was sent to Penang by his Estate Manager to obtain provisions and was there on 11th December too when it was bombed. There he took shelter in the house of Mr N. Raghavan, a Barrister, President of the Central Indian Association and the acknowledged leader of the Indians in Malaya in many fields. He is described as a Congressman who took a keen interest in politics and labour

movements. When P.W.I got back to Kedah in a few days he found it overrun by the Japanese. There can be no doubt from the approver's testimony and the lengthy statements of the various accused from time to time on record that the Japanese took, as may well be expected, an insidious and subtle policy towards the Indian Communities in Malaya.

The material shows that in the first instant they formed Peace Community Committees to keep order amongst the civil population and also to relieve civilian distress. Then an Indian Independence league not in existence before the Japanese occupation was founded, according to P.W.I by one Pritham Singh, an Indian Exile and by a Japanese officer Major Fujiwara with Rash Behari Bose, a very prominent political revolutionary living in Tokyo as President for the whole of East Asia. In due course Raghavan was made President of the Malayan Branch of the League and one P.N. Pillay, organizer of the Bombay life Insurance Company, Penang, whom P.W.I claims as a friend and relation, its Secretary. Branches were opened all over Malaya, one in Kedah with C.A. Panikkar as president, the object of the League being to attain Indian Independence with Japanese Military and financial assistance. To the knowledge of P.W.I Raghavan himself went to Tokyo and later a conference was held at Bangkok, from which according to P.W.I, Raghavan and P.N. Pillay returned on the 19th of July. By then it is abundantly clear that the Japanese had all over the country taken over the various relief organizations formed by Indian Leaders and substituted for them relief sections of the Indian Independence League and that by economic pressure and political propaganda it would appear that practically all Indians were more or less forced into joining the League. P.W.I in examination-in-chief denied that the Relief Committees merged into the League when it was formed, but his knowledge was confined only to Kedah except for visits to Penang. His admission is significant that Mr Panikkar who was president of original Relief Committee became also President of the League and that it was the Japanese who supplied the Relief Committees with rice. It would also appear that membership of the Indian Independence League was secured by payment of a dollar and a ticket countersigned by the Japanese which undoubtedly gave Indians who became members, preferential treatment in many directions. P.W.I says, and I believe him, that he visited the Kedah aerodrome and also the Penang Harbour by merely showing this ticket. Some of the accused on the other hand say, and I have also no hesitation in believing this, that Indians who did not join the I.I.L. were unable to secure food, were harassed by sentries, had their houses indiscriminately searched and so on. I do not think however this policy was first resorted to and that the assertion of P.W.I that Indians who had no tickets were not to his knowledge molested or ill-treated, and, that in fact Indians were as well treated by the Japanese as under British Rule is substantially true.

The Japanese policy also included not merely the registration of all Indians in East Asia in this Independence League, but, also the formation of an Indian National Army not merely from amongst released Indian Prisoners of war but also by recruitment from the civilian population. Indian mentality after the fall of Penang and Singapore must undoubtedly have been greatly troubled and bewildered in an endeavour to adjust themselves first and foremost in the economic sphere of sheer livelihood and employment of which they had been suddenly deprived in the great Malayan catastrophe. Some of the accused in their statements describe acts of terrorism by the Japanese, to their seeing Chinese heads on poles exposed in public and so on. It may however be safely taken that so far as the Indian Community was concerned the Japanese adopted the far more insidious policy of preferential treatment in an attempt to capitalize and exploit Indian National feeling for expansion of their military domination under cover of a New Order in East Asia. Another psychological factor which doubtless Indians felt,

when, as described by the approver who was in Penang when the Japan occupied it on the 19th December all Europeans were evacuated by train and many Indian were left behind. According to P.W. 1 there were about 20,000 Indians residents in Penang. The Statesman Year Book of 1941 gives the Indian population at Penang at 32971. It was obviously impossible for them all to be evacuated and the great majority had to stay and adjust themselves temporarily to their new masters.

16. It was in this background that the Swaraj Institute was opened on the 3rd August. Practically all the recruitment appears to have been done by Raghavan himself who travelled from place to place and advised many of these accused personally to enter it for employment. The majority explain that in despair of getting a job they took his advice. At the inaugural ceremony of the institution on the 3rd August there were about 30 students including all the 19 accused who admittedly took the following pledge deposed to by P.W.2: 'I dedicate my life for the cause of Indian Independence and will carry out all the duties allotted to me to the best of my abilities even at the risk of my life. When serving my mother country, India, I will not seek any personal advantage and will treat everybody as brother and sister without any caste, creed or religion'. This oath was taken and a pledge signed in front of the Indian National flag. After this the students were clad in Khaki shorts and shirts and wore the Indian National Flag as a shoulder badge. They were supplied with free food and the evidence shows they were kept strictly under Japanese control. The principal of this school was nominally Raghavan who took classes in revolutionary propaganda, and, according to P.W.1 lectured them on the Russian and Irish Revolutions and also on the Indian Mutiny of 1857. The other accused generally say that Raghavan never lectured them on the Mutiny. In the morning the 'Vande Mataram' song was sung in front of the Indian National Flag, and every attempt was obviously made by the Japanese to generate in these youths Indian National feeling against the British which I am satisfied the majority of them never had before Japanese officers instructed them.

Lieut. Kanako in espionage, one Ishimora in Physical drill and one Watanabhi and once a Japanese business man in Madras also lectured to them on patriotism. The training included instructions in the Morse Code. Code pictures, training in disguise and so on: Rash Behari Bose once lectured the accused about the necessity to form an Indian National Army In Malaya and, according to P.W.1, convinced him of the necessity of co-operating with the Japanese. Col. Iwaguru said to be of royal blood assured these trainees in a lecture that Japan would give all her support to Indian Independence. Col. Alagappan, a well known I.M.S. Medical Officer of Madras was said to be second in command of the school. Captain Mohan Singh* was advertised in the Japanese controlled Press as Commander of the Indian National Army with K.P. Kesava Menon, a Barrister, as its propaganda minister. After 27 days of training in the school there was a graduation ceremony on the 30th August when according to the approver all the accused solemnly (*undecipherable* – Ed.) Flag faithfully to carry out the duties for which they were trained.

17. On the 1st September they vacated the building in which they were trained and another set of trainees came in. They were taken to another building, given some further training, and, then without any warning when they were expecting to be given a course of wireless training on the 15th of September, Lieut. Kanako according to P.W.1 assembled all the recruits, called out his name and that of As. 1 to 9, later split them up into parties of five making A.2 captain of one group (As. 1 to 5) and A. 7 captain of the other. At 5.30 a.m. on the 16th September Lieut. Kanako and Watanabhi took him and As. 6 to 9 to Penang Harbour, and,

there they were put into a submarine and given two envelopes one containing Rs 500 and the other type-written instructions in English. These were most elaborate and are detailed not only by P.W.1 but also by As. 6 to 9 in Exs. M-1, N-1, -1 and P-1. Each accused landed by submarine, chose or was assigned a partner from amongst the accused subsequently to arrive by land. For instance P.W.1's instructions were to contact his partner J.M. Maura (A.17) by letter, and, if this was not possible to meet him in the Taj Mahal, Agra or in the biggest temple in Agra on certain fixed dates. If he failed he was directed to go to Akyab and report there to Iwaguruki Khan's office using the pass word UWAGURU KIKAN which would take them past Japanese sentries. P.W.1's instructions were to collect information about military dispositions from Karachi in the North-West Frontier and North-West India and to communicate them to his partner, and, in the meantime if the Japs attacked India to place all the information at their disposal and to do propaganda generally in the cause of Indian Independence. A.9 for instance in Ex. P.1 wrote out to the best of his recollection the instructions that he received, which were to contact his partner one Bama Pada Roy and to meet him in the Sunday temple or in the biggest temple near the Central Railway station in Allahabad between 10th and 30th November 1942 failing that between the 20th to 30th December and failing that between the 20th and 28th February. A.8 in Ex. O-1 also wrote out his instructions from memory which were to communicate with his partner Anand C/o Post-Master, G.P.O., Madras and to meet him at the Madras Railway Station or the well-known Meenakshi Temple between the 10th and 30th November or between the 20th and 31st December, if not between the 20th and 28th February 1943 and if not to return by himself to Burma. Anand (A.2) however said that his partner was Gangadharan (A.14) who bears him out.

A. 8 explains that he mentioned Anand in Ex.-1¹ so as not to involve C.G.K. Reddi (A.10) who was the real partner assigned to him. I believe A.8 in this explanation and it is a point not in his disfavour. 'Prima facie' therefore these accused were given by the Japanese a most impracticable plan of work to perform throughout the vastness of India on most elaborate instructions.

18. I come next to the group, As. 10 to 13 who were after a note-worthy interval brought to Akyab together by the Japanese. They form one group up to a point. As. 11, 12 and 13 in this Court say that they were taken by ship to Rangoon where they were each given Rs 500 and typed instructions. From there they were taken to Akyab where they say A.10 wanted to throw away all the money the Japs had given him, and, that he gave them Rs 350 which they divided against themselves and left them at Akyab. A. 11. says A.10 gave him Rs 150 and A. 13 that he gave him Rs 100. A. 11, 12 and 13 then say that a few days later the Japanese took them to Buthidong. All try to make out that they slipped away from the Japanese and after walking for 3 or 4 days through 'No man's land' enduring great hardships and being chased by robbers they eventually reached Girjiana outpost. There the police Sub Inspector (P.W.24) found them on the 27th October in the bazaar. They told him they were evacuees from Mungdow side and wrote out themselves three statements, Exs. T.U. and W. Along with the money found in their possession he sent them to Rampur police Station for despatch to Chittagong. There on 30/10/42 As. 11, 12 and 13 made three detailed statements, Exs. T-1, U-1 and W-1 on interrogation by District intelligence Branch Sub Inspectors of Chittagong (P.W.26, 27 and 25).

These are full details, the only relevant facts about them for purposes of this case being a sedulous omission of any reference to their training in the Institute, and their claiming the money found in their possession as theirs. Two very long records of interrogation of As. 11

and 13 by Mr Springfield of the District Intelligence Branch, Exs. IX and X, have been filed at the request of Mr N.M. Sastry who defends As. 11 to 13 and 15 to 19.

These statements have been exhibited by him mainly to bear out the statements of several of this batch of accused in this Court that a few days after As. 1 to 9 and the approver were taken away, Raghavan, who was not present at the time, told them he knew nothing about them, had no correct information, and, asked them when they went to India not to do spy work for Japan, but to follow the Congress and that after reaching India they should send information to the Japanese that if the Japan invaded Indians would resist. Rather curiously this is graphically described in A.11's statement to Mr Springfield, Ex. IX, in the portion I have marked Ex. X (a). A.12 however in his long statement to Mr Springfield made no reference to any such conversation. I attach no importance to A.11 and A.13 not adverting to this when they were first examined in this court. At that stage defence Counsel were not in possession of all these other statements including Exs. IX and X to which they were given full access as the trial proceeded. Exs. IX (a) and X (a) certainly if true throw a flood of light on Raghavan's changing mentality.

A. Andrew (A.11), an Indian Christian says in this Court he left his Native place Bangalore City for Kuala Lumpur in 1935 to join his uncle and guardian Dr A.N. Susay at Kuala Lumpur by whom he was trained in Radiology and Electric Therapy. His uncle returned to India and settled down in Bangalore six months before Singapore was attacked handing over his practice to A.11's brother Dr Selvan. He described how his dispensary in Kuala Lumpur was looted and destroyed and his brother carried on what practice he could get until at last he accepted Raghavan's offer of a job in this Penang Institute. In Ex. T he wrote that he was employed by the Japanese in a military Hospital Unit which moved on to Akyab where he met As. 12 and 13 who he knew before and that they all managed to escape together.

K.K. Govindan (A.12) is a Hindu from Cochin State who went to Kuala Lumpur in July 1941 to get work. He had no relations there and says he had a small job as a clerk in a Weekly paper which was stopped owing to the Japanese invasion. After the fall of Singapore he got a job in the Indian Independence League to teach Hindustani on 15 dollars a month. In Ex. U he said he came to Akyab as an interpreter for a Japanese Officer, met his friends, As 11 and 13 and escaped with them from there.

K.M. Cheriyan (A.13) is a Travancorean aged 27 who says he went to Malaya in 1939, was employed in the Income Tax Department at Kuala Lumpur as an Assistant Examiner of Accounts on 100 dollars a month at the time of the Jap invasion. He was driven to the Indian Independence League as the only organization in a position to help and accepted Raghavan's invitation to join the Swaraj institute.

In Ex. W however A.13 first said he was employed as a typist in the Domei Agency on whose behalf he travelled with a Journalist to Akyab and from there escaped. No importance can be attached to these variations in these statements of As. 11, 12 and 13, their first statements being designed to pass through the authorities without detention or inquiry.

19. I come next to the case of T.G.K. Reddi (A.10) whose case is peculiar and falls into a decidedly different category. He is a marine Engineer aged 22 from a highly connected family in Chittoor District. He was trained on I.N.M.T.S. 'Dufferin' from 1936 to 1938 as a cadet and received excellent certificates and reports, Exs. XIV, XV, and XV (a). After serving as an apprentice in Calcutta for three years till 1941 he joined the B.I.S.N. Company as a Junior Engineer officer. He was serving on the S.S. 'Chilka' when she was torpedoed and sunk off the coast of Sumatra on 11 March 1942. His story, which there is no reason whatsoever

to disbelieve and which the prosecution do not challenge in any detail, is borne out by letters Exs. XI and XII subsequently received by his mother and his brother Lieut. C.S. Reddy (D.W.2). He says that the crew took to life-boats and reached the Island of Nies off Sumatra on the 16th March. He was the only Indian Officer on the 'Chilka' except for one cadet. In this Island they remained under Dutch protection till the 30th March. The master of the 'Chilka' and six officers managed to escape in one of the life-boats but the others were all water-logged. There were only about four Dutch residents in the Island and about 60 German internees guarded by Malay Police. As the situation in the Dutch East Indies degenerated the German internees with the help of Malay police took possession of the Island on behalf of the Japanese and interned him and several European Officers. They were taken to Sumatra but only he was released and sent across to Medan, the capital of Sumatra where he stayed till the 18th June with some Indians. He searched in vain for a job, ultimately gravitated to Singapore and was driven to approach the Indian Independence League for relief. They gave him shelter in their buildings and food till the 25th July. When Raghavan visited Singapore he interviewed him and acting on his advice he joined the Institute in Penang and became controlled. In due course he says realized that the Japs were making catspaws of them, but that it was quite impossible for him to escape. He describes how he was eventually taken to Akyab by Japs and went under orders with the Jap Expeditionary Force which attacked Mungdow. On the 25th he managed to slip away from the Japs and made for British territory. He had in all about Rs 100, was robbed in one of the villages by a crowd of all except Rs 15, but helped by Mohammedan one Abdul he crossed the river Naff in a sampan and reached the British outpost at Teknaf.

The Sub-Inspector of that Police Station Mr Abdul Khaleque (P.W.23) says A. 10 arrived there on the 25th October by himself at 5.30 P.M. asked for a passport to Chittagong and wrote out a statement himself, Ex. S. Teknaf was only two miles from the Burma border. According to P.W. 23 the Japs had occupied Mungdow sub division across the border, on the 24th October, and, on the 26th night on orders he evacuated Teknaf Police Station to Ukhia Police Station about 40 miles away taking A.10 with him. He then sent A.10 with a letter (Ex. S-1) to Chittagong for further disposal. There on 31.10.42 A.10 made a long statement, Ex. S.2, to the D.I.B. Sub-Inspector S.N. Chakravarti (P.W.26). In Exs. Ss and S-2 A.10 set out, what he now admits to be false statement, that after arrival in Singapore on the 17th June he served on the Engineering Staff of the 'Akko Maru' up to the 10th October and then on the 13th obtained a transfer to the 'Chindzin Maru' which arrived at Akyab on the 15th October. This falsehood was obviously designed to cover up the period of his training in the espionage school and to get past the authorities without any reference to that unpleasant and painful chapter in his career. In his statement in this court, A.10 said nothing about his giving up the bulk of his money the Japanese gave him to As.11,12 and 13. During his examination he mentioned nothing about his family connection in India, and, it was only disclosed to me after the prosecution case was closed that, as deposed to by his brother Lieut. C.S. Reddy (D.W.2), that his father's brother is Sir C.R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, and that another paternal uncle is Mr C. Bhaskara Reddi now sitting as District and Sessions Judge, East Godavari District. It is in evidence that another brother of his, Lieut. C.R. Reddi now serving in India in the 3rd Madras Regiment. He cited Capt. McClemen Commandant, under whom he was trained, as a defence witness. I summoned him, but a telegram, Ex. XIII, was received from the 'Dufferin' stating that Capt. MacClement was ill and had been recently boarded home from Bombay. Have allowed Mr V.T. Rangasamy who

has most ably defended A.10 to file on his behalf the annual report of the Dufferin Old Cadets Association of the year 1942, Ex. XIII, in which there is a reference to the Joint Secretary as a worthy successor to our gallant Mr Reddi who by the way is now a prisoner of war' and copy of the January 1942 number of the 'Indian Sea', the Official organ of the Dufferin Old Cadets Association Ex. XVIII (though these have not been proved on strict rules of evidence. A 10 says he edited (Ex. XVIII-a) which is a demonstration of loyalty and devotion to his work. He cited also as a defence witness Mr J. Daniel, the Head master of his old school, in Chittoor District. Summons was issued to him through his counsel Mr V.T. Rangaswami at short notice. The Headmaster replied by a letter, Ex. XIX, regretting he could not attend the Court on the 20th March. He apparently had to preside over some examination that day. In it he gives G.G. Reddi a eulogistic certificate of character and stated further that in a meeting in October 1940 he gave a very inspiring address to the boys of his old school appealing to them strongly to enlist themselves in the I.M.M.T.S. 'Duffrein' about which he gave the students glowing accounts. He has borne out Ex. XIX on oath as D.W.3.

Fortunately for C.G.K. Reddi he took the decisive and unequivocal step of separating himself from his companions and by flinging away the greater part of the money the Japanese gave him he clearly demonstrated his firm intention to do no work whatsoever for the Japanese after entering Indian soil. I am convinced also that at no phase of his training in the Swaraj Institute did he have any such intention. His failure to mention anything and involving others, even his abandonment of the Japanese money to As. 11, 12 and 13 in his statement before me, though a matter of vital importance to him, arise I think from fine feelings and a reluctance to compromise others or to make things worse for them. In the view I have taken supra of them, 'Mens rea' or the intention to be established before any of these accused can be convicted under Section 3 the onus in the circumstances being on the accused to vindicate their innocence, I find that C.G.K. Reddi has by his conduct vindicated his innocence. I find him not guilty on either charge.

20. Coming finally to the last batch of accused, As. 14 to 19, who came by land they all adopt A.14's statement in this court that after their training in the Institute they were also taken to Rangoon where they each received Rs 500 and typed instructions.

(A) A. 14 says that he and A.15 started from Rangoon on the 6th of October with directions by the Japs to go to India by the Kathiawar route, that As. 16 and 19 were directed to take another route and As. 17 and 18 left for Mandalay. There they all somehow managed to meet, the carelessness and laxity of the Japanese in this connection being most remarkable, decided to go all together to India in disobedience to Japanese instructions, reached the border together and surrendered to British patrols, under exactly what circumstance there is no evidence. A.14 claims that they disobeyed the specific instructions they received in the espionage school to disguise like the natives on the border, to cross it only in the night and if they were caught to act like mad men or dumb men. These instructions given in the institute are also deposed to by the approver. The only evidence we have is that As. 14 to 19 were taken to Brigade Headquarters, then located at Tegnopal where they were briefly interrogated along with three others by Lt. Henstock then acting as Brigade intelligence officer who sent them on with his record of interrogations. Ex. EE (1) to Divisional Headquarters at Palel. There Lieut Hart of the Military Intelligence staff interrogated them in greater detail, the records he made being Exs. Y, Z, AA, BB, CC, & DD, respectively.

(B) M. Gangadharan (A.14), aged 24, is the son of a copyist in the District munsif's Court, Alatur, South Malabar. He went to Malaya in 1937 to his uncle M. Nair, a teacher in the

Government English school, Johore Bahru, and he was employed in the United Engineers Ltd. Singapore as an apprentice draftsman when it fell. He claims to have been an A.R.P. Warden from 1930. His father files a letter, Ex.1, which A.14 wrote to him dated the 31st January 1942 which reached him on the 17th of February saying he was trying to get home but that no ship was available and asking him not to worry. The envelop of Ex. 1 has not been preserved, but Mr Damodara Menon of the Coimbatore Bar who is defending A.14 says he received Ex. 1 from A.14's father at Coimbatore. There are no grounds whatsoever for suspecting its genuineness. (Ex. Y). At his first interrogation A.14 said that after many months without work he met the Japanese in a restaurant whose offer of going to India to collect Information he accepted along with Rs 500. His statement here is borne by P.W.4 who lived in the same room with A.14 at Singapore and who managed to get a passage in an evacuee ship the 'S.S. Devonshire' as he was an employee in the Singapore Naval Base. He has filed his berthing and landing cards, Exs. XX and XX (a).

(C) S.R. Paul (A.15) is a Hindu, aged 27 from Bengal, He says here that he went to Malaya in 1935 to his uncle A.B. Paul, a dispenser in Sirambar and ultimately got a job in the Telephone Department where he was working at the time of the Japanese invasion. In Ex. Z. he said he answered a Jap advertisement asking for workers, reported at the Jap Office, Negri Sembelan, where he was directed to go to Penang and from there to Rangoon where a Jap officer gave him. Rs 450 and asked him to find out about the Tamu-Imphal Road and asked him to return with the information.

(D) Phanindranath Roy (A.16) aged 28 from Tipperah District, Bengal, says here he went to Malaya in 1937 and was working as an assistant clerk on the Berentong Estate owned by the Dunlop Malaya Estates Ltd. He says that on the 12th January the Manager Mr W.L. Phillips evacuated. In March he tried to open a shop in Sirambar but failed and then on the advice of Raghavan he joined the Swaraj Institute. In Ex. AA he said he applied to the Japs for a job, was sent to Rangoon and there given Rs 500 to find out about the road to Chittagong via Monywa and Hala and bring the information to Rangoon.

(E) J.M. Kaura (A.17), aged 22 from Gurudaspur District, Punjab says he went to Malaya in December 1940 in search of employment and was assistant Manager of the sports Firm of Messrs. Stanley and Co., in Ipoh at the time of the Jap invasion. When the Japs bombed Ipoh he went to his elder brother D.D. Kaura who was a clerk in an Indian shop at Penang. In Ex. BB. He merely said he came on Jap orders with Rs 500 to find out and report on civilian attitude in Assam and Bengal.

(F) Fauja Singh (A.18), aged 24 strikes me as the most intelligent of all the accused. He comes from Amritsar District the Punjab and says in this Court that he went to Malaya in 1927 when he was 8 year old to his sister in Singapore who was married to one Veer Singh, a money lender. He was educated in the Victoria school, Singapore and in March 1939 he joined the Naval Police as a clerk. He claims that in August 1939 while discharging his duties he gave information leading to the arrest of a German who was visiting secretly a dockyard officer without authority, that he was commended for good work in the Gazette Notification, was promoted and got an increase of pay from 40 dollars to 60 dollars. He says in this court that he resigned his appointment in the Singapore Naval Base in July 1941 on getting a better appointment as a clerk in the pay and Accountant's office, R.A.F. Office, Rangoon and was working there when the Japs attacked Singapore. He had married the daughter of Purn Singh, a money lender of Johore State and took refuge there after Kluang aerodrome was evacuated. In Ex. CC he said that he was a Naval Police Force Clerk in Singapore and was sent by the

Japs with Rs 500 to find out the possible routes from Sittaung to the border with a promise of more when information was forthcoming.

(G) G. Santhapillai (A.19), aged 24 is a Christian from Tanjore Taluk who says he was sent to Malaya by his mother in 1938 to his brother G.A. Samy who was a teacher in Government Training School in Kuala Lumpur. He failed his senior Cambridge in 1941 and was working in a commercial school when the Japs attacked Singapore. He says he was an A.R.P. Warden and his brother could not get back his work though his brother-in-law got back his job as a chargeman in the Railway. In Ex. DD he said that the Japs sent him to collect military information in Assam with Rs 500 and to return.

21. I have now not completed the detailed account of what according to the prosecution case was ostensibly a determined and carefully worked out 'espionage invasion' of India both by sea and land of young Indians drawn from all communities trained intensively in a Swaraj Institute which evolved into a school of espionage. The main evidence of the approver Balan is substantially conceded by and on behalf of the accused. The main points on which it is attacked as untrue are (1) the second promise which the trainees were obviously made to swear before the Indian National Flag to carry out their orders in India faithfully, (2) his assertion that Indians in Malaya were as well treated as under British Rule and (3) his assertion that Raghavan lectured them on the Indian Mutiny and his statement that they were allowed a certain amount of freedom in the Swaraj Institute. Though he said that he went out of the Institute about 10 or 15 times and that the other accused also went out whenever they wanted he admitted that when he and the other trainees went on orders in procession organized by the Japanese and the I.I.L. as a protest against the arrest of Mr Gandhi and other Congress leaders, a messenger told him that his uncle was ill and wanted him to see him, but that he replied that he could not leave the Institute without permission. He admitted that the gates of the Institute were always guarded, by sentries. There can be little doubt that all the trainees in this Swaraj Institute were under strict Japanese watch and control. The approver as well as the other accused attribute their original entry into the Swaraj institute to the influence and persuasion of Raghavan who is so to speak on his trial here. Mr N.M. Sastry who had ably defended the last batch of the accused has filed a report of the Central Indian Association, Malaya for the year 1940, Ex. 11, and also the last two presidential addresses by Raghavan at the third and fourth Annual General meeting of the Central Indian Association of Malaya on 9-2-1940 and 26-1-1941, Exs. III and IV. to show that he had no political views in the direction of any Indian National movement at all, and that his activities were mainly confined to bettering the economic position of Indian in Malaya. I also permitted him to file some Press extracts, Exs. V to VII, from *the Hindu* showing that Raghavan visited India from July to September 1941 and was publicly entertained both in Madras and in Simla in Government circles.

It would be quite outside my province in the confines of this case, with Raghavan not before me to defend himself, to say anything in his condemnation. Whether his first reaction to the Malaya catastrophe was indeed a genuine and eager or a feigned determination to collaborate with the Japanese in their new order in East Asia and to adapt himself and his compatriots in Malaya to it — a matter not altogether irrelevant in this case — there is no material before me to decide. There can however, be no question that as the admitted leader of the Indian community in Malaya he must have been placed in a 'modus vivendi' for his community under the Japanese. In relation to his community he was probably a pitiable 'Petain' in miniature with not even a fishing boat to begin with. The contention that without any warning

when they were expecting a course of wireless training, As. 1 to 9 and the approver were suddenly divided into two parties, and whisked off into submarines is borne out by the evidence of the approver himself. If the statements of some of the accused in the last batches are to be believed, borne out as they are by Exs. IX (a), Raghavan himself was not aware of this sudden move, and, was a deluded man who had lost any faith he may previously have had in Japanese promises. I am not in a position to comment any further on Raghavan who undoubtedly did influence the great majority of these accused to enter the Swaraj Institute. Judgement on him must await fuller material after Malaya is liberated.

22. It has been strenuously urged by Mr Rajagopalachari that the oath first taken by the trainees before the Indian National Flag was innocuous and one which many Indian loyal to His Majesty would have no difficulty in taking. This is so with some reservation as to the meaning of the word 'Independence' which among the vast majority of Indians is said to mean self-Government within the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is then pleaded that once having got into this institute they were not free agents and unable to get out when they realized that it was in fact an espionage school. It is urged what employment legally implies consensus of mind between master and servant or principal and agent, and that there can be no 'employment' without consent which must be free and not vitiated by coercion, misrepresentation or undue influence as defined in Sections 13 and 14 of the Indian Contract Act. These arguments have considerable force in application to many of the accused. I held super anticipating them at the time I framed charges that the criterion of intention for a conviction under Section 3 of the Ordinance must be the time of entry on Indian soil when all conditions suggestive of duress, coercion and undue influence were removed. It has next been urged that both in the institute and as long as they remained in groups these accused were not free agent one not trusting the other. The acid test of intention would of course have arisen when they separated individually to carry out the detailed programme of espionage chalked out for them by the Japanese over the vastness of India. I am satisfied that when this stage was reached the great majority of these accused would have made a bee line for their homes and not bothered any further about working for the Japanese, and what is more that the Japanese who are no fools themselves were fully alive to this certainly. At the same time it is extremely probable that in the ranks of these trained in the Swaraj Institute there were some who are also before this Court, who were in previous Japanese employ as fifth columnists in Malaya. In this category there are some grounds for suspecting Abdul Khadir (A.1), Anand (A.2) S.C. Bardhan (A.7), Boniface P. Perira (A.8) and Fauja Singh (A.18). On the subject of intention I put a point blank question to the approver K.P. Balan as to what his intention was at the time he landed. He said he intended to proceed to Karachi and the North West Frontier and to collect information for the Japanese and the National Army, but he naively explained that he was no longer of that mentality as in Penang they were taught a lot of false propaganda that the civil administration in India had broken down, and that police Department had joined the revolution but when to his astonishment he found the police, and in particular jails and courts all functioning quite normally he completely changed his mind. The insuperable difficulty of gauging precisely the intention of each of these accused at the time of entry is however, simplified by the following findings to which I have been impelled on a careful consideration of this 'espionage' assault on India by the Japanese by land and sea.

23. Looking below the surface there appear to me many obstacles in the way of accepting the prosecution case that the Japanese sent all these young men with any intention or hope of ever expecting them to return to Burma after spying out India. In the first place no more

unsuitable material could have been chosen to carry out these elaborate Japanese instructions than these young men charged before me. Most of them were mere clerks in humble employ whose training in this Swaraj Institute for a few weeks however, intensified, could not have turned them into effective fifth columnists. Whatever may have been the Japanese intention at the time they started this Swaraj Institute to train spies I am satisfied they must have realized the hopelessness of getting any results from the great majority of these accused. Why then were these elaborate and impracticable directions given to them in typed instructions?

The next extraordinary feature is the distribution of those ten rupee notes in four main series, 182 in Series E-51, 61 in Series B-78, 288 in Series C-4 and 302 in Series C-20. (Ex. E) Mr Gopalakrishna Menon has carefully prepared an elaborate and exhaustive statement giving the numbers of each note in the series, underlining in different colours the notes found on the Dwaraka, Malabar, Chittagong and Assam groups of the accused. It requires only a glance at Ex. E. to show a fair proportion of each series in each group. The material on record shows that As. 1 to 9 and the approver were given their notes before being put into submarines at Penang but that the other accused were given their notes several days later at Akyab. I find it extremely difficult to believe that the Japanese would have sent out carefully trained spies whom they expected to return with results, in possession of these notes which so obviously give evidence of their association with each other, except by deliberate and sinister design or through sheer inadvertence or carelessness. The more I study Ex. E. and the mosaic of differently coloured penciling underneath the numbers of the notes the more convinced I am that the even distribution of these notes, each accused receiving a certain number of these main series, was the result of deliberate intention and design. Ex. F. has been of course prepared and filed to show and prove conclusively in corroboration of the evidence of the approver a close association between all these accused at a time when the legal evidence available was being scrutinized, and, in ignorance of what lines of defence the accused would adopt.

The next extraordinary feature about this case is the laxity and carelessness exhibited by the Japanese in allowing As. 14 to 19 come across together with these notes in these incriminating series merely dressed as Indians without taking the slightest precautions to see that these spies they had so carefully trained had a reasonable chance of getting across the border without being caught. These accused say that though they were first asked to take different routes to India in pairs, they joined each other in Mandalay and then made their way to India together. Their statements are of course, unverified, but I am satisfied that they all met together and were captured. The Japanese have demonstrated their thoroughness particularly in the domain of black treachery and insidious guile. I am not prepared to hold that they have belied their reputation for meticulous thoroughness by sheer carelessness (1) in the distribution of common series of notes to the accused and (2) the apparent indifference amounting to culpable carelessness in the manner they sent out the last batches of Indian spies they had trained so carefully across the border.

The next suspicious feature is the interval of time, not accidental, but, I consider, deliberate between the sea invasion by submarine and the land invasion by these spies in two batches after significant and appreciated intervals. I am not able to follow why the two 'invasions' were to synchronize if the Jap really intended these accused to do the work allotted to them. In fact it appears to have been easier to have sent the land groups across with less possibility of detection and inquiry, at the frontier much earlier along with other evacuees who it is in evidence kept coming across the border. It is not without significance that the Assistant

sub-Inspector, Girjiana (P.W.24) who found As. 11, 12, and 13 in the bazaar there on the 27th October has deposed that since that day he neither found nor detained any person coming from the Burma side, but that earlier that month he detained and sent to Chittagong for further interrogation about 15 to 20 persons. It was not till several days later that As. 14 to 19 were sent across.

The next suspicious feature is the extremely curious behaviour of Anand (A.2) from the time he set foot on Indian soil. I believe the evidence of the approver that A.2 was made 'Captain' of the first party and that A.7 was the captain of the Dwaraka group. They both behaved also as leaders and spokesmen from the commencement. From the time he landed and even in this Court he has persisted in importuning every official authority for statements in private. The sub Magistrate (P.W.5) says he told him he wanted to make a statement when he first saw him inside P.W. 12's house. A.2 insists that he asked the D.S.P. Mr Kaye when he came upstairs for an interview in confidence, and that even when he was taken before Mr Kaye and the Sub-Magistrate in the travellers bungalow verandah he told them he could not say anything in public and wanted a private interview. The Sub-Magistrate (P.W.5) says A.2 wanted to write out himself what he had to say and was given a sheet of paper and then wrote out Ex. L.1. In Ex. L.-1 he first wrote 'I am a British Army man and am now saying this which can be given to you or any Army Officer'. He then drew a line and wrote out Ex. L (1). On the 28 and 29th however, at the earliest opportunity afforded him for the private interview with a responsible officer he told Mr Gopalakrishana Menon not merely everything about the Swaraj School but the names of As. 6 to 9 and the approver who would be landing on the Kathiawar coast and also the names of As. 10 to 19 who were coming across by land. I have described supra in para 11 his curious behaviour in this court, his request which I granted to be kept separate from all the other accused, and his obsession which I believe to be purely a pretence, that he had come to India to serve the British and was in possession of secrets of great military value.

24. After a careful examination of this case I am led to the conclusion that Anand acted on secret Japanese instructions, unknown to the rest of his party, when he divulged at the earliest opportunity to P.W. 2 all the facts and cast a sinister net over the other accused. The later batches we deliberately sent across by land after studied intervals with these incriminating notes to be caught by the authorities in India who would be watching for them, knowing full well that they would be found, in their own defence babble about the Swaraj institute in which they were trained and the India independence League and so forth. I am convinced that this was a carefully prepared propaganda assault on the morale and loyalty of Indians, calculated also to harass Government at a time when the whole country was upheaved by political rebellion, by mob violence and case of sabotage. It was a spectacular assault, first by sea, with young Indian of all communities landing off Japanese submarines at the risk of their lives to work for Japan and the cause of Indian Independence through Japanese assistance. The west Coast was chosen for this assault, probably, to demonstrate the length of the Japanese Naval Army and strike at the imagination of the people. It appears to me not without sinister design that one batch was landed on the west coast on British Indian Territory and the other batch on the territory of a Native State. It was manifestly easier and quicker, if the intention of the Japanese was to land spies whom they expected to return with information, to have done so on the East coast. The Propaganda value of this 'espionage assault seems to me obvious.

Exs. PP and PP-1 are propaganda leaflets dropped in an air raid on Calcutta in December 1942 advertising the Indian Independence League. The inevitable disclosures after Anand had

done his task, A. 11 and these accused were in due course rounded up, interrogated and tried, as the Japanese perhaps vainly hoped in the full publicity of a British Court of Justice, were of course from the Jap point of view excellent propaganda and publicity throughout India, of a Swaraj Institute in Malaya, training willing Indians of all castes and creeds to invade India as spies in the pay of Japan, of Indian leaders in Malaya eagerly collaborating with the Japanese of the formation of an Indian Independence league and of Indian National Army ready to achieve Indian Independence and so forth. The whole of this insidious scheme cunningly worked out, using many of the accused before me, unscrupulously as pawns in diabolical game was in my view primarily a propaganda assault calculated to unnerve the Government, to sow distrust between Britishers and Indians, to undermine, if that were possible, public morale, and secondly to get easy and wide publicity for the so called New Order in East Asia, under cover of which the Japanese vainly hope to beguile Indians by dangling before them the lure of a chimerical Independence under Japanese auspices. All the difficulties in this case, which I have indicated supra, find resolution in the light of this decision to which I have come. I am convinced that it is the correct solution of the very extraordinary case. The deep-seated plan succeeded according to plan up to a point, as indeed do, all diabolical plots, carefully and cunningly worked out to enmesh and entrap innocent persons.

But the assault broke miserably on the solidarity of the people of this country against Axis and Japanese aggression. Premature publicity was of course frustrated by the complete secrecy of the Police investigation. The case illustrates in a striking manner the simple loyalty of the humblest folk, official and unofficial, in remote villages and their determination to have no truck with anything whatsoever of Japanese origin. I am not aware of the reasons why the officers of the Criminal investigation Department declined, in my view quite rightly, to make an approver of Anand who first told the police everything about all the accused in this case. The first person who makes a clear breast of an offence in a confession involving himself and others is generally taken as an approver, I am convinced that Anand hoped to escape completely himself, if not get rewarded by the authorities here, or for his full disclosures, and, it was doubtless this bait which the Japanese dangled before his eyes when they gave him his secret instructions in furtherance of their insidious propaganda. Had the C.I.D. made Anand the approver in this case all I can say is that my embarrassment in this would have been profound.

25. I am fully alive to the fact that I have arrived at a general conclusion, at no time suggested either by the learned public Prosecutor or any of the Defence counsel, though some of the latter have repeatedly used the word 'catpaws' in their arguments, convinced doubtless that many of these accused have been pitifully befouled in some way or other which they could not define. Mr Rangaswami for instance for G.G. Reddi (A.10) described him as a 'catpaw of Jap perfidy'.

My general finding about this case does not necessarily mean that all the accused except Anand should be acquitted on those two grave charges. It is extremely probable that, as I observed before, amongst innocent accused drawn into a net of which they were powerless to wriggle, are some who may have been either instruments of the enemy previously, or who had definitely imbibed the insidious propaganda on which they had been fed and who landed with every intention of doing propaganda for the Japanese and acting on their instructions. That this Jap propaganda offensive should not consider them at all is not surprising. It merely sought an objective in its Machiavellian scheme, which would only be furthered by some of these deluded accused actually doing something after landing to demonstrate their intention to work for Japan. I have carefully searched the ranks of the accused for such persons, giving

the benefit of a reasonable doubt to all cases on the border line, in the view I have taken of this case. The learned public Prosecutor has stressed the omission of the great majority of these accused to indicate anywhere in their early statements that they agreed to work for Japan merely in order to escape and get home. This is not so in the cases of As. 3 and 4 in his first statement Ex. 1.2 before A-2 had done his work A-3 said 'When I agreed to do propaganda work my idea was some how to escape to India' A-4 similarly in Ex. 1-3 said 'In my condition I agreed in the hope that I could escape'. The present line of defence is there clearly reflected. K.A. George (A.4) in this court further said, and, I believe him backed up as he is by the intention first expressed in Ex. L-3. that he and (A-5) whom he knew quite well, agreed amongst themselves, not being quite sure of As. 1 to 3, to go to their homes together in Travancore at the very first opportunity. But A.5 in his first statement, Ex. L-4, did not however specifically say, while admitting that he had come on Jap's instructions to do propaganda, that his real intention was to escape to India. No adverse inference can therefore be fairly drawn against these accused for not saying at the very outset that they intended to escape home, or in the difficult position in which they were placed not speaking out the whole truth about the Swaraj Institute. That courage would certainly have led to their detention, their involving others and many complications. As the last batch of accused also pertinently explain, if they had said they had passed through an espionage school, they were afraid that the military authorities would have shot them on the spot.

26. On a careful consideration of the case of all the accused individually, and, in view of the general finding I have come to in this case I give the benefit of more than a reasonable doubt as to their intentions on entering India to As. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, to 17 and 18. They were I find mere pawns in a diabolical Japanese game, harmless, inoffensive clerks in Government employ and other humbler capacities who went to Malaya recently of employment. Both charges necessarily stand or fall together. To establish the conspiracy charge under section 121-A. A.P.C. it is essential to prove an agreement which was free and not vitiated are coercion, fraud, misrepresentative and duress. All these accused found not guilty and acquitted on both counts. They will be restored to their previous position as detenus and abide the further orders of Government.

27. I have already found that C.G.K. Reddi (A.10) has vindicated his innocence, acquit him on both counts. I direct his also being kept as a detenu with a strong recommendation to Government to release him to enable him to join as early as possible the mercantile marine, that service whose glorious traditions. C.G.K. Reddi has not I consider in any way besmirched by his conduct in this case.

28. There remain for consideration the case of As. 1, 2, 7, 8 and 18. Muhammad Abdul Khadir (A.1) of Travancore clearly demonstrated his intention after landing when in private conversation with P.W. S12 and 13 he appealed to them for help on the ground that he had come to work for Indian Independence. I am constrained to find him guilty on both charges.

S.C. Bardhan (A.7) of Bengal has shown as the learned public Prosecutor has stressed his unequivocal intention in his own early statements. In Ex. N-1 before the District Magistrate, Baroda, he said 'My intention was to go to Karachi to find out the Congress men and get into contact with them'. He was according to P.W.1 the captain of his group, the evidence showing that he acted as leader throughout He. Went to the Railway Station from the choultry along with P.W.7 to enquire about fares to Gujarat and himself says in Ex. N-1 that he found that the fares came to Rs 12-1-0 for five persons. As captain of his party he obeyed Japanese instructions to cut and bury the rubber boats although his party landed in the afternoon,

whereas the other captain Anand (A.2) made no such endeavour though his party landed at midnight. But as found by me supra, Anand had another most sinister part to play, which did not call for any cutting and burying of boats, but rather for their being given maximum publicity. I find A.7 guilty on both charges.

The case of Boniface B. Pereira (A.8) has given me much anxiety. There are really no grounds for distinguishing his case from those of As. 6 and 9 except for the glaringly discrepant account in Ex. O-1 and in this court as to where he was before and after the attack on Singapore. These three accused, it is true, in their first statements, Exs. M, O and), and all said they were going to Karachi. That may well have been the place agreed on at which they should all separate. The antecedents of the other accused whom I have acquitted I see no reason generally to doubt. I had each accused brought up to my court table and observed them carefully while making their statements, all impossible in the nature of things to verify now. I am constrained to hold that A.8 has in view of the conflicting statements he made not discharged the onus on him of showing that he landed in India with innocent intentions. The statements he has made, do not warrant such an inference. I find him also guilty of both charges.

Coming now to Fauja Singh (A.18) his case is also a difficult one. As observed supra, he is probably the most intelligent of all the accused. His plea that he wanted to come home to India is very difficult to accept. He left India on his own showing when he was only 7 or 8 year old, was educated entirely in Malaya and was married to the daughter of Puran Singh a money-lender of Johore state. Unlike so many of the other accused he had therefore a home in Malaya and, he can scarcely plead economic pressure which drove him into the Swaraj institute. He admits he was House Captain in the Swaraj Institute for the last two weeks. There is perhaps no special significance in this as according to the approver he was himself Home Captain for one week before that and A.11 for a week before that. I am unable to accept his plea therefore of his innocent intention merely to return home. A shepherd for the last batch of sheep was necessary and everything points to Fauja Singh having played the role and carried out Japanese instructions without being aware himself or the trap into which he was walking. I find him guilty on both charges.

Coming finally to Anand (A.2) in view of my general finding supra he is clearly guilty on both account as the spearhead and the main instrument whom the Japanese employed in their civil and sinister plan. His antecedents are most suspicious. He was captain of his submarine party, and, everything points to his having been previously in Japanese employ before the Japanese invasion of Malaya.

29. As regards sentence Section 3 of the Ordinance gives me as I have held supra no discretion. I find Abdul Khadir (A.1) S.A. Anand Singh (A.18) guilty of being enemy agents under Section 3 of the Ordinance and sentence them each to be hanged by the neck till he is dead. I also find them guilty Section 121-A, I.P.C. and on this count I sentence Anand (A-2) to the maximum I can award namely transportation for life and As. 1, 7, 8 and 18 each to undergo five years rigorous imprisonment. As regards Anand (A.2) I can make of course no recommendation for mercy. But as regards As. 1, 7, 8 and 18 I would make a strong recommendation, in the view I have taken of this case for commutation of the death sentence to the terms of imprisonment I have awarded them under section 121-A.I.P.C. to run concurrently with them. The approver K.P. Balan is released from judicial custody but will be restored to the position of a detainee in Police custody and abide the orders of Government. All the Japanese money recovered in this case will be confiscated to Government and sent to the Accountant-General, Madras, for disposal. I would recommend in this connection that

the accused whom I have acquitted be given some money on their release to enable them to make a fresh start in life in India. These proceedings will be submitted as required by Section 9 of the Enemy Agents Ordinances for review by the Hon'ble Mr Justice Wadsworth, the Reviewing Judge appointed under the Ordinance.

30. I should like in conclusion to express my appreciation of the great fairness with which the learned Public Prosecutor on instructions from the C.I.D. officers has presented the case for the Crown and the thorough and able defence on behalf of these accused by defence Counsel who overcome all handicaps under the restricted procedure prescribed by the Ordinance and the restricted accommodation in this prison court with commendable adaptation. Difficulties in the way of granting copies of lengthy statement in advance were promptly met by the Deputy Superintendent of police, C.I.D. Mr Natesa Ayyar and the Investigating Officer Mr Gopalakrishna Menon (P.W.2) readily making available at short notice all documents required from a very voluminous police record and supplying copies to counsel at request. I was greatly helped throughout the trial by the thorough knowledge of the Police record shown by the Investigating Inspector Mr Gopalakrishna Menon (P.W.2) who in his unhesitating and straight-forward answers in the witness box showed great fairness to all the accused concealing nothing which could be of advantage to them. I am particularly indebted to him for his very careful preparation of Ex. F. and the coloured penciling thereof which gave me the first clue to what I have no doubt is the solution of this case.

At the request of Mr Hamilton, Superintendent C.I.D., the rubber boats (M.Os. 1 and 3 series) will be handed over to him for placement in police museum.

All the personal property found on the acquitted accused will be returned to them.

Pronounced strictly 'In Camera', accused, their Counsel, the prosecuting staff and minimum court staff only being present.

Signed E.E. Mack.

Special Judge.

1.4.1943.

1. Ex-exhibits referred to in the document are not printed.

8. Governor of Bihar to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2335]

From H.E. Sir Thomas Rutherford, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Governor Of Bihar.

(Secret)

No. 235-G.B.

Camp, April 9th, 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

As postscript to my letter No. 220-G.B. dated the 4th April 1943¹ I enclose a printed copy² of the Chief Secretary's fortnightly report for the second half of March. I forgot to mention

in my letter the fact that the Bhagalpur operations were mentioned in the Saigon radio. So far as I am aware no reference has been made to them in any A.I.R. broadcasts and the fact that news of a comparatively unimportant matter (except to Jaiprakash Narayan and his friends) should have got through so quickly to the Japanese suggests a well-organized transmission service from within India to the enemy.

Yours sincerely,

T.G. Rutherford.

1 & 2. Not printed.

9. Extracts from the statement of Gurdip Singh of Jhabal Kalan followed by official comments (dt 7.5.1943–8.5.1943)

File No. 44/37/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

YOGI RAM NATH had his private Radio set which was daily switched on for receiving broadcasts from Berlin, Rome, Tokyo and Saigon. We used to collect and take keen interest in the enemy propaganda. We were much interested in the Saigon broadcast from which we learnt that Indian National Army comprising of about a lakh soldiers was formed from among the Indian war prisoners in the Jap occupied countries. This Army was announced to be ready for an attack on India to liberate her from the British clutches. We heard the speeches of RASH BEHARI BOSE and S.C. Bose and also the accounts of the Bangkok Conference which affected my mind in as much that a movement was started ex-India for the freedom of motherland. I did not think that the invasion by I.N.A. would put India under Japanese yoke as revolutionaries like RASH BEHARI BOSE and S.C. Bose were not expected to betray the cause of Indian freedom.

In the beginning the enemy propaganda was not much liked by the Congressites and throughout so by the two communists. When the Congress took steps towards launching C.D. movement the interest in the enemy broadcasts was very much encouraged.

The broadcasts for India from the Rome Radio were not liked by us as the speaker did not know the elementary manners of speech. He used to indulge in abusive language and went off the tangent in his expressions so that little could be made out from his humdrum talks. MOHAN LAL Gupta once remarked that if some one among us was in Rome those days he would not have cut such a sorry figure. I developed a strong desire to speak from enemy Radio Station but I had not thought out any proposal at that time.

The C.D. movement started before my release and we heard broadcasts and read in the papers that the movement was at full swing everywhere in India except Punjab. We learnt that fire was opened frequently on the Indians taking part in the meetings and processions we were much dejected to know the apathy prevailing in the Punjab. Dr SANT RAM Seth, YOGI RAM NATH and MOHAN LAL pleader wanted me to do something at Amritsar

after my release so that the Punjab might not be considered as a black spot in the history of Indian struggle for freedom.

(Notes in the I.B.)

2. The attached extracts from his statement show that it is inadvisable to permit prisoners to have uncontrolled wireless facilities and dangerous to confine Japanese contact prisoners with other prisoners in Indian Jails.

E.H.F. Beadon

Signed 7/5.

2. Detenus in the Punjab apparently are allowed wireless — this should be taken up on the conditions of Detention from file.

Signed

V. Sahay, 8/5.

10: Petition for transfer of a security prisoner (D.N. Bose) from one jail to another

File No. 92/23/41 -- Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

From

Satish Chandr. Bose Esqr.,

Barrister-at-Law,

38/2, Elgin Road,

CALCUTTA.

and

Suresh Chandra Bose Esqr.,

Deputy Magistrate & Deputy Collector

Dumka (S.P.) now residing in

38/2, Elgin Road,

CALCUTTA.

To

The Hon'ble the Home Member,

Government of India,

NEW DELHI.

Re: Srijuts Dwijendra Nath Bose & Aurobindo Bose, now in detention in the District Jail, Campbellpur (The Punjab.)

Dear Sir,

We take the liberty of addressing you on behalf of Srijuts Dwijendra Nath Bose and Aurobindo Bose above named.

The former is the only surviving son and issue of the undersigned 'Satish Chandra Bose' and the latter is a son of the undersigned 'Suresh Chandra Bose', the undersigned being brothers. We venture to submit for your consideration, the extreme climate of Campbellpur, particularly, its inordinately high temperature, and unbearable heat during summer, which will, we apprehend, have a deleterious effect on the physical constitution of our sons. While in detention in Lahore Fort during summer last year, Sj. Dwijendra Nath Bose lost not only 24 lbs in weight but suffered from severe colic and rheumatic pain. The temperature in Campbellpur is now rising rapidly and it appears that Sj. Dwijendra Nath Bose is unable to stand the extreme heat so much so that he fell a victim to stomach complaints only week before last and his old rheumatic complaint has reappeared.

In the circumstances aforesaid, we earnestly request you to direct the transfer of our above named sons to any place in Bengal having a mild climate as for instance, Kurseong in the District of Darjeeling, failing which, Hazaribagh, in the province of Bihar.

We have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servants,
Satish Chandra Bose,
Suresh Chandra Bose.

Dated, 15th May, 1943

Earlier Petition from Satish Chandra Bose

Copy of a petition, dated the 21st April 1943, from Satish Chandra Bose Esqr., Barrister-at-Law, 38/2 Elgin Road, Calcutta, to the Secretary, Poll Department, Government of India, New Delhi.

Re: Srijut Dwijendra Nath Bose, Security Prisoner now in detention in the District Jail, Campbellpur (The Punjab).

The above named Security Prisoner is my only surviving son and issue. On the 13th of June 1942, I addressed a petition to you asking for permission to interview my said son in the District Jail, Campbellpur. By Memorandum dated the 6th July 1942 (No. 94/23/41-Poll (I)) from the Under Secretary to the Government of India, I was informed that my petition had been forwarded for disposal to the Government of the Punjab. Thereafter, I received a communication dated Lahore the 21st of July 1942 from the office of the Deputy Inspector General of Police C.I.D., Punjab, that my wife and I were permitted to interview the above named Security Prisoner in the District Jail (Campbellpur) and that the time and date of the interview would be settled in direct communication with the Superintendent, District Jail Campbellpur. Last year, my wife and I were in an unsatisfactory state of health and unable to undertake a long railway journey and so we could not avail ourselves of the permission accorded to us to interview our above named son. We are eagerly desirous of interviewing our son whom we have not met for over a year. I therefore request that necessary permission may be accorded to my wife and myself to interview our son in the District Jail, Campbellpur, any time and date during the months of September and October next.



11. District Magistrate, Chittagong to the Additional Secretary, Government of Bengal, giving a list of persons arrested

Government of Bengal (Home) Def. Branch, File No. W/356/43
[Bengal State Archives]

Magistrate's Office
Chittagong,
The 29th May 1943

To
The Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Calcutta
Home (Political) Department.

I forward herewith a list of persons arrested under rule 129 (1) of the D.I.R. by the Officer-in-Charge, Forward Interrogation Camp, Chittagong, on suspicion.

District Magistrate,
Chittagong

[Editor's Note: The significance of this list of names is that it shows the range of persons from all Communities (Hindu, Muslim and Burmese) who were rounded up on suspicion and sometimes released or treated as refugees but more often detained without trial under various sections of the Defence of India Rules. We have printed only those names where a detention was ordered. The original serial numbers have been retained to get an idea of the total number of people affected.

In column 5, after the names of soldiers, sometimes the word 'Black', 'Grey' or 'White' appear. These were code words of the military authorities to assess the degree of 'disloyalty' of I.N.A. soldiers whom they had arrested [N.S. mean not suspect.]

List No. II. Arrest of Suspects under Sub-rule (1) of Rule 129 of Defence of India Rules. Dated 1.2.43

No.	Name	Father's Name	Native District	Date of arrest	Remarks
48.	Karim Baksh	Abdulla	Jaipur	17-1-48	Arrested by Rly Police Detained under 26 DIR
57.	Shahbuddin	Moulvi Abdul Hakim	Akyab	23-1-43	Produced by Military Confined under rule 26 DIR dated 29/1/43
58.	Muniruz Zaman	Imamuddin	Akyab	23-1-43	Arrested by Military Confined under Rule 26 DIR to be sent to Delhi
62.	Mir Ahamad	Fazal Rahaman	Buthidaung Akyab	20-4-43	Arrested by military Confined under rule 26 DIR sent to Delhi

No.	Name	Father's Name	Native District	Date of arrest	Remarks
65.	Gazi Amir Hamza	Asgar Ali	Maungdev Akyab	21-1-43	Produced by Military confined under rule 26 DIR
66.	Zahiruddin Ahamad	Abdul Hakim	Maungdev Akyab	21-1-43	Produced by Military confined under rule 26 DIR Sent to Delhi
67.	Maung Tha Bwin	Pan San Aung	Buthidaung Akyab	21-1-43	Produced by military sent to Dinajpur camp on 22-1-43
68.	Aung Chan	Aung Ba Than	Buthidaung Akyab	21-1-43	Produced by military sent to Dinajpur camp on 22-1-43
69.	Ba Yaung	Nga Nget Ke	Buthidaung Akyab	21-1-43	Produced by military sent to Dinajpur camp on 22-1-43
70.	Ne Bla	Maung Sein	Buthidaung Akyab	21-1-43	Produced by military sent to Dinajpur camp on 22-1-43

/XIII.F/43 date
Office of 5.F.I.C. (S.C
C/o. 12 Adv. B.P.C

List No. III. Arrest of Suspects under Sub-rule (1) of Rule 129 of D.I.R.

No.	Name	Father's Name	District	Arrest on	Remarks
77.	Mahfuz Husain	Nasirudin	Dacca	1-2-43	Detained under 126 D.I.R.
80.	Abdul Shukur	Sur Ali	Akyab	13-2-43	Detained under Police 25 DIR
89.	Mg. Than Wa	Tha La U	Akyab	13-2-43	Detained under Rule 26
90.	Saing Than Aung	T. Nyo Aung	Akyab	13-2-43	Detained under Rule 26
91.	Sein Boo Oo	Hla Thwin Oo	Akyab	13-2-43	Detained under Rule 26
92.	Nga Mie Ook	Hawin Tha Ag	Akyab	13-2-43	Detained under Rule 26
103.	Ba Tun		Akyab		Detained by Military to be sent to Delhi
104.	Abdul Hasan;	M. Hussain	Akyab	1-2-43 by Military	Detained under 26 DIR
105.	Abdul Jalil	Umar Mian	Akyab	1-2-43 by Military	Detained under 26 DIR
106.	Habibur Rahman	Md. Yakub Manbi	Akyab	10-2-43 by Police	Detained under 26 DIR
108.	Fazlul Haq	Gada Husain Munshi	Akyab	14-2-43 Police	Detained under 26 DIR, escaped from case on 29-3-43
109.	Mg. Batha	Mra Iyaw Oo	Akyab	16 days prior to 26-2-43	Detained under 26 DIR

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Father's Name</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Arrest on</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
110.	Abdul Karim	Abdur Rashid	Akyab	16 days prior to 26-2-43	Detailed under 26 DIR
111.	Abdul Majith	Abdul Ali	Akyab	16 days prior to 26-2-43	Detailed under 26 DIR

/XIII.F/43 dated
Office of 5.F.I.C. (S.C)
C/o. 18 Adv. Base Posti.O.

Arrest of Suspects under Sub-rule (1) of Rule 129 of D.I.R.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Father's Name</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Arrest on</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
134.	Shwe Po	Maung U	Chittagong	By military on 10-3-43	Sent to Dinajpur
135.	Shwe Kyi Aung	Maung U	Chittagong	By military on 10-3-43	Sent to Dinajpur
136.	Maulvi Fazal	Mahabath Ali	Chittagong	By military on 10-3-43	Sent to Dinajpur
137.	Piarey Lal	Hargia Singh	Meerut	By military on 12-3-43	Sent to H.Q.
138.	Joy Ram	Bhola Ram	Kangra	By military on 12-3-43	Sent to H.Q.
139.	Rup Chand	Dalip Singh	Kangra	By military on 12-3-43	Sent to H.Q.
140.	Nur Khan	Mer Khan	Jhelum	By military on 12-3-43	Sent to H.Q.
141.	Raja Mohd	Jahan Mohd	Hissar	By military on 12-3-43	Transferred to Ctg ¹ Jail
142.	Mrat Kri	Maung Hla	Arakan Hill tract	By Military on 13-3-43	Sent to Dinajpur
160.	U Tha-Ya	DoeAung Kyaw	Akyab	By Military on 13-3-43	N.S. Sent to Dinajpur
161.	Tun Aung Gyaw	Tha Khaing	Akyab	20-3-43	Transferred to Ctg.
162.	Doe Hla Aung	San Yu Chi	Akyab	20-3-43	Sent to Dinajpur a N.S.
165.	Abdul Rashid	Abdul Sattar	Akyab	20-3-43	Sent to Dinajpur
176.	Abdur Rahaman	Late Karimullah	Delhi	20-3-43	Deserter handed over to Provost on 26-3-43
177.	Abdur Salam	Moshraf Ali	Akyab	30-3-43	Grey CTG Jail
196.	Ashorof Zaman	Abul Khair Boli	Akyab	30-3-43	Grey CTG Jail
197.	Habibur Zaman	Abul Khair Boli	Akyab	30-3-43	Grey CTG Jail

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Father's Name</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Arrest on</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
198.	Amin	Abdul Salam	Akyab	30-3-43	Grey CTG Jail
199.	Shafi Rahaman	Abdul Salam	Akyab	30-3-43	Grey CTG Jail
200.	Mokbul Ahmed	Abdul Salam	Akyab	30-3-43	Grey CTG Jail
201.	Potun Fakir	Shahar Ali	Chittagong	30-3-43	N.S. sent to B.R. Camp
202.	Sultan Ahmed	Amir Ali	Akyab	30-3-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
203.	PO HlaAung	Ni Aung	Akyab	30-3-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
204.	Nyo Tun Aung	Nga Kywe Ye	Akyab	30-3-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
205.	Soe Tun	Kyaw Aung	Akyab	30-3-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
206.	Maung Ni	Htun Hla	Akyab	30-3-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
207.	Aung Pauk U	Hla Htun Aung	Akyab	30-3-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
208.	Kya Tun Aung	Htun Baw	Akyab	30-3-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
209.	Htun Sein	Maung Tha Tun	Akyab	30-3-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
210.	Tha Zan Hla	Kya Ban U	Akyab	30-3-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
211.	Kabir Ahmed	Fazar Ali	Chittagong	1-4-43	Handed over to S.P. Chittagong
213.	Abul Basar	Late Anor Ali	Akyab	3-4-43	CTG Jail
	Choudhury	Late Bujrul Meah	Akyab	3-4-43	CTG Jail
214.	Syed Ali	Mugbul Ali	Chittagong	3-4-43	B.R. Camp
215.	Ezahar Meah	Syed Ali	Chittagong	3-4-43	B.R. Camp
216.	Ma Yin Tha	Maung Shwe Zin	Akyab	3-4-43	B.R. Camp
217.	Maung Tun Aung	Sein Ban Aung	Akyab	3-4-43	B.R. Camp
218.	Yin Sein Byu	Sein Ban Aung	Akyab	3-4-43	B.R. Camp
219.	Ma Sein Nu	Sein Ban Aung	Akyab	3-4-43	B.R. Camp
220.	Parshram	Laxman Rao	Nasik	3-4-43	Handed over to Provost 3-4-43
233.	Adhir Ch. Das	Hemanta Kr. Das	Noakhali	By military on 9-4-43	Sent to S.P. CTG
234.	Abdul Matalup	Atar Ali	Akyab	12-4-43	Black CTG Jail
236.	Jalal Ahmad	Bau Ahmad	Noakhali	12-4-43	Black CTG Jail
237.	Mohammed Usman	Fakir Mohd.	Akyab	12-4-43	Black CTG Jail
238.	Aziz Ahmad	Golal		12-4-43	Black CTG Jail
239.	Abdul Haque	Golbaxa	Noakhali	12-4-43	Black CTG Jail
240.	Safi Ulla	Fazar	Akyab	12-4-43	Black CTG Jail
241.	Abdul Latif	Sadat Ali	Noakhali	12-4-43	Black CTG Jail
242.	Mader Hossain	Altaf Mian	Akyab	12-4-43	Black CTG Jail
250.	Abul Hossain	Nazum Uddin	Akyab	12-4-43	Grey
251.	Hidayat Ali	Abdul Hakim	Akyab	12-4-43	Grey
252.	Saroj Kumar Bose	Late Rash Mohan Bose	Akyab	6-4-43	Sent to H.Q.
253.	Susil Kr. Ganguli	Late Protap Ch. Ganguli	Faridpur	6-4-43	Sent to H.Q.

No.	Name	Father's Name	District	Arrest on	Remarks
254.	Aswini Kr. Dey	Bashi Mohan Dey	Chittagong	6-4-43	Sent to H.Q.
255.	Lukman Hakim	Basa Mian	Akyab	5-4-43	Black. Sent to Ctg. Jail
256.	Karna Kumar Dutta	Girish Ch. Dutta	Akyab	4-4-43	B.R. Camp
257.	Azi Rahaman	Dudu Ali	Akyab	31-3-43	B.R. Camp
258.	Maung Tha Noe	Tun Rla Pru	Akyab	13-4-43	GREY. Detained in Ctg. Jail
259.	Maung Shwe Bwin	Sein Thwin		13-4-43	GREY. Detained in Ctg. Jail
269.	Syed Maistry	Abdul Karim	Akyab	13-4-43	Black H.Q.
272.	Syed Khan	Mukkar Khan	Mianwiali	18-4-43	Black
273.	Sepoy Ranijan Singh	Monohar Singh	Cawnpur	18-4-43	Grey
274.	Hav. Mohd. Hossain	Kadam Din	Jhelum	18-4-43	Sent to Silchar U/C
275.	Balavant Singh	Teja Singh	Punjab	18-4-43	Sent to Silchar U/C
276.	Gulam Haider	Murad	Punjab	18-4-43	Sent to Silchar U/C
277.	Amar Singh	Ram Chand	Fatupara	18-4-43	Sent to Silchar U/C
278.	Karam Dad	Fateh Ali	Campbalpur	18-4-43	Sent to Silchar U/C
279.	Nilamber Dey	Ram Chandra Dey	Cox's Bazar	18-4-43	Black
280.	Amar Singh	Rasia	Gurdaspur	18-4-43	Sent to Jail
281.	N.K. Haider Ali	Goharsha	Gurdaspur	18-4-43	Sent to jail
282.	Sultar Ali	Moula Bux	Gurdaspur	18-4-43	Sent to jail
283.	Harnam Singh	Hakam Singh	Hoshiarpur	18-4-43	Sent to jail
284.	Sep. Kali Das	Prabhu Ram	Kangra	18-4-43	Sent to jail
285.	Gurdayal Singh	Narayan Singh	Hissar	18-4-43	Sent to jail
286.	N.K. Durga Ram	Bagh Singh	Kangra	18-4-43	Sent to jail
287.	Teja Singh	Santa Singh	Punjab	18-4-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
288.	Kalumuddin	Nazu Miah	Kayauktaw	21-4-43	Sent to Jail
289.	Maung Tun Tha	Maung Bu	Kayauktaw	21-4-43	Sent to Jail
290.	Nga Lone Shwe	Nga Me	Kayauktaw	21-4-43	Sent to Jail
291.	Syed Ahmed	Asgar Ali	Kayauktaw	21-4-43	N.S. B.R. Camp
292.	Abdul Sattar	Khalil Rahaman	Chittagong	21-4-43	N.S. B.R. Camp
293.	Iddris	Haji Abdul Ali	Rathedaung	21-4-43	N.S. B.R. Camp
294.	Imdad Hossain	Haji Abdul Bari	Rathedaung	21-4-43	N.S. B.R. Camp
296.	Mohammed Abdul	Kaimdin	Rawalpindi	21-4-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
297.	Taj Mohammed	Ali Akbar	Rawalpindi	21-4-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
298.	L/NK Jarman Singh	Rumal Singh	Kangra	21-4-43	Sent to Jail
299.	Putun Ali	Minnat Ali	Akyab	23-4-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
300.	Abdul Malek	Mia Hossain	Akyab	25-4-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
301.	Jaynal Abedin	Abdul Rahaman	Chittagong	25-4-43	Sent to Jail

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Father's Name</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Arrest on</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
302.	Shaik Ahmed	Essof Ali	Noakhali	25-4-43	Sent to Jail
303.	Razal Rahaman	Turab Ali Shikdar	Akyab	23-4-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
304.	Rustum Ali	Abdul Aziz	Akyab	23-4-43	Sent to B.R. Camp
305.	Gheramat Ali	Hamid Ali	Chittagong	24-4-43	Sent to Jail
306.	Azizor Rahaman	Chan Mian	Chittagong	22-4-43	Sent to Jail
307.	Obeidur Rahaman	Kala Mia	Noakhali	24-4-43	Sent to Jail
308.	Abdul Khalil	Ainuddin	Akyab	24-4-43	Sent to BRC
309.	Petan Ali	Modhwa	Akyab	25-4-43	Sent to BRC
310.	Harada Bhikhu	U Ba Zin	Prome	29-4-43	Sent to Dinajpur
311.	Nazir Khan	Kalandar Khan	Akyab	18-4-43	Sent to BRC
312.	Mahammad Hossain	Sikandar	Akyab	18-4-43	Sent to BRC
313.	Abdul Malik	Abdul Khalik	Akyab	18-4-43	Sent to BRC
314.	Kalu Mian	Husain Ali	Maungdaw	29-4-43	Sent to BRC
315.	Ashraf Mian	Ali	Maungdaw	29-4-43	Sent to BRC
316.	Mohammed	Apalathan	Maungdaw	29-4-43	Sent to BRC
317.	Md. Ismail	Abban Ali	Buthidaung	29-4-43	Sent to BRC
318.	Fazal Ali	G. Mian	Buthidaung	29-4-43	Sent to BRC
319.	Lal Singh	Dhan Singh	Dehradhun	3-5-43	Sent to Jail
320.	L/N.K. Iswar Singh	Jewan Singh	Sangaroo	3-5-43	Sent to Jail
321.	Udai Bahadur	Lakbir	Dhankota	3-5-43	Sent to Jail
322.	Rajnarayan Singh	Tesa Singh	Unnao	3-5-43	Sent to Jail
323.	Lorrasib Khan	Diwan Ali	Jelum	3-5-43	Sent to HQ
324.	Mohammed Ajaib	Aziz Khan	Hazara	3-5-43	Sent to 2 FIC
325.	Amar Singh	Seva Singh	Naba State	3-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
326.	Vishwa Mittar	Jiwan Mall	Jelum	3-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
327.	Mohammed Din	Mohd. Hashim	Guzrat	5-5-43	Sent to 2FIC
328.	Sep. Mohd. Latif	Shor Ali	Jelum	7-5-43	Sent to 2FIC
329.	Sayed Rohaman	Abdul Rohaman	Akyab		Sent to SP Chittagong
330.	Sep. Lakpat Ram	Ant Ram	Gurjaon	8-5-43	Sent to 2 FIC
331.	N.K. Gurdit Singh	Surjan Singh	Amritswar	11-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
332.	Teja Singh	Sundar Singh	Patiala	9-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
333.	Dalip Singh	Buta Singh	Amritswar	10-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
334.	Behbal Singh	Munsha Singh	Hoshiarpur	9-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
335.	Surain Singh	Kala Singh	Mirpur	9-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
336.	Karam Dad	Alaf Khan	Mirpur	9-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
337.	Gulam Haider	Tore Khan	Jhelum	9-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
338.	Hav. Ali Ahmiad	Mohd. Hossain	Jallandhar	9-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
339.	N.K. Chet Ram	Shuk Ram	Gurgaon	9-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
340.	Gulzar Khan	Mohd. Khan	Rawalpindi	4-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
341.	Palwan Khan	Babar Khan	Rawalpindi	4-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Father's Name</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Arrest on</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
342.	N.K. Ali Mohammed	Sardr Khan	Jahlum	12-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
343.	Gulam Gaons	Nur Dad	Guzrat	12-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
344.	Mohammed Juma	Bahadur Khan	Rawalpindi	12-5-43	Sent to HQ S.C.
345.	Mangwe	Pikno	Aonzin	4-5-43	Sent to Dinajpur
346.	Korban Ali	Fazal Ali	Buthidaung	22-5-43	Sent to Jail

Note. The list goes on upto serial No 352

1 Ctg is the abbreviation of Chittagong

12: Medical report of D.N. Bose and Aurobindo Bose

File No. 94/23/41 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

No. 4108-JI-43/37583.

From

A.A. MACDONALD, Esquire, O.B.E., I.C.S.,
Deputy Secretary to Government, Punjab,
Home Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Dated Lahore, the 16th June 1943.

Sir,

With reference to Mr Lovatt's letter No. 94/23/41-Poll (I) dated the 26th May 1943,¹ I am directed to forward a copy of the medical report on the health of security prisoners Dwijendra Nath Bose and Aurobindo Bose, confined in the District Jail, Campbellpur.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
Deputy Secretary to Government, Punjab,
Home Department.

Enclosure.

Returned with the remark that the health of Srijuts Dwijendra Nath Bose and Aurobindo Bose has been quite satisfactory. The weight of the former was 154 Lbs. on admission and is now 178. The wight of the latter was 105 Lbs. and now is 114.

Both the prisoners have not complained about pains in the body.

The climate of this place is not bad though the temperature some time shoots up during the day.

Signed Illegible,

Rai Sahib,

M.D.,

Medical Officer, District Jail,
Campbellpore.

1. Not printed.

13 Summary of speeches by I.N.A. Leaders (1.6.43 to 5.2.44) (extracts)

File No. INA/126/7510

[NAI]

1. *June 1943.* Col. Bhonsle informed the S.S. Group of the imminent arrival of S.C. Bose and said that the entire administration of the I.N.A. would devolve into Bose's hands. Relations with the Japanese would become more intimate and the civil Indian population would be organised for enlistment in the I.N.A.

2. *July 1943.* S.C. Bose spoke to all officers and said R.B. Bose was not his Chief advisor. In the same way as Bose had left India undetected, the I.N.A. would be able to enter India undetected. Enlistment of civilians had started.

3. *July 1943.* S.C. Bose came to Batu Pahat and was shown a complete demonstration of all subjects or S.S. Group training. To stress the hazardous nature of front line work as it contained 'a 100% possibility of death' He had seen Axis strength in Germany and Japan and the Allies were doomed to defeat. One man from each province was asked to speak. A.U.P. Jat, Peramanend, was one of the speakers.

4. *July 1943.* To officers only – S.C. Bose said that brains were essential, and victory or defeat would be decided by the way the officers used their brains. Bose said that he was grateful to Lord Wavell for having built up in India such an excellent fighting army and administration, for the I.N.A. would take over this administration lock stock, and barrel, when he gave the word and called upon the Indian Army to desert its masters.

5. *August 1943.* Butterworth. Boses' farewell speech to the S.S. Group. Other I.N.A. units would follow shortly, and he promised to review the S.S. Group next time inside the Red Fort, Delhi. The Indians had become Generals under the British, but the I.N.A. would produce numerous Generals whose names would go down into history.

6. *October 1943.* Rangoon. Ceremony over tomb of Emperor Bahadur Shah. Col. Alagappan addressed a representative gathering of I.N.A. and I.I.L. units. In an impassioned speech Alagappan said that S.C. Bose would carry the ashes of the last Moghul Emperor along with the advancing I.N.A. armies, and build a suitable tomb for the Emperor in India. The speech deeply moved the audience, and many of the Muslims were moved to tears.

7. *25 November 1943.* B.A.A. Ground Rangoon, Col. Alagappan addressed a large gathering and told of the formation of the provisional Government of India with S.C. Bose

as Prime Minister. Theoretically, all local Japanese forces came under the Provisional Government but for practical purposes all plans would be initiated and carried out by the Japanese. He warned his audience of the prospects of long war. All present were then asked to take an oath of loyalty.

8. 15 December 1943. Mutaik Camp. S.A. Malik's final speech. Operations were imminent. No one should try to go over to the British or attempt to get into India merely to return to their homes. It was possible that the British would shoot all P.W. and quite certain that any P.W. would be incarcerated for the rest of war. Alertness to avoid arrest should be the motto. In the event of capture, they should disclose the truth when interrogated but should not give the names of their companions. The reason for telling the truth was that if falsehood were given, the truth would eventually leak out, and this would discredit and jeopardise everyone. Men who had the misfortune to be captured could give his (Col. S.A. Malik's) name, since the enemy already knew about his activities from his broadcasts and the pamphlets which had been issued signed with his name.

The speech ended with an appeal for all faint-hearts to leave the ranks, when they would be given alternative employment.

10. 5. February 1944. Mutaik. The S.S. and intelligence Group were assembled and took the oath of loyalty to the Congress Flag. The oath was not taken individually but was intoned together. The context of the oath was 'We will fight for the sake of the Mother Country until there is no life left in our bodies; we will carry on the fight until we get freedom and drive the British out of India, and raise the National Flag over the Red Fort at Delhi'.

14: Government of Bombay to Government of India (interrogation methods)

File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

No. S.D. VI/-6034

Home Department (Political).
Poona, 7th July 1943.

From

H.V.R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

To

The Joint secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Sir,

I am directed to reply to Sir Richard Tottenham's letter No. 44/2/43-Poll(I), dated the 25th May 1943,¹ on the subject of the interrogation of persons detained under Defence of India Rule 129.

2. In Bombay City, the practice is that persons detained under this rule are, as a rule, sent

immediately to jail custody, except when it is considered necessary to interrogate them. In that event they are detained in Police custody and interrogated by officers of the Special Branch. The interrogation is, in all important cases, supervised personally by the Special Branch Superintendent who is a specially selected officer with many years of service in the C.I.D. and by the Deputy Commissioner of Police. Where it is considered that the experience of the Bombay City Special Branch is inadequate to deal with a particular case, the assistance of the Intelligence Bureau attached to the Government of India is usually asked for. A case of this nature arose recently with the arrest in Bombay City of two underground Forward Bloc workers of All-India importance. As they were concerned with fifth column activities in assistance of the enemy they have been sent for interrogation to the joint civil and military interrogation centre in Delhi. The Government of Bombay considers that the arrangements in Bombay City are adequate and do not call for change.

3. Outside Bombay City the position is different. The strength of the C.I.D. in this province is very small and it, therefore, inevitably happens, when serious disturbances break out simultaneously all over the Province, that arrangements for interrogation have to be improvised by the District Police. This is, in fact, what happened during the recent disturbances except that, in the districts of Dharwar and Belgaum during the later stages of the movement, officers of the C.I.D. were specially sent down for interrogation. This was not conducted in jails, but in buildings set apart for the purpose to which no unauthorized person was allowed to have access. The results secured by this method were satisfactory.

4. The Government of Bombay agrees in principle that the existence of special staffs and special interrogation centres would be most useful should there be a recrudescence of any serious disorder in the Province. The difficulty, however, is the paucity of specially trained staff. The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., is at present engaged on an examination of the reorganization of the Provincial C.I.D. and until the results of this examination are considered by Government and measures taken to augment trained staff, the question of special interrogation centres would not arise. The desirability of this will, however, be kept in mind in considering the Deputy Inspector-General's proposals for the reorganization of the C.I.D.

Your obedient servant,

H.V.R. Iengar,
Additional Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

1. See Doc. 54 in Chapter I – Sect. B.



15: Government of Bengal to Government of India (Parimal Sen's case)

File No. 44/49/42 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Bengal Secretariat,
Home Department,
Calcutta.

D.O. No. 8442-Hd.

The 7th July 1943.

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

Please refer to the correspondence resting with letter No. 8103-H.J., dated the 20th June, 1943.¹ I enclose in a sealed cover a secret note upon Parimal Sen which indicates that it would be inexpedient to release him at present from detention.

Yours sincerely,

Vishnu Sahay, Esq., I.C.S.

A.E. Porter

Short Note on Parimal Sen, Son of Satish Chandra of P.S. Anwara, Dist. Chittagong

Parimal Sen came to the notice of this Department early in 1933, as an important member of the Chittagong 'Jugantar party led by the late Surja sen (hanged) of the Chittagong armoury Raid Case. He was concerned in the theft of a D.I.B. constable's revolver from the house of a sub-Inspector of the Chittagong D.I.B. in 1933 and in an assassination plot against the officers of the Chittagong D.I.B. in 1934.

The stolen revolver was subsequently recovered on the 14th December, 1933, from the possession of two desperate absconders of the Chittagong Jugantar Party – after their arrest in a shelter. He attended several secret party meetings in 1933-34. It was decided to take action against him under the B.C.L.A. Act of 1930 in 1934 but to avoid arrest he left for Burma in April, 1934, and did not return to Chittagong before May, 1938.

During his stay at Bassein (Burma) his house was searched on the 1st January, 1935, for his revolutionary activities. The Superintendent of Police, Akyab, reported that Parimal Sen was an important terrorist and connected with the local Japanese. It was decided to arrest him at the commencement of the hostilities with Japan.

In April, 1942, during his detention in the Dacca Central Jail as a Security prisoner, his name along with those of Basanta Ghosh (the dangerous Forward Bloc agitator of Bihar and Lokeman Khan Sherwani, who was arrested because of information about his intention to further a plan to get into contact with the Japanese), was found in documents during their transmission from inside the Dacca Central Jail. Parimal Sen's contact with these two above noted dangerous agitators of the Forward Bloc points clearly to the unwisdom of releasing him when Subhas Bose is now with the Japanese and the Forward Bloc has outlined a fresh programme of sabotage and help to the enemy. If he is released he will not only go to his native place Chittagong but is very likely to use his geographical knowledge of the Akyab

area and his acquaintance with the Japanese before his arrest on behalf of the enemy. The Chittagong Jugantar C.S.P. group is active now and a seasoned terrorist like Parimal Sen should not be allowed to add a fillip to the already active organisation in Chittagong.

Signed

Inspr. 3.7.43.

CB.

6.7.43.

1. Not printed.

16: Minutes of the Fifth Security Conference held at Bombay on the 26th and 27th July 1943

File No. 111/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Mr N.P.A. Smith, Inspector-General of Police, Bombay Province, Presided at the Conference and the following attended:

Sir Douglas Gordon	Civil Security Adviser to G.O.C.-in-C. Eastern Army.
Mr O'Gorman	Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., Bombay Province.
Mr Mac Donald	Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Intelligence Branch, Bombay Province.
Mr Rodger	Central Intelligence Officer, Bombay.
Mr U'ren	Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch, Bombay.
Mr Thom	Assistant Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., United Provinces.
Mr Whitehouse	Supdt. of Police. Aliens Branch, United Provinces.
Mr Eates	Supdt. of Police <i>1/c</i> Special Branch and C.I.D., Sind.
Mr Hamilton	Supdt. of Police, Special Branch, C.I.D. Madras Province
Mr Treasure	Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., Security Section, Bihar.
Mr Stockwell	Addl. Supdt. of Police, C.I.D.
Lt-Col. Owen Hughes	Delhi. Foreign Intelligence Officer, Security Control, Calcutta.
Mr Tolson	Deputy Commissioner of Police, Security Control, Calcutta.
Mr Ray	Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Intelligence Branch, Bengal.
Mr Wace	Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., Punjab.
Mr Rayley	Supdt. of Police, Security, C.I.D., Punjab.
Mr Bartley	Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., Assam.
Mr Hodder	Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., N.W.F. Province.
Mr Whelan	Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., Central Provinces.

Mr Raynor	Supdt. of Police, Special Branch, Orissa.
Brigadier Howman	G.S. Branch, G.H.Q.
Lt-Col. Shelley	G.S. Branch, G.H.Q.
Major Robinson	M.I.O. Bombay.
Mr Beveridge	Intelligence Bureau H.D.
Captain Davy	Intelligence Bureau H.D.
Mr Boon	Intelligence Bureau H.D.
Mr Jenkin	Intelligence Bureau H.D.

[Omitted: Item 1. *Indemnities*]

Item 2. *The Japanese Intelligence Attack Directed Against India*

Having studied the plan illustrating the Japanese intelligence offensive against India, and the state of that attack as defined by the intelligence procured up to date, the Conference gave consideration to the intelligence which Provincial Security Organizations require from the Intelligence Bureau to keep their understanding of the position up to date and to assist them in the carrying out of their important function, the arrest of enemy agents. In this respect it was not felt that Provincial Security requirements would be satisfied by receiving the available particulars only of agents in parties moving up towards India's frontier and agents who are believed to be in India but have not been accounted for. Provinces also desired such information as could be given regarding Indians under training in Japanese intelligence centres preparatory to being sent to India, and it was stressed that in the case of such persons as well as others particulars of parentage and residence would be most useful and would enable precautionary arrangements to be put into force, such as censorship and a watch against surreptitious return. In addition to specific intelligence regarding individuals, a wish was expressed for *ad hoc* notes, summaries and appreciations which would assist in as full an understanding as possible of Japanese plans and would provide indications to further security precautions necessary. It was agreed that the Foreigners and Security Survey was a suitable vehicle for the dissemination of much of this intelligence and that the intelligence regarding individuals would be in a convenient form if issued as appendices. The Conference was informed that a 'Jifs Who's Who' was under preparation in G.S.I. (b) (i) and appreciated and accepted the offer of copies when ready.

2. The opinion was expressed that risk was involved in the use of persons who had agreed to work for the Japanese as agents, but that this could be minimized by employment under strict control and for specific purposes, such as the watching of places of prearranged meeting. Early arrivals of large batches known to have been trained could also be utilized to advantage at selected places as a precautionary measure against the infiltration of later comers through the forward security screen. When such employment was at railway junctions, it was thought that it would serve the purpose better to take cover that railway uniforms would provide rather than police uniforms. Similarly caution was considered advisable in any exploitation of the knowledge that the Japanese are using forged Indian currency, public faith in currency being involved and also the need to deprive the enemy of intelligence regarding the extent of our knowledge. Constructive proposals envisaged more benefit being extracted from Government's announced liberality in the matter of rewards, from specialized action aimed at the penetration of the Japanese intelligence structure and from the C.I.D.s most concerned making this particular field of intelligence the whole-time concern of the number of officers considered necessary to

deal with it effectively. It was thought that this last was particularly necessary in view of the fact that Bose is likely to use better agents and employ more dangerous tactics, and carefully studied counter measures were, therefore, essential.

3. Classification procedure and principles were discussed. It was agreed that the present system of Central classification (which should continue) imposed no obstacle in the way of provinces in imposing such restrictions on 'Greys' and 'Whites' as were considered necessary. In respect of 'Greys' it was suggested that rule 26(3) should be utilized to a much greater extent both by the Central and Provincial Governments. In the case of civilian 'Blacks' it was stated that if provincial security authorities held conflicting views in respect of the classification awarded they would be represented to the order-passing authority if the Province in question communicated its views to the Intelligence Bureau. In the case of 'Blacks' the provincial view was unanimous that the Central Government should provide for them in a special jail to prevent contact with dangerous elements in provincial jails: Opinion was divided, however, as to whether benefit would result from any attempt to follow Army example and 'recondition' 'Greys'.

The view that a single Tribunal should be set up to try such cases as are sent to court found favour, also that there should be central police control and co-ordination, though necessarily the actual work of investigation would have to be decentralized to provincial police agency. In regard to case investigation the opinion was expressed that the present disregard of legal formalities and proper procedure in the preliminary stages, and particularly at the time of capture, would jeopardize the chances of prosecution meeting with success. Action to regularize procedure was, therefore, most desirable. On the question of prosecution policy the Conference felt that policy should provide for discrimination. Prosecution should be the general rule in those cases in which reasonable grounds existed for acceptance of the belief that particular person or persons entered India as enemy agents with the intention of carrying out the orders given by the Japanese.

17: About Subhas Chandra Bose (excerpts from a circular of the CPI)

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. SR/506/43-V
[Bengal State Archives]

CPI – Bengal

Govt. of Bengal
Office of the Deputy Commissioner of Police
Special Branch
Date – [Sometime before 9 August 1943 – Ed.]

Bose is Looking Out

The situation is still graver than outlined above. Bose is already at Singapore, the Japs have made him Commander-in-chief of their 'Indian Independence Army'. 'Marshal' Bose is looking to India to see what happens on this 9 August. It is for him a test of the mobilizing capacities of his own gang and its links with the patriotic masses. Everybody in India knows that the Forward Bloc & CSP cannot have the masses on their own at all unless they get the cover of the Congress, that they have more leaders than followers. If any section of Congressmen or

honest patriots joins hands with them on 9 August and any widespread demonstrations take place or any serious disturbances start 'Marshal' Bose will report to Tojo, his master, that India is ripe for invasion. To help the fifth column to stage anything on this 9 August is to directly help the Jap invasion of India. Every patriot must bear this in mind and decide.

18 Kashmir resident to P.S. to Viceroy

Crown Rep. Records, 60-P(c)43

[NAI]

20.8.43.

I have been everywhere in the whole of India. But nowhere is Japan being talked of with such love as in Kashmir. I should not be surprised if some regular Japanese fifth-columnists are found in Kashmir. I have very little time at my disposal otherwise. Otherwise I might have been able to locate the fountainhead of all this Japanese influence there. This, in my opinion is very significant and should never be lost sight of.

Sir Tej knows the value of Kashmir vis-a-vis the Muslim scheme of Pakistan. It is a Muslim unit, it is situated on the frontier of India; if Kashmir claim to be the guardian of Khyber, Kashmir can claim to be the guardian of Gilgit Pass, if Muslims can allow the Afghan hordes to walk into Hindu India, Kashmir, can with equal case permit Buddhist armies to march on the Muslim India.

19 A note on interrogation methods prepared by the D.I.B. (extracts)

File No. 44/2/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

[This is an enclosure to a letter from GOI to Provinces dated 30-8-1943¹ about interrogation methods - Ed.]

The responsibility of the Special Branches of Provincial Criminal Investigation Departments in India can be briefly described as furnishing their Governments with the background of political knowledge necessary to enable those Governments to deal with the day-to day problems which arise; advising Government regarding action which is necessary in the political field in the preservation of law and order; and acting themselves exclusively within the powers given to them by law in the same direction of prevention and detection of political crime.

Knowledge - detailed knowledge - is the essential prerequisite of successful Special Branch work. Knowledge confined to the broad outline of political grouping and public pronouncements is worse than useless for it is inadequately dangerous. The knowledge which is required is the colour, shape and make-up of each fragment of the parties against the Government,

where revolution and individual terrorism are political creeds and secret conspiracy is rife, such knowledge is difficult to secure even in peace. A war situation increases not only the difficulties but also the weight of the burden which Special Branches have to bear.

Special Branch officers make political parties a whole time study. In order to acquire the intimate knowledge they must have they employ certain means. The principal means employed by most of the Special Branches are three in number – special secret agents, surveillance and censorship – to furnish inside knowledge, knowledge of movements and contacts, and knowledge of communications illuminating mentality and contacts as well as Plans. Some Special Branches employ a fourth means – interrogation – and have found that it pays a more than generous dividend.

In intelligence parlance interrogation means making a suspect tell the truth against all his inclinations to lie. The popular belief that the inducement invariably employed is something large in the way of sticks, or other manner of physical torture, is nonsense. Such methods would be damaging in that inevitably they would secure more false admissions than actual truth. Skilled interrogators are helped by their understanding of human psychology which shows them the way under the subject's guard but they rely even more on knowledge which enables them to appreciate the value of what the subject says and often permits them to create the impression in the subject's mind that nothing he has done is hidden from those who question him and that disclosure is a formality which will harm neither himself nor others. It will easily be appreciated that the collection of intelligence from agents, censorship and surveillance, and what is just as important, its meticulous recording, plays a vital part in successful interrogation.

It is wrong to think that interrogation has its uses only after a crime has been committed, to make an approver or to obtain knowledge and evidence which will enable a prosecution to be launched. There are other uses which make interrogation procedure as integral a part of all successful intelligence as are agents, censorship and surveillance. At the same time, as a preventive it has almost more value than as a cure. Intelligence is constantly faced with difficulties when an agent has gone as far as he can go, or when censorship discloses something which cannot be followed up by any of the agents who are in the Special Branches employment. There are often times when it is necessary to check up on intelligence received by more direct methods than seeking corroboration from other agents whose reliability may be a doubtful quantity. On occasions means have to be found to penetrate into organizations who manage to preserve their secrecy better than others. Often interrogation will sow distrust where it is required and it will kill conspiracy before it has time to mature to the stage of action. Of the value which can be placed on the information secured from the subject who has been persuaded to make truthful disclosure there can be no doubt. No matter how good an agent may be, he seldom reaches the standard of benefit to intelligence that a deponent does who has made up his mind that the time has come for a disclosure without reservations. Thus interrogation, provided the subjects are carefully chosen and their selection is based on good grounds for believing that they have the knowledge it is desired to possess, and provided officers are skilled in their approach and are helped by efficiently maintained records, can not only be a powerful preventive weapon but also a most helpful adjunct to other intelligence procedure as a means of securing further intelligence through the deponent discloses; as a check on intelligence already received and as a process of furnishing agents for work where they are badly required. That the process of interrogation can persuade (and has in many cases persuaded) the subject to help authority after his release is further proof, if any is needed, that torture is not the interrogators' weapon.

It should not be thought interrogation has never to admit defeat. It often does. But one good statement disclosing truth regarding important matters, or one which prevents the commission of political crime, makes up for many failures. It goes without saying that in all circumstances patience (which may mean weeks of waiting before resistance is broken down) and concentration are essential.

If concrete examples are required to convince the doubting of what interrogation can do, many can be quoted. Interrogation literally smashed the last terrorist movement in the Punjab and dealt just as effectively with the combined Ghadr-Moscow move to infiltrate into India a large number of trained communists. More recently the officers of the same province and by the same method have uncovered a conspiracy the ramifications of which dangerously threatened the country's security in war. Army Security has also benefited measurably from interrogation conducted by a special staff maintained by G.H.Q., cases of mutiny having been dealt with and units cleared of undesirable elements. An enquiry into an instance of desertion to the enemy is being investigated mainly by interrogation, which has proved that the virus of disaffection was introduced into the regiment by Subhas Chandra Bose before he left India to go to Germany. A last example shows how the whole of India is benefiting. Interrogation is the main weapon which is being used to defeat the Japanese Intelligence attack on this country. Its efficacy has been a big factor in enabling 'Security' to put 95 per cent of the large number of agents the Japanese have sent to India 'in the bag'.

1 See Doc. 78 in Chap. I, Sect. B

20 Official Notings – Army Dept's Views on Judgements on D.I.R 26

File No. 44/57/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

I agree with the above noting¹ and would only point out that we may well have up to 10,000 personnel (we already have some 250) from enemy occupied territory whom it will be necessary to detain under some powers. Already we have over 250 either actually detained permanently or pending disposal. If every person detained is to be informed in full of the reasons, allowed to submit appeals, and then each case is to be reviewed every six months, we will need a very large extra staff and so will D.I.B. and Home Dept. I do not think this aspect has been realized during the noting on this case., nor the extremely grave nature of the problem afforded by J.I.F.² and I.I.L.³ To loosen our powers of dealing expeditiously with this type at the present juncture cannot be contemplated from the military security angle.

W.J. Cawthorn.
Major-General
D.M.I. 2.9.43

1. See Doc. 86 in Chapter III for previous notings
2. JIF – Japanese Indian Forces
3. IIL – India Independence League

21: Item to be reported at the National Defence Council¹ on 2.9.43 (extracts)

File No. 35/5/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

B. Arrest of Forward Bloc H.Q. in Bombay

Another important incident was the breaking up by the Bombay Police at the end of May of what is presumed to have been the secret headquarters of the All India Forward Bloc. Nine persons were arrested among whom was a notorious absconder, Mukandlal Sarcar, ex-General Secretary of the Forward Bloc. The Police succeeded in breaking up a meeting which had been called to consider how the Bloc could proceed to seize power from the National Congress, in order to be ready to exploit the position when the Japanese began their expected invasion of the country from the East. Among the mass of material recovered were a number of large scale maps of the various theatres of war, copies of *Mein Kampf* and large coloured photographs of Subhas Bose.

(Note: DIB should perhaps be consulted about giving out this secret information)

1. Earlier part of this Document is in Chapter III – Doc. 88

22 Suptd of Police to the Addl. Secretary, Government of Bengal

Government of Bengal (Home–Defence), File No. W/121/43
[Bengal State Archives]

Confidential.

From
The Superintendent of Police,
Chittagong.

To
The Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal
Home (Political) Department,
Calcutta.

Through the District Magistrate, Chittagong.

Sir,

I have the honour to state that the under mentioned individuals of Teknaf were suspected of carrying on trade with the Japs on the other side of the border. They have subsequently been

No. 16/66/280–43
District Intelligence-Branch, C.I.D.,
Chittagong, the 15th Sept. 1943.

arrested under rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules and committed to custody at the Chittagong Jail on 11.9.43.

1. Ali Ahmad s/o Abdul Sattar of Teknaf, P.S. Teknaf, Chittagong.
2. Abdul Majid s/o L. Totab Ali of Katabania, P.S. Teknaf, Chittagong.

The District Magistrate, Chittagong, will be approached for extension orders u/r 129 of the Defence of India Rules if considered necessary.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Superintendent of Police,
Chittagong.

23 Government of Punjab to the Government of India (interrogation methods)

File No. 44/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Punjab Civil Secretariat.
No. S-3143 R.S.B.
Dated Simla the 18th Sept, 1943.

My dear Tottenham

Will you please refer to my express letter No. S-701-B.D.S.B., dated June the 14th, 1943¹ while it is relevant to your secret D.O. letter No. 44/2/43–Poll(I), dated August the 30th, 1943?²

We agree with all that the D.I.B. has said in his note on interrogation,³ but we think that perhaps it is a mistake to link interrogation with rule 129, Defence of India Rules, only and to omit rule 26. 'Patience' has been stressed in your letter, and patience has often to last considerably longer than two months as the unravelling of the Bose Conspiracy showed. Also, we think that the D.I.B. in his note might have made the point that interrogation is neither a new nor a peculiarly 'Indian' police method. These points were brought out in my letter of June the 14th.

Yours sincerely,
F.C. Bourne

Sir Richard Tottenham, CSI., CIE., ICS.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department, *New Delhi*.

1 Not printed.

2 Doc 78 in Chapter I – Section B – The enclosure to this letter is included in this Chapter.

3 Doc. 19.

24. Extract from Government of Bihar S.C.R.O Department – Arrah. about Japanese Agents in Nepal

Govt. of Bihar, Freedom Movement Files – 1943 – File No. 38
[Bihar State Archives]

Confidential Report

From Collector & Magistrate, Ballia, Sept. 18, 1943 to Chief Secretary to Government.

According to a rumour three Japanese agents arrived recently from Burma to Nepal by air & said to be spreading anti-war and pro-Japanese propaganda at present in Muzaffarpur district, Bihar. Efforts have been made to verify this information and trace the men concerned. I reported in last weeks d.o. that 12 army deserters had been arrested in that week. It transpires that actually 30 deserters were arrested; and the figure for the week under report 10.

25. Request for transfer of D.N. Bose from Punjab jail to Bengal jail rejected

File No. 94/23/41 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

7-10-43

To
The Home Secretary to the Govt. of the Punjab.

Your letter No. 6426. JL-43/61295 dated 30th September 1943,¹ forwarding petition from Security prisoner Dwiendra Nath Bose.

Please inform petitioner that the Govt. of India are unable to accede to his request.

Signed S.J.L. Olver.
US (I).

1. Not printed.



26: Statement of the Proclamation of the Azad Hind Government by Subhas Chandra Bose (dt 21.10.1943)

Moti Ram (ed.), *Two Historic Trials in Red Fort* (1946), p. 367

As a student of history and in particular of revolutions in different parts of the world, during 22 years of public life, I always felt that what India was lacking in her fight for freedom were two things – a National Army and a National Government to lead that army to battle. In the course of present war, thanks to the brilliant victories achieved by the armed forces of Nippon, it became possible for Indians in East Asia to organise the Indian Independence League and the Indian National Army.

The creation of National Army gave reality and seriousness to the whole Independence movement in East Asia. If this Army had not been organised, the Independence League in East Asia would have been mere propaganda organ. With the creation of the National Army, it became possible, as well as necessary, to set up a provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India). The Government is born out of the Independence League for the purpose of launching and directing the final struggle for India's freedom.

In setting up this Provisional Government we are, on the one hand, meeting the exigencies of the Indian situation and are, on the other, following in the foot-steps of history. In recent times the Irish people set up their provisional Government in 1916. The Czechs did the same during the last world war. And, after the last world war the Turks under the Leadership of Mustapha Kemal, set up their Provisional Government in Anatolia. In our case, the provisional Government of Azad Hind will not be like a normal peacetime Government. Its functions and its composition will be of a unique kind. It will be a fighting organization, the main object of which will be to launch and conduct the last war against the British and their allies in India. Consequently, only such departments will be run by the Government as will be necessary for the launching and the prosecution of the struggle for liberty.

The Cabinet will consist of a certain number who will represent the civil departments of the Government while there will be others representing the Armed Forces of the Government. Since the purpose of the Government is to fight for Independence, the armed forces been given a large representation on the cabinet. Besides the ordinary Ministers of the Cabinet, provision has been made for a number of Advisers to the Cabinet. In this manner, the provisional Government will maintain close and organic connection with the entire Indian community in East Asia and mobilize all their resources for the coming struggle. When the Provisional Government is transferred to Indian soil, it will assume the functions of a normal Government operating in its own territory. Many new Departments will then be started. With the formation of a Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Indian Independence Movement has obtained all the preconditions of success. It remains now to start the final struggle for freedom. This will begin when the Indian National Army crosses the frontier of India and commence its historic march to Delhi. This march will end only when the Anglo-Americans are expelled from India and the Indian National flag is hoisted over the Viceroy's House in New Delhi.

27: Commissioner of Police, Calcutta to the Addl. Secretary, Government of Bengal (reg. P.C. Roy)

Government of Bengal (Home), File No. W/704/43
[Bengal State Archives]

Office of Commissioner of Police
No. CP. 577

From
R.E.A. Ray Esq., CIE., IP., JP.,
Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

To
The Addl. Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
Home Department (Political).

Dated: 8.11.43.

Sir,

In forwarding herewith a short note on the individual (P.C. Roy) mentioned below, I have the honour to state that because of his undesirable activities, he was, in May, 1942 restricted to live within the limits of the town and suburbs of Calcutta; by an order of the Deputy Commissioner of police, special Branch, Calcutta, made under rule 26 (1) of the Defence of India Rules (copy of the order enclosed for ready reference).

The Individual — a purchasing Clerk of the Bengal Waterproof Works (1940) Ltd. at Panihati in the District of 24-parganas, has applied for allowing him to visit the said office in the interest of and for matters arising from his employment.

Though there is no recent information against the individual, it is not proposed to relax the restriction yet except allowing him to go to and return from the said office at Panihati under which he is employed. The intelligence Branch, Bengal, agrees.

In the circumstances I would request Government kindly to issue orders u/r/26 (1) of the Defence of India Rules, directing the individual to reside and remain within the limits of the town and suburbs of Calcutta except for the purposes of going to and returning from the above said office at Panihati, direct and by the shortest route, in connection with his employment.

Simultaneously with the service of the Government Order, the order issued by the Deputy commissioner of Police, Special Branch, Calcutta, will be cancelled.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant.
For Commissioner of Police,
Calcutta.

Particulars of the Individual

Probodh Chandra Roy son of Manada Chandran Roy of village and Police Station, Dohar in the district of Dacca, and of 82/1 Harrison Road, Calcutta.

The C.P. (Commissioner of Police) has not furnished information upon which Government can even consider taking the action suggested. The ground on which he was suspected of complicity in the Lebong outrage are not cited and there is nothing to show on what the assertion is grounded that he was a leader of the Sri Sangha group of Joydebpur. Similarly, there is no means of evaluating the information that in 1939 he was a member, let alone an important member, of the B.V. Group.¹ The only other information against him is apparently that he was party to a decision in April 1940 that different revolutionary parties should work together. Over 25 months later a restrictive order was issued by the Commissioner of police although there appears to be nothing against him in the intervening period. The materials submitted to Government, in my opinion, do not offer any justification for the restrictive order of May 1942. The C.P. should be requested either to withdraw at once his restrictive order of that date or if he desires to continue it in force and press the proposal in this letter to furnish further grounds on which his representation is based.

W.W.

11.11.43.

Put up a full note on the individual.

13/11.

Addl. Secy.

A Detailed note on the individual sent herewith. In view of the present policy of the B.V.G. of which he is a member, D.I.G., I.B. recommends the continuance of the previous restriction order with the proposed relaxation. I also agree.

20/11.

for C.P. (Commissioner of Police)

A full note on

Probodh Chandra Roy

S/o Manada Charan of vill and P.S. – Dohar;

Dist: Dacca.

And of 82/1 Parrion Road, Calcutta.

1934 He first came to notice in May 1934 when he was mentioned by Rabindra Nath Banerji @ Samarajit, an accused in the Lebong Conspiracy case (caught red-handed at the spot and convicted), as one of the recruits of Kamakshya Roy (E.D., P.R. 4223, a leader of the B.V. Group at Joydevpur, Dacca). According to Rabindra, Bhawani Bhattacharji – another accused in the same Conspiracy case, also caught red-handed and convicted sentenced to death and hanged -- and Probodh Roy were recruited to this group by the aforesaid Kamaksya Roy who also introduced Probodh to Rabindra Probodh Roy, Rabindra Banerji and Madir at Joydevpur – a rendezvous of the Sahitya Mandir at Joydevpur – a rendezvous of the Party members. The plan of attempting on the of H.E. the Governor of Bengal was also hatched up at Joydevpur, Dacca. In this connection he was arrested but had to be discharged after three weeks detention for want of evidence.

1935. In 1935 reliable Information was received that he was a right hand man of Bhawani

Bhattacharji and that he took over the leadership of the party at Joydevpur in the absence of Bhawani (arrested and convicted).

1939. In 1939 he was again mentioned as an important member of the B.V. Group whom the leaders of the party wanted to send to Jalpaiguri for reorganizing the party there which was then in a moribund state.

1940. He attended a meeting of the leading members of the B.V. Group and Dacca Anushilan on 7.4.40. in Dacca Town. At this meeting the B.V.G. leaders, Bhabesh Nandy (E.D.; now S.P.) and Nikunja Sen (E.D. and now. S.P.) urged that the different revolutionary parties in Bengal should work together in the present political situation of the Province. This was accepted by the leaders of the different parties who agreed to work under the name of Revolutionary Socialist Party of India under the lead of Subhas Chandra Bose.

1942. In 1942 it was reported that after the arrest of the B.V. Group leaders in 1940 and 1941, Probodh Roy and a few others were the only remnants of the Group at Joydevpur. He was accordingly traced and examined on 14.5.42 and in course of his statement he admitted his acquaintance with Rabindra Banerji and Bhawani Bhattacharji of the Lebong outrage case and that he had acted as a Volunteer during the Fandhi Seva sangha Conference at Malikanda in 1940. He further said that he wanted to see Indian freed from the hands of the foreign rulers.

Probodh Roy is a member of the B.V.G., a powerful unit of the Forward Bloc. This group is still conspiring to assist Subhas Bose and the Indian National Army in their proposed invasion of India. The B.V.G. has not changed its pro-axis attitude. There is reliable secret information on record that the leaders of this Group (B.V.G.) in Jail had sent out instructions to members outside for extending the organization by the recruitment of fresh members and avoiding arrest at the same time, so that during the enemy's invasion they may render substantial assistance. It is, therefore, essentially necessary that the movements of Probodh Roy should not be allowed to remain unrestricted.

1 Bengal volunteer group

28: Admission of I.N.A.'s existence in C.L.A.

C.L.A. Debates – Vol. IV, 1943
[NMML]

The Legislative Assembly Debates
(8th to 19th Nov. 1943.)

10th November 1943

Activities of Subhas Chandra Bose in East Asia.

Sardar Mangal Singh: Will the Honourable the Home Member Please state:

(a) Whether Government have got any information about the recent activities of Babu Subhas Chandra Bose in East Asia;

(b) Whether it is a fact that a large force named 'Indian National Army' is being raised under Babu Subhas Chandra Bose in East Asia by the Japanese for the purpose of invading India; and

(c) Whether the Indian prisoners of war in Japanese hands have been forced to join this army?

The Honourable Sir Ramigald Maxwell: (a) Yes.

(b) Enemy broadcasts provide reason for supposing that an attempt in which Subhas Chandra Bose has probably taken a large part, has been made to form an Indian force military lines to assist the Japanese.

(c) The statements of prisoners of war, who have escaped from the Japanese, leave little doubt that the latter have attempted to force Indian prisoners of war to perform duties entirely outside the sanction of international law and it is likely that the force I referred to above includes a number of Indian military personnel who have been forcibly converted from their allegiance.

Mr T.T. Krishnamachari: May I ask the Honourable Member if in the case of any of these Indian Military personnel who are prisoners of war in Singapore and other areas the payments to their families have been stopped in India because of their taking part in this campaign?

The Honourable Sir Regional Maxwell: I must have notice of that question.

29: Restriction Order on Radhika Kanta Datta

Govt of Bengal (Home) Defence Branch, File No. W/678/43
[Bengal State Archives]

Confidential.

No. 1774-C/V-47/43.

From

B.K. Mukherji, Esqr,
District Magistrate of Pabna

To

The Additional Secretary to the Govt.
Of Bengal Home (Defence) Department.

Dated, Pabna, the 27th November 1943.

A Copy of confidential letter No. 8538 dated the 22nd/24th November 1943 from the Superintendent of Police, Pabna, requesting me to issue orders under clause (d) and (e) of sub-rule (1) of rule 26 of the D.I. Rules against one Radhika Kanta, son of Rajani Kanta Datta of Jamirta, P.S. Shazadpur of this district is enclosed. From what has been reported by the superintendent of Police I consider that the restriction order question may be issued. A draft copy of the order which I intend issuing is submitted herewith for approval of Government. On receipt of Govt. approval the order will be issued for service. Very early orders of Government are requested.

Enclosure

Confidential

District Magistrate, Pabna.

District Intelligence Branch,
Pabna, the 22nd/24th November 1943.
No. 8538.

My dear Mukherji,

I write to inform you that Radhika Kanta Datta s/o Rajani Kanta of Jamirta, P.S. Shazadpur, Pabna, an important and active member of the Bengal Volunteer Group is absconding since August 1942. Secret information reveals that he is concealing himself and is actively working on behalf of the party. Reliable information shows that he has come in touch and working in collaboration with the absconders of the All India Congress Socialist Party who are collecting arms and explosive and are forming guerilla bands in different districts for seizing power when the Japanese would invade India.

With a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order, it is necessary that his movements should be restricted to his village home. I would therefore, request you to issue orders under rule 26 (d) & (e) of the D.I. Rules directing his (1) to remain in his native village, Jamirta, P.S. Shazadpur Pabna (ii) that if at the time of service of this order he is residing or remaining outside the district of Pabna, he shall within 7 days of the service of this order, proceed direct to his village and take up his residence and remain there; and (iii) that he shall keep that District Magistrate informed of his actual place of residence in his village and every change thereof.

Yours sincerely,

Signed

H.N. Gupta,
Supdt. of Police, Pabna.

B.K. Mukherji, Esqr,
District Magistrate, Pabna.

30 Internment Order on R.K. Datta

Government of Bengal Home (Def. Br.), File No. W/678/43
[Bengal State Archives]

The 6th December 1943.

Order

Whereas the Governor is satisfied with respect to the under mentioned person that, with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order it is necessary to make this order:

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clauses (d) and (e) of sub-rule (1) of rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, the Governor is hereby pleased to direct (i) that

without prejudice to any further orders that may be passed by the D.M. Pabna, the said under mentioned person shall reside and remain in the district of Pabna; (ii) that if at the time of the service of this order he is residing or remaining outside the district of Pabna, he shall, within forty-eight hours of the service of this order, proceed direct to the said district and take up his residence and remain there, and (iii) that he shall keep the District Magistrate, Pabna informed of his actual place of residence in the district of Pabna and every change thereof.

Particulars

Radhika Kanta Datta, son of Rajani Kanta Datta, of Jamirta, P.S. Shahzadpur, District Pabna.

By Order etc.

Addl. Secy.

31: Government of India to the Govt. of North West Frontier Province

File No. 12/1/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India

Home Department

New Delhi, the 27th December 1943.

My dear Mallan,

Will you please refer to your demi official letter to Sahay No. 514-B.I.W./536-B.I.W. dated 27th November 1943,¹ about the externment of Nripen Ghose and Kamal Sarkar.

2 The decision in matters of this sort must, of course, rest with the provincial Government and we do not press you to reconsider your decision. We have had several representations on the subject from Sisir Roy, the Secretary of the Labour Party of India. We have naturally not thought it suitable to pass on to him the details given by you of the grounds for your action; but we have suggested that it is up to him or a representative of his Party to convince you (by personal contact or otherwise) that the aims of the Party are genuinely pro-war and that individual members thereof are prepared to abide by these aims. If he proposed a visit we hope you will agree to give the man a hearing, since we believe that - whatever may be the activities of some of its individual members - the Labour Party of India is genuinely endeavouring to assist in the war effort.

3. We observe from the police report enclosed with your letter that Abdur Rehman and Nripen Ghose² were able to form contacts by correspondence with certain Congress security prisoners detained in the Haripur Central Prison. We do not understand how such correspondence was possible, since it was evidently not of a personal nature nor are there presumably any family contacts between these men and the security prisoners referred to, while the correspondence of Congress security prisoners is supposed to be restricted to members of the prisoner's family and to personal and domestic matters only. We should be grateful for your comments on this point.

4. We observe also that the police report refers to Mian Akbar Shah, a Forward Block leader, as 'until recently a security prisoner'. We are extremely perturbed to learn in this manner of the release of so dangerous a man who, as indicated in the note, played a prominent part in the escape of Subhas Bose and I am desired to enquire the reasons which led to this release.

Yours sincerely,

(R. Tottenham).

Lt. Col. G.I. Mallam, Bar-at-Law, I.A.,
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of the N.W.F.P.,
Peshawar

1 & 2. See Doc. 84 in Chapter I, Section-A.

32: Creation of S.S.S. Group (December 1943)

File No. INA/74/7510

[NAI]

Part 1

D. S.S.S. Group (Special Secret Service Group) also Referred to as '38' Group

On the 8th December 1943, all Cadets on the O.T.S. Course at S.Y.M.T.I. KANBE were paraded in front of AWATA (JAPANESE) and KARIM GHANI. The latter asked for 20 volunteers who were willing to dedicate their lives, even at the risk of death in the service of protecting the life of S.C. BOSE. 33 men volunteered for this group which was later named S.S.S. Group. On the 11th December, these volunteers signed their enrolment, a ceremony performed in the presence of Col. KITABE. All students signed the pledge not to divulge the secret of the organisation or betray their brother members, also that they would implicitly obey the orders of the NETAJI and accept the death penalty for the infringement of any of the above pledges. Each member smeared his own right hand thumb with his own blood (an incision made on each man's left-hand little finger) and impressed the thumb print on the enrollment paper, and then signed it.

The group was moved to separate barracks and put under Lt. MAMI of the HIKARI – KIKAN for training. They were trained in espionage and counter espionage work and great stress was laid on describing people, shadowing them and reporting on their movements. An unsuccessful attempt also was made to teach students to draw human faces. By mid January, 1944, theoretical training was completed and men sent out in small batches to practice this spy training. They were given descriptions of some people in RANGOON area, and were told to go and find them and report on their movements and activities.

This practical training lasted till the end of February 1944, when the provisional Government took over control of the KANBE Institute and S.S.S. Group. Major Hassan collected the group

and criticized their training, and explained the futility of the work so far carried out by them. He declared that henceforth he would direct their training as it is his desire to build up an organisation which would rival the GERMAN GESTAPO. However, Hassan's plans for the S.S.S. Group did not materialize, as 26 members of the group moved forward to operate with AZAD HIND, and he himself moved with it to MOREH. It is not known if he raised another S.S.S. Group on the lines suggested by him, on his return from the front. Of the remaining 7 members of the S.S.S. Group one deserted, one went as a clerk to S.C. BOSE, one went on leave and did not reappear, one was a drunkard and was left out, one was arrested for misappropriating I.N.A. property, one went to attend the 2nd O.T.S. course at KANBE, and his movements are not known.

33. Extract from the diary of Shah Nawaz Khan 1/14 Punjab Regt

Moti Ram (ed.), *Two Historic Trials in Red Fort* (1946), pp. 329-31

Exhibit CCC

- January 7 Called on C in-C Nippon Force.
- January 26 Netaji inspected our troops at field firing practice, Major Ram Sarup posted to my regiment.
- January 27 Dinner with Maj. Kinawari 1900 hrs. Called on Supreme Comd. Nippon Forces, and received orders for the final move towards India.
- February 4 First parties of No.1 Bn. moved to Arakan front. First parties of Nos 2 and 3 Bns. moved to Kalewa front.
- February 5 Regiment H.Q. moved off from Rangoon at 1800 hours.
- February 9 3 Parties of our Regiment have arrived safely.
- February 10 More troops have arrived by train without incident. went to Maymyo with Kimewari and Ram Sarup to call on Japanese GHQ. Maymyo: Stayed the night with Mr Gopal Singh, president of B.T.C. A simple but very sincere and straight forward man. News of brilliant activity of the I.N.A. on Arakan front.
- February 11 Called on the G.O.C. North Burma Genl. Moto Cuchi – a great soldier and conqueror of Bukit Hill. He was very kind and promised full aid to the I.N.A.
- February 12 Met Mr Jumman Khan of Hazro, Taj's relative. Left for Mandalay. Kimawari left for Kalewa by bus. I could not start owing to car trouble. Addressed the M.T. Coy. They were all in great spirits. Many of them volunteered to go forward with the regiment. Received Netaji's message of congratulations to I.N.A. troops re-Arakan operations.
- February 20 Went for a run in the morning. Enemy aeroplane M.Gd. the Tps. nearby. Hoping to over to Kalewa. The lorry has not yet returned. News that it has broken down on the way. 20th at 2000 hrs. Left Mutaik and arrived at Kalewa Camp. Ram Singh with approximately 500 men left for Falam. Two Coy of 3rd Bn. Left Mandalay for Pakouk.
- March 11 Went to Div. H.Q. and met Maj Fujiwara. Very good news. Tiddim with 17

- Div. is surrounded. Fujiwara hopes that by the middle of next month we shall be in Imphal. Telephones to Thakur to bring 3rd. Bn. immediately to Byigon. Hope that we shall be in to attack Tiddim.
- March 2 3 Bn. Less 2 Coys. at Pakouk has arrived at Ryigow. Went and saw Fujiwara again. Move of 3 Bn. to Tiddim is postponed as it has nearly fallen have been ordered to take over L of C duty from Yazagyo-Myitha Haka. Kimewari has moved to Haka. I propose to stay here till I hear more definitely about the role of the Regt.
- March 17 Information received that 200 soldiers from Tiddim are running away and are now at Kalanghkua-West of Talam – approximately 60 miles – ordered Ran Singh there and Sikander to catch them. Tried NK. Mangal Singh and two sepoys of Parwana Coy. At 1930 a formation of Br. Bombers and fighters 28 in all came and dropped some parachutists in Kalewa area.
- March 22 Left post 5 at 0930 hours. On the way to Post 6 heard the news that Awal had captured 22 Chin soldiers belonging to Maj. Manning's party. Had lunch at post 7 and reached Falam at 2000 hours.
- March 26 Recd. Major Thakur Singh's letter. he is very disappointed at the type of work our soldiers have to do and the treatment of Japanese.
- March 30 Boobie returned from Kennedy Peak. His report is distressing. The Japanese are using the I.N.A. crack Regt. as labourers. I am going to Haka today to see Kimawari in this connection. I wonder what is going to be the outcome of all this One-sided co-prosperity. Left Falam at 1500 hours for Haka. Reached 16 M.S. at 2000 hours. Spent the night at Tao river. Rained all night. No shelter.
- April 1 When to inspect post on Klang Klang Road.
- April 3 Inspected camp piques near Haka Sabak and had a frank talk with Kimewari re. the manner in which the Regt. is being used, i.e., more as labourers.
- April 7 Stayed at Falam. Sent movement order to Jangju to move to Haka. Called up Comds. Dipak-Jangju BHR and Awal for conference.
- April 8 Comds. Jangju and Dipak arrived recd. orders. All posts except BHR at 28 M.S. closed.
- April 11 Jangju closed at Falam. Dipak has gone back to Nauchang. Moving forward with LAJO tomorrow. Completing all preparations.
- April 14 Klang Klang post fired at by the enemy. Amrik took out coy. Patrol and returned at 2200 hours. No trace of enemy found. No. casualties to us.
- April 16 At 0830 hours. Klang Klang post was fired at by the enemy. He used mortars today. Lt. Lehna Singh very bravely chased him upto Nengrang. Enemy strength: 70 Soldiers. 1.3. 'mortar. 1.2' mortar. 5 Arm. Guns.
- April 23 went out to receive Nengrang and Klang Klang. Captured 3 and killed 3 Chins Lehna Singh's pl. was first class – Amrit, Ram Sarup were also with me.
- April 26 1 Chin prisoner escaped from H. Kikan.
- April 28 Order received from the Div. that the Regt. has to stay Haka till the fall of Imphal.
- May 10 Issued orders for raid on Klang to all Comdrs.
- May 12 Went for receive towards Nengiang, 28 miles of the worst. Went out at 0700 hours. and returned 2300 hours. Met Kimawari and received Div. orders to send Regt. main body to Ukhrul.

- May 13 Kimawari left for Muitha Haka. I am afraid I have to miss the raid. Issued orders to 3 Bn. to move to Ukhul.
- May 21 Arrived Tamu at 0300 hours. Went and saw Fujiwara and Div. Comdr. Met Khan and stayed in his dugout.
- May 24 Left Morch at night and arrived in Humine.
- June 4 Reached M.S. 30 and spend the night there. Met the Comd. Left Div. at 1600 hours. Role of the Div. has been changed. They are now going to participate in fight for Imphal. Div. Comd. was very courteous. He inspired confidence. He has given me a chance to select our role in the coming operations. Of course, my choice is Attack Imphal'.
- June 14 Stayed in Camp. Sent out rice collecting parties to villages. Lt. Masuda called in the evening. He tells me that Japanese are very near Imphal and that Palel is captured.
- June 21 I told Div. Comd. either to give us a chance to fight or to revert us to our own Div. He promised to do something about it.
- July 7 Kimawari went to GHQ to take orders. Men did not receive any rations. 4 Garhwalis have died of starvation. I and Ram Sarup have approached Hikari Kikan to do something about the rations. They seem not to take the least notice of it. I do not know what is the idea behind this deliberate starvation of my men.
- July 15 Due to starvation men are dying like flies. Some committing suicide. Japanese are giving no help.
- August 8 Piara's return from Yuwa with Kimawari's answer. No arrangement for money or other help from him. He has suggested that our sick men at Teraun should commit suicide.

1. Reconnaissance

34 Landing of enemy agents on the West Coast

Govt. Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 206
[Gujarat State Archives]

Police Naib Suba's Office
Camp Dwarka,
Dated 21st January 1944.

To
M.R.R. Police Commissioner Sahab,
Baroda State, Baroda.

Subject: Landing of Enemy Agents.

Sir,

With reference to the above subject I have the honour to state the I inquired into the case and the result of my inquiry is as follows:

On 22nd December 1943, two canvass boats touched the open-coast near the villages Gorinja & Navi Dhrewad. The information regarding these boats was received by Dhinki Naib Fouzdar on the 23rd December 1943. He immediately went to the spot and sent the information to Dwarka. The boats and other materials found there were taken into possession. It was then surmised that two parties of 4 each must have landed from the boats. Since then inquiries regarding the whereabouts of these men were going on.

On 18th January 1944, information was received that a Brahmin named Purshottam Pannalal of Dwarka had two clients (Yajmans) about that time whose behaviour was very suspicious. This Purshottam was called and interrogated and he admitted having two clients (Yajmans) lodged in his vacant shop. But he could not give their present whereabouts; neither could he give their exact features. This Purshottam is an old man and a simpleton and did not seem to suspect anything wrong in the whole affair. But he said that these two men wanted him to keep a small bag in secure custody till their return after a month or so. Purshottam did not consent to that. However one of these men left his canvas bag and a broken and unserviceable navigator's compass at the place of lodging. Purshottam produced these things and they were taken into possession. Over and above this, small bits of papers were recovered from the shop which when joined together revealed the name of one of the two men as Hiralal Pannalal of Rawalpindi. It is natural that these men would not give their correct names and residences and hence this was not believed. Purshottam also told that these men left the place of lodging for the station on the said evening in Keshavlal Laxmidas' tonga. Keshavlal, on interrogation, said that these people put up in the station Dharmshala for the night, and one of them had been a Sikh staying in Cement Factory quarters. This Sikh turned out to be Mohan Singh Gangaram. He gave out that these two strangers wanted employment in the Cement Factory but as there was no vacancy he directed them to one — Sundarsingh Kartarsingh of Mithapur, and they were employed there in Tata Chemicals as fitters. While going to Mithapur Mohansingh said that these people had buried a box and something else at a distance behind the house. Mohan Singh pointed this place and a cartridge pouch was recovered. The box seemed to have been removed.

At Mithapur the quarter of Sundar Singh was raided in the early hours of Thursday morning 20th January 1944. Two men were found sleeping in the room. One was Sundarsingh himself and the other's name came out to be Hajarilal Mehra. He was the same one of the two men who were at Dwarka in Purshottam's shop.

From the description available he was identified as H.L. Mehra, one of the enemy Agents to land on Okhamandal coast. On searching the room Rs 2000 and above and a pencil map of Kathiawar and other things were found below his pillow. Gold rings and chain which were buried in the room, were also recovered. H.L. Mehra himself pointed out the spot in the compound where a radio transmitting set and a loaded six chambered 38 calibre revolver were buried. These also were recovered.

Being questioned regarding the whereabouts of the other man both Mehra and Sundarsingh said that his name was Rao and that he was Madrasi and had left for Bombay on 15th early morning by mail.

The offence is registered in Dwarka Cr. No. 24/43/44 under Enemy Agent's Ordinance 1943 Sec. 3 and L.P.C. Secs. 84, 86, 87, 88 (Ka),

The prisoner H.L. Mehra turned out to be prisoner of war belonging to I.A.O.C.

The accused H.L. Mehra and the Muddamal attached are handed over to D.I.G. Police, Rajkot, under the orders of M.R.R. Suba Sahab for being sent to Delhi Intelligence Bureau, Government of India and (Military) for interrogation and inquiries.

(Throughout the inquiries the Agency police Officers from Rajkot were working in conjunction with us. Inquiries continued).

I have the honour to be
Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

R.B. Chawan.

I/G Police Naib Suba, Amrali Dist.

Secret Urgent.
No. C/811

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Private secretary

Major,

Police Commissioner.

Extract from I.B.'s No. 39/E.S./43 dated 5.1.44 - About the Arrival of Another Set of Japanese Agents on the West Coast

You will see that this party of four aroused the suspicions of the station Master at Madhi, who therefore had a good opportunity to observe and that the same applies in some degree to the guard of the train by which they travelled from Madhi to Jamnagar on the night of 22/23/12/43, as well as to Vithaldas, the car driver who gave them a lift to Khambhalia station. I suggest that all three of these men should be closely questioned for all available information to corroborate or add to what Jan Mohd. had told us.

3. Khanna and Sethi got off the train just after it left Khambhalia and it is important that renewed investigation should take place in the vicinity to discover in what direction they set off, how they were dressed, what luggage they had with them and other details which help in tracing them. Since these two removed between them a compass W/T sending and receiving set and probably two pistols, when they left the train, I suggest further intensive searches in the neighbourhood to discover whether these articles have been abandoned by them.

4. Jan Mohd. and Gautam separated, as you will see from the second enclosure at Jamnagar - I should be grateful if you will have everything possible done to pick up Gautam's trail at the Railway Station and to have his subsequent movements traced, as well as to obtain any possible information about any change in his appearance, clothing or effects which he might have affected after leaving Jan Mohd's company. As for Pathan Qaiyam Khan Haji Karim Khan, I shall be grateful if you will have his statement recorded and recover from him the money and any other effects which Jan Mohd. may have left in his house. The same applies so Jan Mohd's brother Nurmohamad Ismail Chania. I am particularly interested to know whether the ten rupee notes of which Jan Mohd has some with him are of the four suspect series, the details of which you will find in the correspondence resting with my circular No. 5/S/G/43 (dated 6th) Jan Mohd says that each of this party of 8 had one pistol for self defence and in view of the fact that none of them has yet been recovered, I suggest that further search should be made in the neighbourhood of the beach where landing took place, as well as along the Railway line where Jan Mohd's pistol was thrown, and that further local inquiries are necessary to ensure that they have not been picked up by villagers and retained. We are also particularly interested whether any other components of W/T sets can be traced anywhere in Kathiawar.

6. The party of 4 led by Chopra in boat No.1 which landed to the north of the other party, was to disperse to the north also, according to Jan Mohd's story and it seems possible that these four men made their way to Dwarka whence they may either have gone back by rail to Jammagar or Rajkot or may possibly have taken a boat from Okha port to Cutch, and there conceivably made their way inland or to Sind, though that would certainly be a round about route to the Punjab and Bengal. I should hope that the plan, as related by Jan Mohd, was that these 8 men were to separate into 4 pairs, each of which was allotted different areas to collect intelligence. Jan Mohd and Sethi were to operate in Bombay, Khanna and Gautam in Punjab, Chopra and Dutt in U.P. and Mehra and Rao in Bengal,. I shall be grateful if you will kindly have inquiries to trace the course of their (Boat No.2's) and let me know the result with any information you may be able to obtain.

Description of the Agents landed from Japanese submarine near Dwarka

Boat No. 1

S.N. Chopra, a tall educated Punjabi. Description: Age about 50, height about 5'-7"; well built body; wheat complexion high forehead, grey hair, walks fast; wears spectacles (round lens in a golden frame) while reading. clean shaven, speaks Hindustani, English and Punjabi, is a civilian and was addressed as master. Prior to the Japanese occupation, was in Government service in Malaya, knows Maley dialect according to R.S. — is B.A. L.L.B. Resident of Gujranwala District. Was educated in a college in Shrinagar (Kashmir state) was first employed as a second master in Datubahat and later headmaster in Baru.

Dutt probably belongs to U.P. Description: Age about 26 years, height 5-6, strong built, wheat complexion, ordinary forehead, long black loose hair; and long beard, white beautiful teeth, cannot speak in English but knows Hindi. Once he gave out that he was merchant in Thailand.

S.L. Mehra, a well educated Punjabi. Description: Age about 26-7, height about 5'6", stout build, fair complexion, long straight nose, black hair parted left side, keeps small moustache tattooed in one of the forearms. Walks steady; appears to be ex-military man from his gait and general looks; speaks good English and Hindustani.

T.N. Rao, from Andhra, in Madras province, well educated, Description: Age about 26/27 years, height about 5-5, medium built; wheat complexion, curly black hair parted on one side; clean shaven, black eyes; joint bushy eyebrows, walks fast and erect, thick hair on the body, small hands; knows little Hindustani.

Boat No. 2

1. *D.C. Khanna*, a Punjabi. Description: age about 50 years, height 5, strong built, fair complexion broad forehead, long nose, black hair; keeps big moustache an ex-soldier, very lazy and lethargic, well educated and speaks good English and Hindustani.

2. *Gautam A.* (U.P. side) Description: Age about 30 years. height 5-6; strong built, savlon complexion; ordinary forehead, black hair parted on the left, small moustache keeping a small beard which was shaved on the last day in the submarine; reddish eyes, walks fast and. A civilian employed in a Government rubber factory in Singapore before Japanese occupation, also speaks good Malay on account of the stay in Malaya; Thick hands with rough palms owing to rowing.

3. *O.P. Sethi*, Well educated, Apparently a Punjabi. Description: About 25-6 years, height 5-7, strong build, wheat complexion short forehead; black hair but small eyes, clean shaven

walks erect and definitely a soldier. Speaks English and Hindustani; probably OM in Hindi (Om) tattooed on one of his forearms.

35 Government of India to Government of Bombay (reg. security prisoners – M.L. Sarkar and S.B. Yajee)

File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret

New Delhi, 25th January 1944

The Secretary,
Home Department,
Government of Bombay,
Bombay.

We understand that security Prisoners Mukand Lal Sarkar¹ and Shil Bhadra Yajee² are at present detained under orders passed by the Bombay Government under Defence Rule 26. The Bombay Government is doubtless arranging for the communication to these two prisoners, under section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, of the grounds for their detention. Enclosed is a copy of the form¹ of communication which the Central Government have supplied to Forward Bloc security prisoners detained under their orders. It is suggested, if the Bombay Government agrees, that the communications to Mukand Lal Sarkar and Shil Bhadra Yajee should be in the same or a similar form.

(S.J.L. OLVER)

Under Secy. to the Govt. of India.

1. Not printed – see Doc 38 for the format of the letter

36: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Among extreme elements, confidence in Japan's declaration to free India appears to be waning, but hopes are pinned on Subhas Bose and his promise to invade India with his National Army. There is also some tendency to believe the Japanese claims that the 7th Division has been overwhelmed in Burma.

37: Official Noting reg. security prisoners belonging to Forward Bloc (extracts)

File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Intelligence Bureau, Home Department

Will Home Department Please refer to their U.O. No. 328/44 – Poll (I), dated 19.1.44,¹ regarding Security Prisoners?

2. The following Security Prisoners mentioned in the list are connected with Forward Bloc: (1) Sarat Chandra Bose, (2) M.L. Sarkar, (3) Sheel Bhadra Yajee, (4) Sushil Kumar Bhadra, (5) Pannalal Mitra, (6) A.N. Basu, (7) Satyaranjan Bakshi, (8) Arabind Bose, (9) Dwijendra Nath Bose, (10) Sardul Singh Caveeshar, (11) H.V. Kamath and (12) Alim T. Gidwani. The Home Department list, which has been checked against our records, is, so far as Forward Bloc Security Prisoners are concerned, complete subject to the remark that both M.L. Sarkar and Sheel Bhadra Yajee are now under detention under the orders of the Government of Bombay under rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules pending the result of the investigations by the Bombay S.B. – a report on which is expected shortly.

3. Other cases are being examined and Home Department will be informed as soon as possible.

F.J. Beveridge,
Assistant Director (S).
D.I.B. U.O. No. 4/Cong/44, dated February 4 1943.

Home Department (Mr Olver).

¹ Not printed.

38: S.C. Bose and S.L. Basal informed of the grounds of detention

File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Notice under section 7 of the Restriction and
Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944)

February 1944

In pursuance of section 7 of Ordinance No. III of 1944, you Sarat Chandra Bose, Shanker Lal Basal are informed that the grounds for your detention were that you had been in contact with the Japanese and with Subhas Chandra Bose and were a party to the latter's plans which were prejudicial to the Defence of British India.

2. You are informed that you have a right to make a representation in writing against the order under which you are detained. If you wish to make such a representation, you should address it to the undersigned and forward it through the Superintendent of the jail as soon as possible.

Addl. Secy.
Home Department,
Government of India.

39 Communication of the grounds of detention to Arobindo Bose

File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Notice under section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance, 1944 (III of 1944).

In pursuance of section 7 of Ordinance No. III of 1944, you Arobindo Bose are informed that the grounds of your detention were that you were in contact with Subhas Chandra Bose and were a party to his plans which were prejudicial to the Defence of British India.

2. You are informed that you have a right to make a representation in writing against the order under which you are detained. If you wish to make such a representation, you should address it to the undersigned and forward it through the Superintendent of the jail as soon as possible.

Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

Home Department:
New Delhi, the 1944.

40: Special Order of the Day Subhas Chandra Bose, Supreme Commander, Azad Hind Fauj, Burma

Mou Ram (ed.), *Two Historic Trials in Red Fort* (1946), p. 336

Dated 9th February 1944.

The eyes of whole world are focussed on the Arakan Front, where events of far-reaching consequence are taking place today. The glorious and brilliant actions of the brave units of Azad Hind Fauj working in close concert with the forces of the Imperial Nippon Army, have helped to foil all attempts by the Anglo-American Forces to start counter-offensive in this sector. I am sure that the brave deeds of our comrades on the Arakan Front will be a great inspiration to all officers and men of the Azad Hid Fauj wherever they may be stationed at the present moment. Our long-awaited march to Delhi has begun and with grim determination, we shall continue that march until the tricolour National Flag that is flying over the Arakan

mountains is hoisted over the Viceregal Lodge and until we hold our victory parade at the ancient Red Fortress of Delhi. Comrades, officers and men of India's Army of liberation: Let there be one solemn resolve in your hearts – either liberty or death'. And let there be but one slogan on your lips 'Onward to Delhi'. The road to Delhi is the road to freedom. That is the road along which we must march. Victory will certainly be ours. *Inqilab Zindabad: Azad Hind Zindabad.*

41 Official Notings reg. Forward Bloc prisoners (dt 10.2.1944) (extracts)

File No. 22/18/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Note on Sardul Singh Caveeshar – Home Department

Caveeshar was arrested in Lahore on 9.3.42 by the Punjab Government under Defence Rule 129, in anticipation of receipt of Central Government order for his detention under Defence Rule 26 bearing the same date. This action was part of general action taken at that time against certain specific Forward Bloc Leaders. The brief grounds of arrest in Caveshtar's case – and D.I.B. would have no objection to these being quoted – are that he was President of the Forward Bloc, an organisation subsequently notified by Government under Defence Rule 27A and was a party to the plans of Subhas Chandra Bose, which were prejudicial to the defence of British India and the efficient prosecution of the war.

2. On arrest, he was detained in the Lahore Fort, where he remained until December, 1942 (exact date not known). He was then transferred to Campbellpore and subsequently to Dharamsala, where he now is.

3. In June 1943, a *habeas corpus* petition was presented on his behalf to the Lahore High Court. The application was dismissed by the Court on 24.6.43.

4. He is now detained under Ordinance III of 1944 and a notice under section 7 of that Ordinance communicating to him the grounds for his detention, was despatched to the Punjab Government on 8.2.44.

10.2.44
(S.J.L. Olver)

Shanker Lal Basal

[Marginal Note – Connected with a false passport to Japan – Ed.]

A case under sections 420, 119, 408 and 471 I.P.C. was filed by the Bombay Police against Shanker Lal Basal and one Luxman Prasad Sharma of U.P. and the former was on bail when on 9th November 1941 he was arrested in compliance with an order made by the Central Government under D.R. 26 (1) (B). The reasons for his detention were that he had been in contact with the Japanese and with Subhas Chandra Bose and was a party to the latter's plans which were prejudicial to the defence of British India.

It appears that he was detained in the Lahore Fort from about the end of November 1941

to the beginning of March 1942. He was transferred to custody in Mercara, Coorg, as companion to Sarat Bose in September, 1942, and transferred with the latter to Coonoor (Madras) in December, 1942, where he is at present detained.

He should now be regarded as detained under Ordinance III of 1944 and a notice under section 7 of that Ordinance communicating to him the grounds for his detention was despatched to the Govt. of Madras on the 8th Feb. 1944.

Dwijen Bose

He was arrested in Bengal on 9th April, 1941, for a prejudicial speech, convicted and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. His appeal against this conviction was upheld, but he was retained in custody by an order made by the Bengal Government under Defence Rule 26 (1) (b). On the 28th March, 1942 this order was replaced by an order of the Central Government under the same rule. The grounds for his detention were that he had been in contact with the Japanese and with Subhas Chandra Bose and was a party to the latter's plans which were prejudicial to the defence of British India.

2. He was transferred from Bengal to the Punjab in April, 1942, and was apparently detained in the Lahore Fort from April till June, 1942, though the exact dates are not known. He is now in detention in the Campbellpur Jail, Punjab.

3. He should now be regarded as detained under Ordinance III of 1944 and a notice under section 7 thereof, communicating to him the grounds for his detention, was despatched to the Government of the Punjab on the 8th February, 1944.

Aurobindo Bose.

He was arrested and put under detention on the 24th May 1941 under an order made by the Govt. of Bengal under D.R. 26(1) (b). The reasons for his detention were that he was in contact with Subhas Chandra Bose and was a party to the latter's plans which were prejudicial to the Defence of British India.

The original order of his detention was replaced by an order of the Central Government made under D.R. 26 (1) (B) on the 28th March 1942. He was in May 1942, transferred to custody in the Punjab where he is still detained in the Campbellpur Jail.

He should now be regarded as detained under Ordinance III of 1944 and a notice under section 7 thereof, communicating to him the grounds for his detention, was despatched to the Govt. of the Punjab on the 8th Feb. 1944.

42 Government of N.W.F.P. to the Government of India

File No. 12/1/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Civil Secretariat,
N.W.F. Province.
Peshawar.

Secret.

The 12th February 1944.

D.O. No. 671-BIW/536.

I am desired to refer to your demi-official letter No. 12/1/43 Poll (I), dated the 27th December, 1943¹, about externment of Nripen Ghose and Kamal Sarkar and to say that we would certainly give Sisir Roy a hearing if he proposes to visit this Province.

2. The correspondence between Abdul Rahman and Nripen Ghose on the one side and certain Congress Security Prisoners in the Haripur Central prison on the other, was allowed to pass as a special case in the hope of obtaining information regarding the contacts of the two men.

3. The circumstances of the release of Mian Akbar Shah which are given in the note attached, were reported fully to the Governor General by His Excellency the Governor and to the Director, Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi, at the time. The Provincial Government authorized the Criminal Investigation Department to re-arrest him at the first sign of any subversive activities, or on any indication that he was about to abscond.

To

Sir Richard Tottenham, CSI., CIE., ICS.,
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department, *New Delhi.*

Encl: see below.

Enclosure

Note:

1. Mohammad Shah son of Imran of Pabbi, Peshawar District, detained under Defence of India Rule 26 on the 28th June, 1941, and,
2. Mian Akbar Shah son of Mian Baz Gul of Badrashi Peshawar District, detained under Defence of India Rule 26 on the 4th July, 1941.

Were both released on the 3rd of June, 1943, by the orders of the Provincial Government without prior consultation with the Inspector General of Police, N.W.F.P. The Order of release was issued shortly after the present Ministry had taken office and at a time when they were not fully conversant with the procedure relating to Security Prisoners. After a good deal of discussion between His Excellency the Governor and the Ministers concerned it was decided not to arrest either of these persons immediately but to leave it to the Inspector General of

Police, NWFP, to press for their re-arrest if and when any objectionable activities on the part of these persons came to notice.

1 Doc. 31.

43 Official Notings (regarding Amarendra Nath Bose) (dt 25.2.1944-28.6.1944)

File No. 44/28/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Amrendra Nath Bose's representation in reply to the communication of grounds of his detention under section 7 of Ordinance III admits his connection with the Forward Bloc and bases his defence on the technical point that at the time of his arrest, the Bloc was not an illegal association. This constitutes no sort of defence against his arrest and detention, and I have no doubt that the representation should be rejected. It does, however, point to a weakness in the wording of this notice and it would doubtless have been better to have been more direct in stating the grounds for detention which were, of course, connection with the Bose conspiracy.

2. He may be served with formal reply rejecting his representation?

25.2.44

D.S. (I)

(S.J.L. Olver)

I dare say it might have been fairer to the defence to charge him specifically with connection with the Bose conspiracy but I do not think there is any weakness in the grounds as communicated to him. It is no answer to say that he was detained before the declaration under Rule 27A; the grounds should be read as 'meaning you were a supporter of the Forward Bloc to which Govt. found it necessary to apply Rule 27A, in other words, an organisation which was in league with the enemy'.

There has been no development to justify a revision of the detention order.

V. Sahay
25/2.

Addl Secy.

I agree I am not sure whether H.M. will wish to see the 'representations received from all Central Security Prisoners and I should like to have orders on this point. Obviously the most important cases would be submitted to him any how.

R. Tottenham
26/2

I agree. I think I had better see the representations of Central Govt. S.P. as a general rule. It may be convenient to be able to say so in the Assembly.

R.M. Maxwell
28/2

Addl. Secy.

A draft reply rejecting the representation & a draft letter to the Govt. of Bengal, are put up for approval.

S.J.L. Olver
14/3

Sl. No. 4 & 5 (Issue)

It is now necessary to review this case and decide whether the order detaining Amarendra Nath Bose shall be extended. Would D.I.B. kindly let us have his recommendations and also let us see a history sheet for the information of H.M. to whom the case will have to be referred.

28.6.44.
(S.J.L. Olver)

44: Government of India to the Government of Punjab

File No. 44/27/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Government of India.
Home Department.

Express Letter

From
Home, New Delhi.

To
The Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.

No. 44/15/44 - Poll (I)

New Delhi, the 29th Feb. 44

Please refer to Home Department Express letter of even number dated 8th February 1944¹ and to correspondence resting with your letter No. 8925 W.D.S.B., dated the 20th May 1942² regarding Amar Singh Bamral, who is detained under orders passed by the Punjab Government under Defence Rule 26 at the instance of the Central Government. You are doubtless arranging for communication to this prisoner under section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance of the grounds of his detention. If this has not already been done, you might consider making use of the enclosed form³, of communication. We should be glad to be informed in due course of any representation he may make.

Signed Vishnu Sahay
Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India.
N: 1/3.

1 & 2. Not printed.

3 Not printed (see Doc. 38).

45 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Assam for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

1. *The War*

Once more there was no enemy activity to note beyond air raid alerts at various places. The local officers in the Lushai Hills are critical of the organization of the line of communications, particularly the competing requirements of various Intelligence authorities. Public moral appears confident, and nothing has been heard locally regarding the supposed intentions of Subhas Bose and his popular army to invade India.

46 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Delhi for the first half of March 1944 – Report on the Press

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

1. Attitude of the press in regard to the war. The Russian successes on the Eastern Front in Europe were prominently displayed by all newspapers. Some of the nationalist papers *Hindustan Times*, *Hindustan*, *Vishwamitra* and *Vir Arjun* however did not, on certain dates, present the news on the Indo-Burma Front in their correct perspective. In its issue of 8th March 1944 the *Hindustan Times* featured in a headline the mere stiffening of 'Japanese opposition in Kaladin Valley'. Similarly the *Hindustan*, the *Vishwamitra* and the *Vir Arjun* displayed in bold headlines, in their issues of 14th March, the recent Japanese bombing in the Silchar area of Assam.

The news of Russian successes on the Eastern Front were prominently displayed. Some of the nationalist papers, however, unduly stressed enemy successes on the Indo-Burma Front; on the 14th March the *Hindustan*, the *Vishwamitra* and *Vir Arjun* gave in bold headlines the recent Japanese bombing in Silchar of Assam. The reported decision of London congressmen not to submit to conscription and the refusal of the Indian Assembly to vote supplies for the Viceroy's Executive Council were also prominently displayed by this section of the press.

47 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

1. The Arakan victory has been well received and the success seems to have been believed. The fact that greater progress in the reconquest of Burma has not been possible during the last month is a matter of considerable disappointment to those who desire the defeat of Japan. Hostile elements, ignorant of the conditions and topography of the two battle-fronts of Russia and Italy are prone to make invidious comparisons between the Russian advance and the halt in Italy. Among many who look desperately for some medium to solve the political deadlock, the news that Japan might possibly attack India is not un-welcome, as it is thought that a threat of invasion might move the Government to come to terms with political parties in India. The extreme violent elements in Bihar would undoubtedly attempt to take full advantage of any situation arising out of an attack upon India.

48 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

2. War

The nationalist press has given a great deal of prominence to the campaign on the Indo-Burma front and, with rare exceptions the comments have been extremely friendly and helpful. It is interesting to reflect that the papers which are the most vitriolic in their criticism of British political policy in India are not infrequently those which are the most sensible in their comment and display of war news, particularly on the Burmese and Pacific fronts, an outstanding example is the *Bombay Sentinel* edited by Mr Horniman; another, although it is more moderate all round is the *Bombay Chronicle* edited by Mr Brelvi. There are various papers published in Indian languages of which the same could be said. From the manner in which nationalist opinion has reacted to news from the Burmese front it is clear, if indeed there was any doubt, that no section of it on this side of India desires anything other than a decisive victory over the Japanese.

It may be useful in this connection to draw attention to the following reactions so far as anti-Japanese war propaganda is concerned. The anti-Japanese campaign through advertisements does not seem to be going very well. There is in fact a certain amount of fractious criticism against it. For instance one hears the objection that anti-Japanese stuff is being overdone; and this is being particularly said in respect of the advertisement which says that 'the Japanese are All the same; always. There is no place for them amongst the civilized peoples of the world'. It appears to be the case that while people are ready to condemn the

Japanese for having overweening ambitions and for attempting Imperialist domination over other nations, they are not prepared to believe in the wholesale condemnation of every living Japanese that is being attempted. One reason for this is possibly a subconscious hostility to the denunciation of a fellow oriental race. Another reason is that the campaign is somewhat suspect on political grounds. It is said, for instance, that the British were not so long ago very friendly towards the Japanese and used to praise them; and the transition from this to a bitter and whole sale attack is not easily understood. In this connection Mr Amery's speeches have again been pressed into service by those hostile to Government; from time to time newspapers have dug out and commented with acidity on an old statement of his in which he patted the Japanese on the back for their conquest of Manchuria.

49 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Throughout the latter half of February and the early part of this month a leaflet entitled 'A Call to Indians' has been in circulation mainly in the Calcutta area. The leaflet states that the Indian National Army under the supreme Command of Subhas Chandra Bose with the invincible Japanese Army has launched a general offensive on the Arakan front as prelude to a victorious march into India, and urges its readers to be ready to rise in open revolt against the British and American when the Army advances into this country.

50 History sheet of S.R. Bakshi (Forward Bloc)

File No. 44/19/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

(Intelligence Bureau, H.D.) Strictly Secret -- 15-3-1944

I attach a note on Satya Ranjan Bakshi and in addition would draw Home Department's attention to this Bureau's u/o No. SA/518 (SRP) sent to Sir Richard Tottenham on 23.4.42.¹

Satya Ranjan was a most important figure in that part of the Bengal subversive movement which particularly menaced security on account of its determination to assist the enemy by all possible means. There is no doubt that in the control of this movement he was one of Subhas Chandra Bose's chief lieutenants before Bose left India and after Bose's departure he continued to act in similar capacity for Sarat Chandra Bose. The arrests of the persons mainly concerned in the 'Bose Conspiracy', and of others against whom the Bengal authorities proceeded independently checked that movement, but we have convincing information that it is not dead and can assure Home Department that if Satya Ranjan Bakshi was enlarged

(sic) from jail tomorrow he would immediately be as deeply (and cautiously) implicated in dangerous activity as he has ever been before. Apart from this Satya Ranjan Bakshi has knowledge whose worth he does not appreciate but his ignorance in this respect could not have been expected to last long once he was released from custody. In short Bakshi out of jail would not only be a menace to security but a menace to important plans which protect security and in the circumstances we urge, with all the power we command, that he must remain a security prisoner until circumstances have so changed that no danger attaches to his release.

W.N.P. Jenkins
15.3.44.

History Sheet of S.R. Bakshi

Satya Ranjan Bakshi, Son of late Basanta Kumar, of Bathi, P.S. Cournadi, District Bakargunj and of 9, Townsend Road, Calcutta. Ex-detenu. Sri Sangha and Bengal Volunteer Group.

Since his unconditional release on 22.3.38, has accepted (and has been promoting among revolutionary groups) the leadership of Subhas Bose. Bengal Volunteer Group under has his leadership decided to support Bose's Forward Bloc. According to him, the Bloc's programme was to form an all-India Volunteer body, to work out the economic side of the Marxian ideology, to extend its organisation among peasants and labourers and to call a conference of representatives of the different groups to formulate a plan of action. Attended the inaugural session of the All-India Forward Bloc held in Bombay (June 1939). was appointed to the Left Consolidation Committee formed by Subhas Bose soon after. Appointed Editor of 'Advance' (August 1939) through Bose's influence. At a secret meeting of the B.V. group held in his house in October 1939, the party members are reported to have felt that the war had revealed their unpreparedness for action. It was therefore decided to intensify organisation work and recruit more members. As members of the B.V. Group were planning a programme of violence, Bose was reported to have lost confidence in Bakshi who was carrying on the duties of Secretary, Bengal Forward Bloc and of the Managing Editor, 'Forward Bloc' Weekly. Supported or promised financial support, to various revolutionary groups. Detained under the Defence of India Rules in April 1940. Was unconditionally released on 23.9.40. Interested himself in the formation of Forward Bloc Students Bureau (October 1940). Was elected one of the Vice-Presidents of South Calcutta Forward Bloc (November 1940). Is reported to have said that Bose's disappearance was not without significance and that he had gone to Japan and thence to Germany to achieve India's freedom with foreign help (February 1941), sent instructions to members of Mymensingh B.V. Group (May 1941) to be prepared for a rising against Government and that arms and ammunition required for the purpose would be supplied from Calcutta from where the signal for the rising would be given at the proper time, and again that the B.V. Group would strike at the opportune moment when Government would be in a critical position due to the war. According to him the mass mind was growing bitter so that the mass revolution would automatically take place. Is reported to have said that Britain's position in the present war was bad and that leaders of different revolutionary groups have decided to take advantage of this situation; advised his men to collect arms and ammunition by committing thefts with a view to attacking police stations and treasuries (May 1941). Was in close touch with Sarat Bose from whom he used to get monthly help of Rs 100 (July 1941). He, Sarat Bose, Anil Roy and Mukunda Lal Sarkar formed the high command

of the Forward Bloc in Bengal. Issued instructions to Bloc's workers to start secret propaganda among the youths to enlist support for its pro-German sympathies and to hold public meetings to popularize National Socialism and to preach in favour of the Nazi form of Government, thereby indirectly supporting the German case without running the risk of legal action by the Govt. (July 1941).

Members of different districts used to take advice from him in organisation matters. Subhas Bose, according to a report, has advised Bakshi to remain outside Jail as, when the invasion of India by Hitler takes place, Bakshi's services would be indispensable to the Forward Bloc (November 1941).

2. Was detained under the Defence of India Rules in April 1940, but was released on account of ill health in September 1940.

1 Not printed.

51: Official Note – Reg. Sushil Kumar Bhadra (extracts)

File No. 44/47/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

(Intelligence Bureau)

We consider that it would be unwise to accept the detenu's own estimate of his state of health (Sushil Kumar Bhadra) and that, in view of recent development on the Eastern Frontier, it would be most inopportune to consider the release of Pro-Japanese detenus at the present juncture

A Copy of his history-sheet is placed below.¹

Signed
(E.J. Beveridge),
Asst. Director(s)
31-3-44

H.D. (Mr Olver)
D.I.B. u/o No. 4/Cong./44-B, dated

1 Not printed.



52. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

<i>S.N.</i>	<i>Name of Publication</i>	<i>Action taken date of action</i>	<i>Authority by whom action taken</i>	<i>Reason for action taken</i>
1	2	3	4	5
3.	Journalist, Bombay	Securities of Rs 1000 Govt. were demanded from the publisher under section 7(3) of the Indian Press (Emergency powers) Act and of Rs 1,500 from the keeper of the Press) under Section 3(3) of the Act (14th March 1944). The Securities were deposited on 27th March 1944.		For publishing two articles headed Subhas Chandra Bose and 'The same China is the Ally of the Allies in the issue of December 1943. The articles contained words falling under clause (b) of section 4(1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act.

53. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Popular reaction to war news continues to be as before – mounting admiration at the sweeping advance made by the Russian Army and a feeling of disappointment at the stalemate in Italy. The Japanese invasion of Manipur has been however the main topic this fortnight. It has been treated on the whole lightly, the general impression being that it is a counter-stroke to 'save face' after their recent failure in the Arakan. Mr Churchill's speech in this connection where he had explained that a strong British fleet is stationed in India waters, has been universally welcomed. The invasion has caused some slight excitement among the mercantile community as to its possible effects on the market. But this was unavoidable. An indication of the ordinary man's reaction is to be found in a report from the Collector of Nilgiris. About 800 British troops on leave there were recalled left in a large convoy on the 23rd; but there was surprisingly little comment from the local public on this very conspicuous troop movement. . . .

A prejudicial Telugu pamphlet known as 'Viplav Jwala' came to light in some districts and in Madras the Japanese invasion had its reason in the appearance of a journal entitled 'Don't Betray India' purporting to be edited by an absconding congress socialist. The Japanese offensive is described in this pamphlet as 'Azad Hind forces fighting their way into India'.



54: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The disclosure of the landing by glider-borne troops two hundred miles behind the Japanese lines in Northern Burma had a heartening effect throughout the Province. Unfortunately, much of this effect was lost when news of the Japanese incursion into Manipur state was heard in Calcutta at least twenty four hours before it appeared in the Press.

55: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Japanese penetration into Manipur has caused some despondency, especially after the widespread official publicity given to the Japanese reverse on the Arakan front as major Allied success, but there is no alarm. In Amritsar the bullion market has reacted nervously and has forced up the prices of gold and silver. Enemy broadcasts are responsible for rumours in some places that the Japanese invading columns are accompanied by units of the Indian National Army led by Subash Chandra Bose, that Indian troops have deserted to the enemy and that the Japanese have penetrated well into Assam. These are as usual particularly prevalent in Sikh extremist circles.

56: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

1. *The War*

Optimism is reported to have received a set back owing to the less favourable news from the Italian front and the incursion of the Japanese into Manipur. As a matter of fact although the latter has naturally caused some excitement in the press, it does not appear to have caused any real alarm, particularly after the Commander-in-Chief's reassuring statement; and after all certain amount of excitement was only natural. On the other hand the slow progress in Italy has undoubtedly caused disappointment, and one paper even used the rather extraordinary phrase of 'The Scandal of Cassino'.¹ Actually subjects such as the budget,

defeats of Government, the extra taxation and, almost as much as any-thing else, the discomforts of railway traveling, appear more to arouse the politically minded than any danger of as serious invasion. The Japanese broadcasts have of course been making much of the invasion, and particularly Subhas Chandra Bose, who appeals to India for another rising like that of August 1942. The news of the invasion is reported to have been welcomed among some of those detained in the jails of the province and among a section of the students. The calls for a repetition of the sabotage and arson of 1942 unfortunately coincide with a spate of acquittals and reduction of sentences in cases connected with the 1942 disturbances, which has had an encouraging effect of the subversive elements and a somewhat depressing effect on the police.

This refers to the battle over Monte Cassino, where the Axis powers withstood attacks from the Allied forces from January to May 1944. A Benedictine monastery was destroyed by bombing on 15 February – Ed.

57: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The War

During the past few weeks greater interest has been shown by the public in the fighting on the Burma front, and the remarkable achievement of landing a strong air-borne force behind the enemy lines aroused considerable excitement. This, however, was over-shadowed by the later news that the Japanese had crossed the Indian frontier into Manipur. This news at first caused anxiety, which was increased by a broadcast message from Subash Chandra Bose alleging that he had at last returned to his mother country. Subsequently, however, with the statement of His Excellency the Commander in Chief in the Central Assembly, the position on this was seen in its right perspective, and, while there is a feeling that there is still a lot of a fight left in the Japanese on this front, there has been no real depreciation of morale, and the general impression appears to be that this is really an attempt on the part of the enemy to hinder or delay the preparations for early reoccupation of Burma by the Allies. Most people feel that the re-conquest of Burma cannot take place before the end of the monsoon, by which time it is hoped that the war in Europe will have been won. It is also thought that a large scale invasion of India by the Japanese is now out of the question. The removal of the second unit of the Orissa Civil pioneers to field service led to local rumour that casualties on the Manipur front had been heavy and that the Orissa Pioneers had been drafted in as reinforcements and also to repair damage to communications.



58: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

1. *The War*

Operations on the Burma front have provided a universal topic of discussion, and interest in other war news including the Russian advance in Rumania has been completely overshadowed. While there is no alarm or panic, and confidence in a final Allied victory remains assured, some uneasiness is noticeable and a few rumours persist about the desertion of Indian troops to the enemy and the crossing of the Indian border by the Indian National Army led by Subhas Chandra Bose. Other rumours include the transfer of vulnerable Government offices to safer places and the disposal of property by British firms leaving India. Surprise, mingled with criticism of the Allied Commanders, has been expressed at the extent of the Japanese penetration, when the tremendous military preparations carried out in Assam are common knowledge and when the previous defeat of the Japs in the Arakan was given such wide publicity. This has revived the old tendency to believe in the superiority of the Japanese troops in jungle warfare and exaggerated importance is being attached to the Japanese thrust, which is regarded as something more serious than a nuisance raid, but not so threatening as an invasion.

59: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

[The following extract is preceded by a paragraph which deals with rumours, and that is printed in Ch. 11 as doc. 25 – Ed.]

... Anti-War activities – Printed leaflets continued in circulation. Some were against the savings drive, and some tried to exploit the news from Manipur. One leaflet somewhat optimistically tried to encourage its readers to believe that Subhas Chandra Bose was coming to rescue India with 5,000 men. Government have advised District Officers and their publicity staff to take positive line in their propaganda and to tell people that if they do feel that the invasion merits some attention, then there is all the more reason for them not to sit idle or natural, but to do everything they can in aid of the war effort.



60

Government of Punjab to the Government of India

File No. 44/27/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

From

F.C. Bourne, Esquire, CSI., CIE, ICS.,
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

To

The Under Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department, New Delhi.

Dated Lahore, the 1st April 1944.

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith in original, an application submitted by A.V. Shetty requesting that the restrictions imposed on him be cancelled. Shetty, whose name is in category 'A' of the 'List of important Japanese contacts and agents among Indians' circulated under your letter No. 69/2/11/4-Political (E), dated the 26th June, 1941, is restricted to the Municipal limits of Amritsar and is required to report at the City Kotwali every Sunday in accordance with the instructions contained in Home Department Government of India's telegram No. 963, dated the 8th February 1942, while his correspondence is being censored under the same authority. He has not come to adverse notice in any way since his restriction and for this reason the local police and the Criminal investigation Department, recommend that his internment and censorship orders be cancelled. Before this recommendation as accepted I am to enquire whether the Government of India have any objection to the cancellation of the restriction and censorship orders.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

SM. 31/3.

Enclosure

A.V. Shetti,

'The Rosemary'

AMRITSAR,

19th February 1944.

The Deputy Inspector General,

C.I.D.

Punjab,

Lahore.

Through the Senior Supdt. of Police, Amritsar.

Sir,

I have the honour to state that I am interned within the Municipal limits of Amritsar under sub Rules (1) and (3) of Rule 26 of Defence of India Rules since 10th February 1942.

I am an innocent person and I am being persecuted for no fault of mine. I take the liberty of giving below a brief history of my case, which I am confident will convince your goodself of my innocence.

From 1932 to about April 1936 I served as Manager of the firm of Messrs Maharajmal & Co., Krishna Market, Amritsar. The said Firm had business connections with two Japanese Firms of Karachi i.e., Messrs Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Ltd., and Messrs Toyo Menka Kaisha Ltd.

In April 1936, Messrs Maharajmal Co. with a view to curtail their expenses dispensed with my services. So I approached Messrs Bussab kaisha Ltd. to give me a chance in their newly opened Reporter's Office in Amritsar. The said Firm after obtaining my reference from Messrs Maharajmal & Co., appointed me as their Reporter in their Amritsar Office about the month of June 1936.

Although Messrs Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Ltd. had their Reporter's Office (a sort of a branch office) in Amritsar under my charge, for most of the articles they were negotiating business directly with Messrs Maharajmal & Co. and various other agents. My functions were as under:

- 1) To watch the various Punjab Markets and to submit daily reports about the market fluctuations.
- 2) To report the business activities of various Japanese firms doing business in the Punjab Markets.
- 3) To explore the possibilities of new sources of business.
- 4) To report the financial standing etc. of the clients with whom Messrs Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Ltd. had business dealings.
- 5) To attend to all disputes between Messrs Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Ltd., and their Clients and submit my proposals for amicable settlement of such disputes and also to attend to all legal matters.
- 6) To attend to all Commercial travellers who visited Punjab on behalf of Messrs Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Ltd. and tour with them in all the Punjab Markets.

My main activities were confined to the Amritsar Market, it being the biggest wholesale market in northern India. But my sphere of activities also included Peshawar Wazirabad, Gujranwala, Lahore Ludhiana & Delhi.

Towards the middle of 1941 the business activities of Messrs Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Ltd., were reduced considerable owing to restrictions imposed by the Central Government such as Import Control etc. Therefore, in September 1941, Messrs Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Ltd. suddenly terminated my services by giving me one month's salary in lieu of notice. They had not even the courtesy to pay me any gratuity or provident fund. I even went to the Bombay Head Office, to demand my provident fund but they turned a deaf ear to my appeal. I was shocked and thoroughly disgusted with their treatment.

After my services were terminated as aforesaid, I tried to start my own business with financial assistance from my friends as I had not capital of my own. In that connection I visited Delhi and other places on several occasions between September and December 1941 and when my efforts were about to bear fruit, I was suddenly arrested on the 8th December 1941 under Defence of India Rules 129 and kept in Police Custody until 10th February 1942, thus depriving me of earning my livelihood and also all my plans to start some new business.

Immediately on my release I was served with a notice under D.I.R. 26 restricting my movements and ordering me to live within the Municipal limits of Amritsar and not to leave the station without the previous permission in writing from the District Magistrate.

Although the local Officials have been kind enough to grant me permission to leave the station off and on in connection with my business, I have been put into untold hardships and financial loss due to the restrictions imposed upon my movements. In a highly fluctuating business, and a business requiring frequent and personal contact with clients at a moment's notice, I have been greatly handicapped with the present restrictions and with the result I have not been able to earn a decent living inspite of my vast business experience.

I solemnly state that throughout my business and private career, my activities and associations were above board and my connections with the Japanese only related to bonafide business and nothing else. I have never taken part in politics nor have I ever mixed with persons of doubtful character or disloyal tendencies towards His Majesty's Government.

I am a true and loyal subject of his Majesty and have not done anything in thought, action or deed against the interests of His Majesty's Government. On the other hand I have always helped and even today helping in the War Efforts to the best of my abilities.

I have thought over seriously about my misfortune of being in the bad books of the Government and cannot recollect even a single incidence in my activities which might have given cause or clue to suspect me as disloyal subject. In the pre-war days times out of number I had assisted the local Police Officers by giving them information about the Japanese Travellers who visited Punjab, although many such Travellers had no connection with the firm of Messrs Mitsui Bussan Kaisha Ltd. I had gone out of my way to obtain such information for the police.

To the best of my knowledge I have no enemies but feel that some of my friends through business or social jealousy may have implicated me by giving false report about me to the C.I.D. Officers.

I, therefore, beg to request you to be good enough to obtain a fresh report about my case and if necessary interrogate me on any points needing clarifications.

I humbly pray that you will kindly do justice to me, an unfortunate victim of circumstances, by considering my case favourably and ordering the removal of restrictions imposed upon me.

Thanking you in anticipation,
I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

A.V. Shetti.



61: Government of India to the Government of Punjab

File No. 44/27/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Home Department Office.

Secret

Draft Memorandum *Express Letter*

Telegram

No. 44/27/44 – Poll (I) Dated 26-4-44.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,
Lahore.

Your letter No. 2009 DDSB dated 1st April 1944,¹ forwarding an application from A.V. Shetti for the cancellation of the restrictions on him.

2. We have no objection to the removal of the restrictions on Shetti. We would however suggest that it would be desirable for him to continue to be kept under unobtrusive surveillance for a further period of say one year and would prefer that censorship of his correspondence should continue during this period.

Copy Forwarded to D.I.B. for information.

By order etc.,
Signed
B.L. Pandey,
U.S. (IF).

Doc. 60

62 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

A number of Japs have been arrested in the South of the Chittagong district and certain persons have been captured who were believed to have infiltrated into that district from enemy occupied territory.



63: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

. . . There was, in fact, a considerable degree of interest in the news relating to operations in Manipur and Assam. It must be recorded that the public continued to be very angry about the South East Asia Command communiques and news 'handouts'; these were regarded and they still are – as clumsy efforts at evasion and most exasperatingly obscure. It is not understood for example by the public why it could not have been stated – as apparently as in the case that the Japanese had captured part of Kohima and why that news should have been left to emerge from a process of ratiocination. The practical effect has been that a considerable number of people who had faith in the accuracy of British communiques tune in to enemy stations and believe enemy broadcasts. The general opinion now appears to be that although the British Army in view of its relatively great superiority in numbers and equipment and its overwhelming air support will some day throw the Japanese back, it will only do so after considerable sacrifice and suffering. There is undoubtedly much admiration for the way in which the Japanese, emerging from thick jungle and with no air support, have tied up such relatively large forces of the Allied Army.

64 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The War

The progress of the fighting on the Burma front has allayed a great deal of the anxiety which was apparent early in April. One District Officer reports that the despatches from Newspaper correspondents at the front have contributed to a better understanding of the operations, but, in some areas, the feeling of uneasiness persists and is encouraged by the suspicion that the public are not told the whole truth. Generally speaking, there is little interest taken in the progress of the war in Europe. Some people continue to listen to broadcasts from radios controlled by the Japanese, though it is improbable that these Broadcasts exercise much influence except possibly among certain classes of Bengalis who may be expected to relish the thought of 'Field-Marshal' Subhas Chandra Bose leading an army into India.



65 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

... The 16th anniversary celebrations of the Jain Gurukul, Beawar, were held from April 15 to 17, 1944. Two bust photos of Subhas Chandra Bose were hung with the photos of other national leaders in the Pandal erected for the function. The photos were taken into police possession and Dhiraj Lal Turkia and Sujan Mal, responsible for decorating the Pandal, were arrested under Rule 34 (6) (P) (K)/38 D.I. Rules on April 15, 1944. As they both tendered a written apology, and in view of the impossibility of giving legal proof of the well known fact that Subhas Chandra Bose is aiding and abetting the Japanese, it was decided not to proceed with their prosecution.

66 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from United Provinces for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The confidence which has been noticeable in the past regarding the fighting on the Assam-Burma frontier has continued, indeed has increased, in spite of the continued confusion of most people's minds as to the exact course of the fighting in that area. Public morale is still high and many people, at any rate in this province, regard with a good deal of scepticism the enemy reports about the presence of Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army anywhere near the front line of the fighting. The early approach of the monsoon without the Japanese having achieved much of an objective on the Burma frontier has also increased the feeling that their attacks, particularly the one on the Assam-Burma frontier are too long delayed and will probably result in the monsoon causing a complete failure of the enterprise.

67 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The first-hand stories of the Indians who were released by our advancing force in New Guinea has had an excellent effect and it would be a good thing if we have more of this sort of direct

propaganda. These stories have shown that Indians who fell into the hands of the Japanese are treated as slaves and worse than slaves.

Another healthy sign is that coolies returning from the Assam area to the Champaran district of North Bihar have been telling their friends that although tough fighting is still in progress, the Allies have the upper hand and have great strength in arms and equipment. Similar reports come from Chota Nagpur where aboriginal coolies returning from the Front say that the fighting near the border of Assam did not worry or frighten them in the least. The same coolies are, however, in some cases trying to dissuade their relations from going to Assam mainly on the ground that food is difficult to obtain there.

68: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The War

Public confidence in the ability of the Allies to deal with the Japanese on the Assam border has been completely re-established. Fighting which has broken out on a large scale in Italy is being watched with interest and is regarded by many as a prelude to the opening of the second Front. The Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, reports that some speculation is prevalent regarding the operation of Japanese submarines in Indian waters, and that the landing of some Indian prisoners in Baluchistan from a Japanese submarine and their subsequent surrender to the authorities has excited considerable interest.

69 P.K. Sahgal to Sadar Daftar

Moti Ram (ed.), *Two Historic Trials in Red Fort* (1946), pp. 336–7

Exhibit FFF

Sadar Daftar, Ala Kaman, Azad Hind Fauj
(Head Quarters, Supreme Command, I.N.A.)

D.O. No. 16/2/18/MS

Burma, 16th June, 1944

Dear Colonel,

Your report, dated the 15th of May,¹ together with your points for Netaji were received here on the 4th June. A copy of your telegram asking for lorries, horses, sugar and oil, etc. was also received on the same day.² Major N.N. Khosla together with Rear Headquarters had already left. I hope the M.T. with the Rear Headquarters would be able to relieve transports situation to some extent. We are doing our best to buy some horses, but

unfortunately most of the good horses have already raised an A.T. Platoon from among the old 3rd Cavalry personnel and as soon as we have bought 20 horses, arrangements shall be made to send them on to you. Four thousand ground sheets have already been sent with your Rear Headquarters No. 2 Engineer Coy, No. 2 Hospital No. 1 M.T. Coy and No. 1 Mortar Coy. have already left for the front, No. 1 M.T. Coy. and No. 2. Eng. Coy. shall come under command of No. 1 Div. after they arrive in Mandalay. Although I have not been able to get the Hikari Kikan to state in absolutely concrete terms, they have given me to understand No. 1 M.T. Coy shall be employed to carry out the duties for No. 1 Div. We tried to get a wagon to send some soap, gur, oil and mess tins to you but unfortunately were not successful. However, a wagon has been promised us next week when No. 4 Engineer Coy. shall leave here.

At present communications between our Headquarters and the front line units are most inadequate. We have started a weekly courier service between Rangoon and Mandalay and from there to the Headquarters. Maymyo are trying to make arrangements for D.R.L.S. to the front line. I have also taken up the question of wireless communications with the Hikari Kikan. Their original objection was that our cipher was too simple, however, we produced other modified forms of our cipher which came up to their standard, but they wish to make another code based on the Nippon Army Code for us. Even after that the question of equipment and trained personnel shall still remain and we may have to fall back on using the Nippon Signal Units to send our messages. In that case a code consisting of numerals alone may solve the script problems. I am at present trying to find some solution to this problem and if you can help me by some suggestions, I shall feel most grateful. Every one here has been most thrilled to read about the bold action of the Unit No. 24 from 24th April to 6th May 1944. I shall feel very grateful if you will please convey my heartiest congratulations to Col. I.J. Kiani, Pritam Singh and the others who took part in it. Staff Officers of the Mori Head Quarters, from time to time, inform us of the very good work being done by the units under your command and the other day we were told by a senior officer of Mori Headquarters who has recently returned from the front line that he had met you in the front line and that all the neighbouring units spoke very highly of your brilliant leadership and the wonderful work being done by the units under your command. It is indeed a matter of pride for us all that the vanguard of the I.N.A. is creating traditions which the following units shall do well to follow. Please give very best regards to Major Hassan and other officers.

With best regards. 'Jai Hind'.

Yours sincerely,
Signed
P.K. Sahgal

1 & 2. Not printed.



70: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

. . . The withdrawal of the Japanese from Kohima, while it has attracted notice, has undoubtedly been overshadowed by the war news from Italy and France, but it has proved to the people that their confidence that, in spite of initial successes, the Japanese would not be able to do very much on the Assam-Burma frontier was not misplaced. The obscurity of the Allied bulletins on the fighting in this area, as also in Arakan, which had previously been commented upon, still continues though to a somewhat lesser degree; but unfortunately it undoubtedly encouraged very extensive listening-in to Japanese broadcasts and that habit is not easily stamped out in spite of the fact that in several areas drastic steps have been taken to confiscate radios.

71: Official Notings 23.6.44 – Reg. Sushil Kumar Bhadra¹ (F.B.) (extracts)

File No. 44/47/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Note in the Home Deptt.

It is unfortunate that it should have taken so long to get a reply from Bengal; we ought to have replied to S.K. Bhadra's representation long ago.

2. We must now consider the representation and review his case at the same time. The position with regard to review is that, unless extended his detention order will automatically lapse on July 15th. We must, therefore, have completed consideration of the case and be in a position to pass extension orders – or order his release – well before the date.

3. I am not conversant with the latest developments in the general Forward Bloc case (and my file regarding arrest of individual members of the Bose Conspiracy is out – perhaps with D.I.B.?) I have little doubt, however, that there can be no question at present of relaxing any of the precautions taken against members of the Bloc, while the Bengal letter of 19-6-44 dispose of the suggestion put forward in the representation that he should be released on medical grounds. It seems clear therefore that the representation must be rejected and that his term of detention must be extended. We should be glad to have D.I.B.'s views, however, before submitting the case to H.M. for orders.

S.J.L. Olver,
Deputy Secretary
23-6-44

We agree with Deputy Secretary.

2. S.K. Bhadra's association with the Forward Bloc dates back to 1940 and, as his history sheet will show, his activities thereafter became a serious danger to security. There have been no developments in the general Forward Bloc position – the organisation is under a ban – but recent events on the Eastern Frontier have enhanced the potential danger to security of Subhas Bose's votaries. There should be no question of considering the release of pro-Japanese detenus at this juncture.

3. There is no case for S.K. Bhadra's release on medical grounds.

Signed
G. Ahmed
Dy. Director (A)
27-6-44

H.D. (Mr Oliver)

D.I.B. u/o No. 4/Cong./44-B dated 28-6-44

Sec. Doc. 51 – As per the suggestions of the Deputy Secretary and Additional Secretary, Bengal Government was consulted and no reply was received. – Ed.

72 Government of Punjab to the Government of India

File No. 44/27/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Confidential

From

F.C. Bourne, Esquire, CSI., CIE., ICS.,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Punjab.

To

The Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department,
New Delhi.

No. 5498 DDSB/pPF, A-102

dated Lahore, the 28th June, 44

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 44/15/44 Poll (I) dated 29-2-44,¹ I am directed to inform you that in accordance with the provisions of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance (III) of 1944 the grounds for his detention were communicated to Amar Singh Bamral but he has not so far, made any representation. As his detention order under rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules 1939, will automatically expire by 15-7-44, I am to request that the Central Government's order under section 3 (1) (b) of the said Ordinance

for his detention for a period of 6 months with effect from 15-7-44 may kindly be forwarded to me for necessary action.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
F.C. Bourne
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

1. Doc. 44.

73: Government of India to Sushil Kumar Bhadra¹ (security prisoner F.B.)

File No. 44/47/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

No. 44/47/44 – Poll (I)

3-7-44

To
Sushil Kumar Bhadra
Security Prisoner, Central Jail

Govt. have considered your representation and have decided not to cancel the order under which you are detained. The order is being extended and will, as so extended, remain in force until 15th January, 1945, unless sooner revoked or unless Govt. decide further to extend it under sec. 9 of ordinance No. III of 1944.

Signed
V. Sahay
J.S.

1. Previous reference – Doc. 71 and Doc. 72.

74: Government of India to the Government of Punjab

File No. 44/27/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

6-7-44

To
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab

Please refer to your letter No. 498 DDSB/PF A-102 dated the 28th June, 1944,¹ about the case of Amar Singh Bamral.

2. According to our records, the order detaining Bamral under Defence Rule 26 was made by the Punjab Government, though at the instance of the Central Government, and it will therefore be for you to review his case and to decide whether the detention order should be extended under section 9 of Ordinance III of 1944. In our view, his activities from 1926 onwards, and particularly his meetings with the Japanese Counsel General in 1941, show him to be a strong supporter of the Japanese and likely to work in furtherance of their interests, were he to be released. We would therefore favour his continuing in detention.

Signed
Vishnu Sahay
J.S.

1 Doc. 72.

75: Government of India to the Government of Bengal (reg. A.N. Bose)

File No. 44/28/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Government of India
Home Department

Express Letter

From
Home, New Delhi

To
The Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
Home Department Calcutta

No. 44/28/44 – Poll (I),

New Delhi, the 8th July 44

Continuation our letter No. 44/28/44 – Poll (I) dated 15th March 1944¹ regarding security prisoner Amarendra Nath Bose. After a full consideration of all the aspects of the case we have decided that he shall continue in detention. Two copies of an order extending his detention order which would otherwise expire on the 15th July are enclosed.² One copy should be served on him before or on the 15th July, and retained by you for record, while the other copy may be handed over to him.

(S.J.L. Oliver)
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

1 & 2. Not printed.



76

Prem to Sadar Daftar

Moti Ram (ed.), *Two Historic Trials in Red Fort* (1946), pp. 337-8

Exhibit GGG

Sadar Daftar, Ala Kaman, Azad Hind Fauj
(Head Quarters, Supreme Command, Indian National Army)

Rangoon, 20th August, 1944

Dear Zaman,

I received your report, sent from Yeu, on 23rd August 1944, together with a copy of Col. Shah Nawaz's report¹ (incidentally original of that report has never been received here yesterday) and I immediately took up the reports to Netaji. Yesterday evening Netaji had a conference with Lt. Gen. Ishoda concerning the matter mentioned in your report. I was also present during the discussion. Throughout the conference, although he promised to send telegrams here and there, it was quite apparent that either he (Gen. Ishoda) could or would do little.

Ever since the Japanese have decided to go on the defensive. I feel a change in their attitude, which I find very difficult to explain may be you can explain it better than I can. Anyhow, one thing is certain that we can expect little help from Nippon authorities in Rangoon. You will have to tackle Hayachi Butai to solve most of your problems. We even offered to send a steam launch from Rangoon to relieve a Nippon steam launch in the front line, which could be despatched immediately to Yirwam to evacuate the four hundred men of No. 1 Grla. Regiment. But even that they did not agree to. We have managed to collect about six lorries, which are being touched up in our workshop and as soon as they are ready, they shall be sent forward to help solve the transport problem. Another emergency hospital to function in Mandalay has also been organised and as soon as we can get some equipment from the Japanese, it shall be sent there. Arrangements are also being made to buy enough cloth to give two sets of clothing to all our men coming back and a boot shop is also being organised to make enough boots for whole of No. 1 Division. Our main difficulty is to get the materials, they are not available at any price. We here are trying to do our best, which is mighty little, to help the people coming back. Feeling of importance and frustration for not being able to do anything to lessen the suffering of our comrades is terrible. Lt. Col. Habibur-Rahman has gone to receive the new area where Nos. 1 and 2 Div. are going to be sent, and he is expected back here any day. As soon as he returns I shall try and move up to see if I could be of any help. Please give my best regards to Inayat, Hassan and Arshad.



77

Desertions from Punjab Regiment — (List)

File No. 39/16/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Most Secret
'A'

Subedar Kartar Singh

S/o Achhar Singh,

Village: Nangal Ishar, Haryana, Dist.: Hoshiarpur

1943

- February 1. Was 2nd in Command of 'A' Company at time No. 8 Platoon deserted to the enemy. At Court of Inquiry denied any knowledge of discontent in the Coy. Had previously been Comdr. of No. 8 Platoon and stated it had no 'bad hats': considered platoon had run into an ambush.
- October 2. After attempted murder of Hav. Hazara Singh, he told O.C. and Adjustment on three occasions that he had no idea who had made the attempt, and that he knew of nothing wrong in the coy or among the Sikhs.
- November 3. Was arrested on suspicion of being an accomplice in the attempted murder, but sufficient evidence was not obtained on which to charge him
4. Gave unsatisfactory and evasive evidence during the taking of the Summary of Evidence in connection with the attempted murder.
5. At the taking of a summary of evidence in Madras in November 1943, was named by four witnesses as being anti-British and Pro-Japanese.

Most Secret

9979 *Hav. Ujagar Singh*

S/o. Sochet Singh

Chak No. 26, Lyallpur

- 1939 1. Hav. Mela Singh, one of those who deserted and was recaptured as a JIF, has stated in his interrogation (December 1943) that Ujagar Singh was associated with Hv. Hardy Singh in contacting S.C. Bose in Calcutta 1939.
- 1942 2. Sepoy Jagat Singh, who was interrogated in April-1943 by the Punjab C.I.D. after being arrested for being in possession of Congress literature, stated that while in Chittagong in Sept. 1942, Ujagar Singh had taken a prominent part in discussions with two Bengali Congress propagandists, with a view to subverting his comrades.
- 1943 3. Was stated by Hav. Hazara Singh to be the leader of the Congress Group in the unit, and to be intimate friend of Nazar Singh, the suspected but unproved murderer.
- October-December

10116 *L/Nk Piara Singh*

S/o Harnam Singh

Village Fatehpur, Tehsil: Kasur, Dist. Lahore

- 1939 1. Known to have been friendly with Hardy Singh in Calcutta. Hardy Singh was the Instigator of the desertion of the platoon to the enemy in Feb., 1943.
- 1943 2. Was reported by an F.S. N.C.O. of 14 Ind. Div. as a disseminator of subversive propaganda.
- March 1943. 3. Named by Hav. Hazara Singh as being one of a Congress cell in the unit, and to have known of the plot to murder him.
- October 1943 4. At the taking of a Summary of evidence in Madras. in Nov. 1943, was named by four witnesses as being anti-British and pro-Jap.
- December

11164 Sep, *Nazar Singh*

S/o. Santa Singh

Village, Bengulpur, Thana: Dasnya Dist.: Hoshiarpur

- 1942 1. Deserted from Cox's Bazar with intent to avoid active Service and enrolled in I.E. was awarded 1 years' R.I. and dismissal, but sentence was suspended.
- 1943 2. 'Almost certainly' (according to a report from the C.O.) the writer of the anonymous letter against Hav. Hazara Singh, found in C.O's office on 21/10/43.
- 21 Oct 3. Suspected of attempted murder of Hav. Hazara Singh on night 30th Oct. but sufficient evidence has not been found to charge him.

1/15 Punjab Regt.

Pre-War Unit.

Comprising.

Locations (Since Sep. 1939)

(Old 25th Punjabis)

Sikhs	P.M.s ¹	Pathans	and	Jats
Alipore				1939
Ambala		January		1940
Shilabagh		October		1940
Lohardaga		February		1942
Singapore		June		1942
Chittagong		July		1942
Arakan Front		January		1943
Ranchi		May		1943
Madras		July		1943
Thondebhavi		January		1944
Madras Area		April		1944
Poona Area		May		1944
Nasik Road		July		1944
Manipur Road		future		

Security — The Sikh coy on this Bn. has the worst history on GSI (b) records.

- Sep/Dec. 1939 Contacts with subversive elements, including S.C. Bose
- Sep. 1940 Trouble at Ambala over steel helmets. Disaffected elements tried to make matter one of religion.
- Sep. 1942 Contact with Congress-minded Bengali subversives in Chittagong.

Feb. 1943 Desertion of a platoon of 22 Sikhs while on patrol, followed by desertion of 2 more Sikhs the following night. Investigations show one of the Calcutta gang, who had lately returned to the unit, incited seven other to the enemy, taking the remainder of the platoon with them.

Oct. 1943 Disclosure of disaffected pro-Congress, pro-Jap and anti-British elements among Sikhs and Jats, following attempted murder of a Sikh Havildar. 12 Sikhs and 3 Jats discharged – 4 of former were detained under D.I. Rules.

Morale – Morale was low as a result of the Arakan retreat in March/April 1943. The Jats did not do well in battle and failed dismally in an attack on 7 March 43. In this connection a Jamadar was court-martialled on Oct. 1943 and discharged from the army.

The Sikhs were badly shaken as a result of the mass desertion.

In report for January 1944. O.C. 1/15 Punjab writes: 'The morale of the Bn as a whole has increased markedly with the move of the Bn to an active formation again'.

Feb. 1944 The Bn received a draft of 56 Sikhs from the 5th Bn, which enabled the C.O. to reform the Sikh Coy. The effect of this on the morale of the Sikhs was very marked. The morale of the Bn as a whole was high.

May to September 1944 Morale was high

October 44 Morale remained high.

J.R. Denny
Lt.-Col.

18 November 44.

1. P.M. means 'Punjabi Mussalman'

78 Official Notings (extracts) – Review of cases of security prisoners (dt 4.12.44)

File No. 44/15/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Home Department

H.M. has asked to see the cases of all persons detained under Ordinance III by the order of the Central Government. I understand that he wishes to see them now not in connection with the periodical extension orders which have to be passed, but for the purposes of general and continuous review. I had with me a batch of eleven cases but two of them, namely, those of Jai Prakash Narain and Ram Manohar Lohia have since been disposed off and I now submit the remaining nine cases of the first batch. Of these cases five, namely, (1) H.V. Kamath, (2) Shankar Lal Basal, (3) Amarendra Nath Bose, (4) Satya Ranjan Bakshi and (5) Sushil Kumar Bhadra are all detained for their connections with the Forward Bloc and in view of the decision recently taken on a representation by H.V. Kamath and other members I presume no particular note on their cases is necessary. The only special feature is in the case of Sushil Kumar Bhadra who is said to have been in poor health and we are awaiting a reply about this from the Government of Bengal.

2. As regards Brahma Nand Agnihotri, it appears that he was detained for suspected

German sympathies but for sometime there has been some doubt as to whether there were any sufficient grounds to continue his detention in view of the trend of the war with Germany. The U.P. Govt. are of opinion that there is little risk in releasing him but D.I.B. in his note on page 16 suggests that restriction should be imposed after release. It will be seen from serial No. 6 that the U.P. Govt. were not in favour of restrictions when it was previously suggested. It seems, therefore, that the point for decision in this case is whether restrictions should be imposed after release or not.

3. The remaining three cases are connected, namely, those of Ujagar Singh, Piara Singh and Nazar Singh. These three men were in the 1/15 Punjab Regiment and were discharged along with several others in connection with an attempted murder on a Sikh haveldar. The crime was not brought home to anyone in particular but the evidence led to disclosures of anti-British and pro-Japanese sentiments on the part of certain personnel and at the request of D.M.I. these three men were detained under Ordinance III on the grounds that if they were left at liberty they would act in a manner prejudicial to the war effort. H.M. last saw the case at page 34 when the detention orders were extended. At that time we asked for further evidence from the Headquarters Southern Army to be sent as soon as possible. The reply at page 39 shows that no further evidence is forthcoming but both D.M.I. and War Department recommend the continued detention of these men. They point out that if we were satisfied at the time of the original detention as well as at the time of the extending order that their opinion was necessary, there is no reason to alter that opinion now as the circumstances have in no way altered.

4. The detention orders of these last three men expire in April 1945 while those of all the orders submitted in this batch expire in the middle of January 1945.

4.12.44

(F.G. Cracknell)
Deputy Secretary.

79 Official Notings — (Sushil Kumar Bhadra F.B.) — (dt 19.12.1944–21.12.1944) (extracts)

File No. 44/47/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Intelligence Bureau

S.K. Bhadra's case¹ has been carefully reviewed. His record is a bad one: his activities in the past show him to be a revolutionary capable of dangerous activities and his sympathy for the Bose school is emphasised by his previous membership of the Forward Bloc and the All-India Youth League. There are grounds for believing that he would assist the Japanese if opportunity offered.

2. At present time we are faced with an intensive renewal of Japanese infiltration by parties of Indian agents in their employ for the purpose of espionage, sabotage and fifth-column work generally. We are told that the Japanese are training 'trainers' to organise and lead subversive

elements in Bengal; and Bose is known to be endeavouring to renew touch with any reliable contact still out of detention. Bhadra would, it is believed, be acceptable as a contact if he were free to act.

3. The present time also is one in which any additional risk to the security of our special operations based on Bengal — the undisturbed integrity of which is a matter of very great consequence — will be most inadvisable. Hence the best course from the point of view of the successful prosecution of the war as well as internal security would seem to lie in keeping Bhadra in custody until competent medical authority is prepared to certify that his health is such as to remove from his release every possibility of his being able to resort to dangerous activities. Some relief might perhaps be afforded to him by his transfer temporarily to a sanatorium outside Bengal until his health improves, but in this event it would still be necessary to keep a guard over him.

Signed
(D. Pilditch),
Director
19-12-44.

Home Dept. (Sir Richard Tottenham)

D.I.B. U/o 4/Cong./44-B dated the Dec. 20, 1944.

Please also see the TOP SECRET note placed below. On this record I agree that there are grounds for keeping him in detention. The only question is whether his health has so deteriorated as to justify release on medical grounds. As he is our prisoner the Bengal Govt. is responsible for keeping us informed of any serious illness (A Circular to this effect was sent round in 1943). The difficulty, however, in getting any information out of the Bengal Govt. seems to imply that they themselves are not in fact kept regularly informed of the health of Central detenus. I think we should send a telegram asking for an immediate reply to our letter of 20.10.44.² Explaining that they are reviewing his case and must have information about his health before finally deciding whether to extend the present detention order.

Signed
R. Tottenham
21-12-44

1. See Docs. 51 & 73 2. Not printed.

80 Official Notings reg. Amarendra Nath Bose
(dt 20.12.1944)

File No. 44/28/44 — Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

(Intelligence Bureau, H.D.)

The note on Amarendra Nath Basu is placed below. There is nothing new which can be added to the case in respect of the individual concerned, who seems resigned to his fate for

he has made no move or protest, which may reasonably be accepted as a reliable indication that he recognizes the justice of the action taken against him. Generally it can be stated that this is not the time when risks can be taken with organisations and persons who are prepared to assist Bose and the Japanese. This applies with considerable force to the Forward bloc which was Bose's creation. The enemy's offensive continues in full force against us and if his intelligence, propaganda and sabotage agents are going to find persons in India at liberty and able and willing to help them a situation which it is our constant (and I may say most difficult) endeavour to control is going to constitute even greater burden. Bose has been giving enemy agents the names of persons with whom they should make contact on coming to this country. His old helpers are his most likely selections for his information is not up to date. It is therefore of importance that those he nominates should not be available. Because of all this and because Amarendra Nath Basu deserves nothing better at Government's hands, and because of the recent evidence which shows that considerable danger is always in existence in Bengal, I have no hesitation in recommending strongly an extension of the detention order in this case.

Signed
Deputy Director
20.12.44

I don't think the time has yet arrived for any relaxation in the case of important members of the Forward Bloc.

R. Tottenham
20/12/44

[*Editor's Note:* Later documents dated 29 June 1945 show that even towards the end of the Japanese War, the government decided to keep A.N. Bose in detention. [NAI – 44/28/44 serial No. 16, letter of F.S. Cracknell, 29 June 1945.]

81: Official Notings – History Sheet of S.S. Caveeshar

File No. 44/52/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

S.S. Caveeshar
President, All-India Forward Bloc.
Age, about 55 years.

Public activity commenced in 1914 with his short-lived journal *Sikh Review*, (financed by the ex-Maharaja of Nabha) which came to notice very early in its career for its highly seditious articles. His second venture in journalism *New Herald* (1919), although started as a Sikh Communal organ, plunged headlong into Rowlatt Bill agitation, since when he became an ardent advocate of non-cooperation delivering inflammatory speeches. Was sentenced to five years rigorous imprisonment for publishing series of inflammatory articles on the Gurudwara reform question in 1921. Came into touch with Baba Gurdit Singh while in Jail. After release

in 1925, started a party known as 'Majlis-i-littihad' for uniting all communities in a common platform of hostilities to Govt. and determination to win Swaraj. Sponsored two journals 'Hindustani' and 'Sangat' for carrying on propaganda for his old parton, the ex-Maharaja of Nabha. In 1926 became Managing Director of Peoples Insurance Co. Connived at formation of the avowedly revolutionary organisation 'Nawjawan Bharat Sabha'. As an important member of congress and of the Sikh Societies, he kept up agitation for the reinstatement of the ex-Maharaja of Nabha. In 1928 become prominent in fomenting agitation among peasants and labourers and toured rural areas to spread Congress Propaganda. Was a signatory to the Nehru Report. Took very active part in preparations for the boycott of Simon Commission. Supported at a meeting of Nawjawan Bharat Sabha resolution sympathizing with ex-King Amanullah. Was mainly responsible for the Sikh 'Nationalist Party', policy of which was to support Congress and oppose other Sikh organisations, which had been hostile to Congress, because of Nehru report. In 1929 associated himself with Swadhin Bharat Sangha of Free Indian Association which had been working under prominent revolutionaries with inter provincial connexions.

Became a member of the congress Working Committee in 1930 and was responsible for a number of highly objectionable speeches which advocated overthrow of British Government in no uncertain terms. Was convicted under section 124 A, I.P.C. to 1 Year's R.I., but violent speeches, eulogizing the activities of Bhagat Singh and other anarchists, advising peasants not to pay land-revenue appealing for enlistment of one lakh of volunteers in Kirti-Kisan and Naw Jawan Bharat Sabha, so that, on the breakdown of negotiations between Congress and Government, they might declare that they were now free and had no concern with Government. Became 'Dictator' of the Congress, on the arrest of Dr Ansari. Sentenced do 1 1/2 year's R.I. under Section 21 of Emergency Powers Ordinance. Soon after release in August 1933 was again appointed A President of Congress on the arrest of M.S. Aney. Was sentenced under picketing Ordinance to 6 months R.I. Being opposed to Council entry programme, resigned from Congress Parliamentary Board, but was appointed in November 1934 to the Congress Working Committee after the Bombay Session which position also he resigned in September 1935, ostensibly for similar reasons. In February 1939 assured Subhas Bose of Akali's whole-hearted support in the Punjab for his re-election to Congress Presidentship. In May Bose entrusted him to with the work to organise Forward Bloc in the Punjab. In August was elected President of the Punjab Bloc. Began preaching consolidation of Leftist forces and uncompromising attitude towards British Government. Advocated 'direct mass action' contributed anti-British and anti-Government statements to Press describing alleged helpless position and capture power. In July 1940 was nominated President of All-India Forward Bloc, on the arrest of Subhas Bose. Promised in August 1940 to give Forward Bloc support to Kisan-cum-Communist leaders to form union of all revolutionary groups. Reported to have admitted Forward Bloc's connection with Germans, Japanese, Russians and Italians who encouraged Bloc to give trouble in India to stage regular revolution with the object of embarrassing the British Government in India. Offered Bloc's support and co-operation to Government in recruitment to army, primarily with a view to secure Government help to oppose Congress high Command. As president, was responsible for a number of circulars and statements about the Forward Bloc's programme of mass action and formation of National Defence Brigades with the two-fold object of meeting internal disorder and external aggression; but of late his outward interest in Forward Bloc was never of an abiding nature, apparently due to domestic concern and private affairs.

The part which Sardul Singh is believed to be playing in the Bose conspiracy has already been stated in the Bureau's note to Home Department, No. SA/518-SB, dated 5.7.1941, where in it was mentioned that we then had no recommendation to make for action in his case. Since then evidence has been gradually accumulating which tends to show that he is deeply involved in the conspiracy. Although he has not himself admitted to any knowledge of or active connection with Shanker Lal Basal's mission to Japan in 1940 on behalf of Subhas Bose, there is little doubt that he was taken fully into confidence by Subhas Bose before Basal's departure. Interviewed by a police officer in April 1941, Caveeshar, in the course of conversation, said that he had seen Shankar Lal Basal on his return from Japan and had heard from him the result of his visit. This was to the effect that there had been so much propaganda, particularly over the wireless, regarding the desire of the Axis Powers to help India to obtain her freedom that Shanker Lal went to Japan to find out, if he could, the manner in which the Axis Powers proposed to assist this country. Basal saw the German, Italian and Russian Ambassadors and Japanese Foreign office officials, and, according to Caveeshar had gathered from Basal that the Axis Powers and Russia had agreed to the division of India. The Eastern part of India would come under Japanese rule; in northern India the area which might be described as North Pakistan, would be Sovietized with the help of the bordering Muslim Soviets; Italy would take the Western coast line opposite her possessions in Africa; and Germany would presumably have the rest. Caveeshar then went on to say that he had discussed Shanker Lal's report with Subhas Bose and persuaded him that bad though British rule was, it would be preferable to rule by the Axis Powers. He alleges that he persuaded Bose that it would be in India's interests to co-operate fully with the British Government in the prosecution of the war, in the hope that they would be granted independence after the war and that in the meantime they should, with slight modifications, accept the offer of the Secretary of State. Sardul Singh admits to having seen Subhas Bose after his release from jail in December, 1940. By this time, the secret plans which had been made in the middle of 1940 for Bose's get-away and which had subsequently to be suspended, were immediately revived and considerable secret activity preceded the actual disappearance of Bose, during which period secret meetings were held in Bose's house with his close confidantes, and certain movements of upcountry suspects to and from Calcutta were noticed-all in preparation for Bose's escape.

To a source, Caveeshar related the following story of Bose's disappearance: At first Caveeshar and his friends did not favour the idea of Bose running away, but Bose himself was not prepared to go back to jail and therefore advanced two points: (1) He may persuade some foreign power like Japan, Russia or Germany to attack India and thus drive away the British; (2) in case he did not succeed on the first point he would make an effort for the recognition of the right of India for freedom at the Peace Conference which took place at the end of the war. According to Sardul Singh, Bose ultimately prevailed upon his friends to agree to his plans — those present included Sarat Chandra Bose, Caveeshar, Shanker Lal and two other Bengalis. Caveeshar then went on to say that the show of Puja, etc., was kept up till he (Bose) was out of the danger zone. He grew a beard and was dressed like a Pathan. From Calcutta Bose travelled to Peshawar, partly by car and partly by train. From Peshawar he was taken to Kabul through by-paths and thence to Russia. (A source report dated 21.4.41 stated that after he had safely crossed the N.W.F. border, Bose sent a message to Sardul Singh, through Teja Singh Chuarkhana, President of the Desha Bhagat Parwar Sahaikk Committee, asking Caveeshar to inform Sarat Bose that no money should be given to anyone without a written authority signed by Subhas Bose himself. This message was passed on to Caveeshar's

Calcutta office to Niranjana Singh Talib with instructions that he should convey it personally to Sarat Bose. A fortnight later a second messenger met Sardul Singh at Lahore with some documents, alleged to have been sent by Subhas Bose for Sarat Bose.) As the messenger was accompanied by another person, Sardul Singh, directed them to take the message direct to Calcutta. Caveeshar has expressed the opinion that Subhas Bose would come back to India with greater powers if any victorious Foreign Army entered the country after the collapse of the British power: otherwise he (Bose) would spend the rest of his life as an exile in foreign countries. Caveeshar added that in the event of a British collapse India would come under the influence of Soviet Russia which would sovietize India. There are strong grounds for the belief that on Sardul Singh Caveeshar falls the responsibility for the strong Sikh strain which runs through the 'Bose conspiracy'.

Shankar Lal Basal, the General Secretary of the All India Forward Bloc, another trusted lieutenant of Subhas Bose, who is now under detention in Lahore Jail has in his statement to the Police mentioned Sardul Singh as having acted as the Punjab link between Bose's contacts with Kabul. This information has been confirmed by the interrogation of the most important Kirti-Kisan Worker, Harminder Singh Sodhi.

82. Caveeshar's account of his links with Subhas Chandra Bose and official comments on it — End of 1944

File No. 44/52/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Part I

A few weeks after he left India, Mr Bose, I believe, tried to put himself in touch with me, but I refused to have anything to do with him, and his efforts in this respect proved completely abortive.

2. Two persons, whom I did not know before, came to me, as they said, from Kabul and desired to give me papers, which they said contained instructions from Mr Bose. but I refused to take these papers from them or even see them. I refused to give them money which they said they wanted for going to Calcutta and I dismissed them unceremoniously when they pressed hard to give me the papers mentioned above.

Official Comments on Para 2

This account of the visit of Bose's emissaries to him is by no means the same as that given by him in the statement made by him on Police interrogation. He has now suppressed the fact that the two men told him they had seen Bose off to Europe. His assertion that he refused even to see the two men is false and is contradicted by his own assertion in the next paragraph. In his statement he admitted meeting these men, said that one introduced himself as Bhagat Ram of the N.W.F.P. and that the other claimed to be a leader of the Kirti Party and gave a description of this second man, together with the name claimed by him. It is significant that

S.S.K. gave Bhagat Ram's true name and not his alias, 'Rehmat Khan', by which Bhagat Ram was known throughout. If S.S.K. was as innocent as he claims, Bhagat Ram would never have disclosed his true identity to him.

3. In the very beginning of the interview, and before they told me who they were, they handed me a letter, which purported to have been written by Mr Bose from 'somewhere in Europe'. They asked me to get the letter published in the Punjab, but I flatly refused to comply with their wishes. Later I learnt from newspapers that some such letter was published on Bihar and Bengal side: but I am sure, and government's Intelligence Department must know of it, that this letter was never published in the Punjab. Had I taken even this letter from them and been a party to Mr Bose's Plans even to such a small extent, I would have given publicity at least to this letter.

Official Comments on Para 3

Again, S.S.K. is contradicting his statement, in which he stated that, after the two men had introduced themselves and told him about Bose's movements, they handed him the letter from Bose. The 'Publication' of this letter, to which S.S.K. refers, was the circulation of the letter in the form of a badly printed leaflet during the Forward Bloc 'National Week' in Calcutta from April 16th to 13th, 1941; at the foot of the leaflet was written 'somewhere in Europe 22/3/41'. The leaflet came to notice in Jamshedpur a few weeks later and was proscribed by the Bihar Government. If, as he claims, S.S.K. did not give publicity to this letter he can hardly claim any credit for this, since to have any credit for this, since to have done so would have been contrary to the instructions given him by Bose in December 1940, shortly before Bose's disappearance. In this connection, S.S.K. has noted in his diary:

'I was asked to remain out of the Jail'.

4. After Mr Bose left India, knowing it to be dangerous and against law to have any contact with him, I made up my mind not to have anything to do with him, and I most solemnly affirm that I scrupulously adhered to that resolve; I never tried to come into touch with him and no one after the above mentioned messengers came to see me on his behalf to establish any contact with me. Mr Wace, D.I.G., C.I.D., Punjab, when he saw me in the Lahore Fort, expressed his doubts whether I really refused to receive papers from these persons, but when I told him that his subordinates in the Fort had informed me that they had independent evidence supporting my statements in this respect, he could not contradict me. . . .

Official Comments on Para 4

S.S.K. has conveniently omitted to mention in this connection that he received a message from Bose before the arrival of the above two messengers asking him to warn Sarat Bose not to give money to any person without a written authority in Bengali from Subhas Bose and that he passed this message on to Sarat Bose.

The Bureau has no information on this point, which can be readily verified in the Punjab.

5. I had absolutely no contact with Mr Bose after he left India and had absolutely nothing to do with his plans, if any.

Official Comments on Para 5

Two known instances of messages from Bose to S.S.K. have been cited above. Apart from this, Shankar Lal Basal, Gen Secy. of the A-I. Forward Bloc and trusted lieutenant of Bose,

in his statement said that S.S.K. acted as the Punjab link between Bose's contacts and Kabul. This has been confirmed by Harminder Singh Sodhi in his statement.

Part II

Except for a short while, as I shall relate later, I and Mr Bose were never in the same camp. Being an old member of the Congress Working Committee, I had always to support Mr Sen Gupta and his party, Mr Sen Gupta being my colleague in the Working Committee and Mr Bose's rival for leadership in Bengal. In his writings, Mr Bose always criticised me as a blind follower of Mahatma Gandhi. Even in his well-known book 'Indian Struggle' he referred to me sneeringly as opposed to progressive views.

Official Comments on First Para of Part II

In his statement also S.S.K. has said that up to 1930 his relations with Bose were not very good because as a member of the Working Committee he had to support Sen Gupta's party in Bengal against Bose's party, which did not find favour with the Congress High Command. It was not a case of personal antipathy therefore. The fact that S.S.K. and Bose were never in the same camp before 1938 is entirely irrelevant, since the Forward Bloc was not founded until 1939. A quick scrutiny of the 'Indian Struggle' discloses only two references to S.S.K.; in the introduction he is mentioned as one of the present-day Congress leaders who are loyal supporters of the Mahatma' and in the appendix is a statement that the Congress Working Committee, of which S.S.K. was a member, had been 'backed' by Gandhi's 'blind supporters'. The 'Indian Struggle' was written in 1934 and published in 1935. Subsequently Gandhi turned his face against S.S.K.'s continuance in the Congress executive because he greatly disliked his crooked Nabha dealings.

2. When I resigned from the Congress Working Committee on the question of office acceptance, Mr Bose supported my move; but soon after he accepted the Presidentship of the Congress, and we again stood against each other as before. I strongly criticised the disciplinary action taken by him and his Committee, against Mr Nariman and Dr Khare and when he visited Lahore as President of the Congress we did not even formally meet.

Official Comments on Para 2 of Part II

When Bose became President of Congress in 1938, S.S.K. thought he had his chance to regain his lost position and grasped it. He became Bose's man and remained such till his arrest. In 1938 he was one of the leading figures in the move to bring all leftist organisations under Bose's control; he strongly supported Bose's re-election to Congress and, when Bose resigned in April 1939, openly supported him in his defiance of Congress and in his formation of Forward Bloc.

3. It was only when he stood up against the Congress working Committee from which I had resigned during the previous year that we met again and tried to make a common cause to oust 'the old guard' of the Congress with whom both of us had fallen out on personal as well as party grounds. It was only then that I came in contact with him and collaborated with him in laying the foundations of the Forward Bloc. It was to be a left wing organisation, but its main object was to fight out the dominance of Patel's Group from the Congress.

Official Comments on Para 3 of Part II

In this statement S.S.K. has admitted that he came in close touch with Bose in 1938 and

supported his re-election as President of the I.N.C. as against the nominee of the Working Committee on two grounds: (1) because Patel and his colleagues in the working Committee were dealing unfairly with Subhas by having recourse to the law courts for withholding a sum of one lakh of rupees, which the late V.J. Patel had assigned to Subhas in his will: (2) because Subhas wanted Congress to give Government 6 months ultimatum to accept the national demand for 'Swaraj', failing which he wanted the Congress to start mass civil disobedience.

S.S.K. has conveniently omitted to state the other objects of the Forward Bloc. In his statements he admits that there were two main objects of the Forward Bloc at that time: (1) to consolidate the leftists against the Congress High Command; and (2) to press Congress for mass civil disobedience.

4. In order to oust this group from coming in Indian politics, Mr Bose even tried to cooperate with the Government. He tried to form Ministries in the Provinces where Congress Ministries had resigned. I also supported him in this move as believed that during the war Indians could get more by pressure from inside the Government than through Mr Gandhi's half hearted policy of non-cooperation and individual Civil Disobedience.

Official Comments on Para 4 of Part II

In his statement S.S.K. has disclosed the real reasons for the attempts to form Ministries, i.e. (1) to capture power. (2) to weaken the influence of the Congress High Command and their hold on the masses and (3) to fight the Government from inside.

5. Later I came to know that Mr Shankar Lal of Delhi, Secretary, Forward Bloc, was sent to Japan by Mr Bose with a view to sound foreign powers about their attitude towards India after the War.

Shankar Lal told me of this when he returned from Japan. Mr Bose was in jail and I was acting as President of Forward Bloc in his place. Under these new circumstances, Mr Shankar Lal came to tell me of his visit to Japan. He gave me to understand that what he could gather from the representatives of the Axis Powers in Japan was extremely favourable for the future of India. According to him, the Axis Powers wanted to divide India amongst themselves as part of the booty after the supposed fall of the British Empire and that to save India from this fate it was necessary to co-operate with the present Government and make it as strong as possible.

Official Comments on Para 5 of Part II

There is little doubt that S.S.K. was taken fully into Bose's confidence before Shankar Lal's departure for Japan. S.S.K. now pretends that he knew nothing about all this until Shankar Lal had to tell S.S.K. was acting as president of the because Bose was in Jail and S.S.K. was acting as president of the Forward Bloc in his place. All this is false. Shankar Lal returned to Calcutta from Japan in June 1940 and Bose was not arrested till July 1940. S.S.K. was not President of the Forward Bloc when Shankar Lal returned from Japan; but he was obviously told all about Shankar Lal's report by Bose since his diary contains the following entries for this period:

17 & 18/6/40 Calcutta;

19-20/6/40 Nagpur;

21-24/6/40 Bombay. Saw Jinnah with Bose and Master Tara Singh.

24/6/40 Bombay. Bose is walking on very slippery ground.

28/6/40 to 4/7/40 Calcutta.

Met Bose.

S.S.K.'s present version of Shankar Lal's report is false. Shankar Lal returned much impressed with the tales of Axis invincibility and the inevitable doom of the British Empire, and he was not a little alarmed at German claims to have powerful Islamic support both inside and outside India. He reported that both the Germans and the Japanese had indicated their willingness to help any movement aimed at the overthrow of British rule and also professed sympathy with Hindu nationalist sentiment, but asked for further details of Subhas Bose's following.

6. Mr Bose, as already stated, was in Jail at that time, but he sent me word encouraging me to open negotiations with Government for co-operation with it even though his previous attempts to form Ministries had not Succeeded. I saw in this connection Sir Craik, the then Governor of the Punjab and Jam Saheb of Nawanagar who was in Delhi in those days as Chancellor of Princes Chamber. As my proposal covered the whole of India both advised me to see the Viceroy. I approached Sir Laithwaite, Viceroy's Private Secretary, but was refused interview with the Viceroy.

Official Comments on Para 6 of Part II

The fact that Bose was not in Jail at the time of Shankar Lal's return and the true purpose behind the attempts to form Ministries have already been shown above. According to one statement, Shankar Lal on his return from Japan said that India was going to be invaded; it was therefore high time that the leftists captured power so that they might have a share of the administration. The scheme evolved therefore was one of outwardly co-operating with Government so as to secure officers and posts from which to operate as fifth columnists when the opportune moment arrived.

7. Mr Bose was soon after released. He was much disappointed at Viceroy's refusal to see me. A case was still pending against him in Calcutta Court and he did not want to go back to jail. He expressed his desire to go to Pondicherry and bring out Shri Aurobindo Ghosh from his seclusion and pit him in Indian politics against Gandhiji's mahatmaic influence. He also expressed the desire to go to Europe especially. as he said, he had an invitation from Russia. He thought that the war will end soon and that he should be at the peace conference to press Indian point of view with the help of Mussolini and other continental politicians whom he knew.

Official Comments on Para 7 of Part II

It is probably with the object of explaining away a press statement made by him after Bose's disappearance, to the effect that Bose had turned Sanyasi and probably gone to Pondicherry, that S.S.K. has mentioned both here and in his statement Bose's alleged desire to pit Shri Aurobindo Ghosh against Gandhi in India politics: but Bose's desire to avoid going back to jail may well be believed and there can be little doubt, in the light of subsequent developments, of Bose's keen desire to get to Europe and of the real reason for this. If Bose really thought the war would end soon, it was because he thought it would end in favour of the Axis — a not uncommon opinion in the second half of 1940.

8. I did not agree with Bose that the war was to end so soon. I tried to persuade him to still

work on the plan of forming Ministries in the Congress Provinces. I and he saw Mr Fazlul Haque in this connection and I approached Sir Mudaliar through a friend so that Mr Bose might be allowed by Government freedom to carry out the plan for forming Ministries. Dr Khare who is now in the Viceroy's Executive and whom Mr Bose saw in this connection, will bear testimony as to how earnest Mr Bose was in this move against the policy of the Congress. But Mr Bose was disappointed both by Mr Fazlul Haque, who said that the Bengal government would not agree to his proposal, and by Sir Mudaliar who hesitated to see him though he was in Calcutta during those days.

Official Comments on Para 8 of Part II

Bose was certainly opposed to Congress, but for purely personal-reasons, and the real object behind the attempts to form Ministries has already been shown above. Referring to these particular negotiations, S.S.K. has admitted in his statement that Bose was quite clear on the point that this proposed cooperation with Government was merely to capture power and not to help government, but to use it as a lever to wrest more power later.

9. I saw Mr Bose for the last time about two months before he left India. What I have related above were the only plans of which I had knowledge or discussion with him. None of these plans, even by any stretch of imagination, could be called as 'prejudicial to the Defence of British India'. At that time Mr Bose did not give me the impression that he was certain to leave India and that my meeting with him was to be the last one. He still hoped of some favourable response from Government through Mr Fazlul Haque.

Official Comments on Para 9 of Part II

S.S.K. actually saw Bose in December 1940, about a month before Bose left Calcutta for Peshawar. Bose had called a series of secret meetings of his principal Forward Bloc followers at which he made known to some his intention of leaving India to negotiate with the Axis and arranged for his brother Sarat Bose to continue directing the treasonable activities of Forward Bloc whilst awaiting his further instructions. S.S.K.'s diary contains the following significant extract about this period:

29/11/40- 11/12/40 *Calcutta and Delhi* Subhas-Ji released. He was not very ill. He is very active. Still believes English would lose. Very bold programme. I think this would be long and drawn contest. Discussed Forward Bloc position for three days. Prospects are not very good. I was asked to remain out of the jail.

10. Later when I again went to Calcutta in connection with a Criminal complaint that I filed against some employees of my bank, Mr Bose had most probably already left that place; though for three or four days I could get no information about it. When I phoned for him I was told that under medical advice he could see nobody. A few days later it was announced in papers that he had mysteriously disappeared from his room. . . .

Official Comments on Para 10 of Part II

S.S.K. arrived in Calcutta before Bose left. His diary shows that he was there from 15/ 1/41 to 2/2/41 and Bose left on the night of January 16/17th. There can be little doubt that S.S.K. knew what was going on.

11. I may also mention here that in order to rally left groups in the Congress against the Patel

Group the Forward Bloc had to avoid forward Policy in Politics but otherwise it was never contemplated that it should come into serious conflict with the Government. . . . Mr Bose tried, at one stage, to involve the Bloc in the Holwell Monument agitation, but I and other important members of the Bloc strongly resisted that move and Mr Bose had to yield. The Forward Bloc as such took no part in that movement for Mr Bose was very keen about its speedy success by making it through the Forward Bloc an all India affair.

Official Comments on Para 11 of Part II

Again S.S.K. has conveniently forgotten the second main object of the Forward Bloc, which he admitted in his statement, i.e., to press Congress to start mass civil disobedience.

The facts are that S.S.K. advised Bose not to court arrest on a minor issue, such as the demolition or removal of the Holwell Monument. It is probably incorrect to say that Bose intended to make the Monument agitation an all India movement. Admittedly, in the message he left behind at the time of his arrest Bose talked airily of the National struggle and of 'liberating our Motherland', but he concluded his message by earnestly hoping that *Bengal* would carry on the campaign for the demolition or removal of the Monument.

12. Mr Bose was the permanent President of the Forward Bloc and L. Shankar Lal its General Secretary. I was only its acting President. When it became clear that Mr Bose had gone over to the Axis side and that L. Shankar Lal's association with the Bloc compromised this position, I insisted, at the threat of resigning from its membership, that both of them should be removed from the Bloc. As a large majority of the members of the Bloc was in favour of the policy mentioned above and I wanted the Bloc to steer clear of all dangerous politics, both of the above officials of the Bloc were removed from their offices and instead I was elected as President and Mr Kamath late of the I.C.S., as its General Secretary.

Official comments on Para 12 of Part II

S.S.K. has conveniently omitted to state here that he was the permanent Vice-President of the Forward Bloc and naturally became President in the absence of Bose. The removal of Bose and Shankar Lal from office was mere bluff, since Bose was in any case absent from the country and Shankar Lal was in jail; so neither of them were in a position to carry out their offices. Referring to this incident in his statement, S.S.K. has said that the meeting of the Forward Bloc Working Committee, at which these removals took place, was held at Wardha in January 1942. S.S.K. diary contains the significant note:

'10/1/42/ to 27/1/42 left for Wardha via Delhi. Saw Mr Aney, Sarat Bose and Shankar Lal. He promised support but he does not seem to have much influence'.

From this there is little doubt that the Forward Bloc was indulging in a little window-dressing, probably in the hope of securing the release of Sarat Bose and Shankar Lal. In his statement S.S.K. has admitted that he requested Mr Aney to secure the release of Sarat Bose and Shankar Lal.

Part III

I was arrested after more than an year of Mr Bose's disappearance. During all this period, owing to my wife's prolonged illness, who was suffering from cancer of the stomach, I could not take any important part in Indian politics. . . . In fact, during the whole of the year after Mr Bose's disappearance before and after my wife's death, I could speak publicly only on four occasions; once in Lahore, twice at Delhi and once in Wardha. In Lahore, I had arranged

a dinner in honour of the Chinese statesman, Dr Koo. It was presided over by Sir Abdul Qadir. I and all other speakers naturally spoke strongly against the Japanese aggression against China. In the Delhi and the Wardha speeches, the record of which must be with the Intelligence Department, I spoke strongly against the Congress policy, praised the British, spoke against the Axis and asked Indians to co-operate with the Government in the defence of the country and suggested that by defending India against the Axis Indians could easily reach that position where self-government for their country would become automatically inevitable. At Wardha, I even got the Forward Bloc to pass a resolution to support the Bengal Ministry and help in the formation of similar Ministries in the other Provinces. In the Punjab, I took no small part in preparing Sardar Baldev Singh and his Akali supporters to co-operate with the Unionist Ministry in helping the Government to win the War. The few statements I issued during those days also supported this theme. To push this move further I even arranged a meeting between Shrijit Rajagopalachariar of Madras and Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan of Lahore. But before this meeting could take place, I was removed from the scene and placed behind the prison bars.

Official Comments on Para 1 of Part III

It is true that the illness of S.S.K.'s wife interfered to some extent with his work as President of the Forward Bloc and that S.S.K.'s attempts to carry out the programme and plans of Bose were not very effective; but at the time of his arrest on 9.3.42 there was evidence that the Forward Bloc organisation had collaborated in the Punjab and elsewhere with terrorists, *Kisans* and *Gliadr* communists, who had been attempting to foment agrarians and industrial unrest and subvert the Indian Army. It was known that the Bloc and its Defence Brigades had figured largely in Subhas Bose's plans. Before leaving Kabul Bose sent a written message to S.S.K. telling him to keep the organisation alive' and speaking at Delhi in January 1942 S.S.K. declared that wherever he was Bose could be trusted to complete the patriotic mission for which he had left India. S.S.K. was fully aware at the time that Bose was in Germany. In February 1942, a reliable source reported that S.S.K. had declared that Bose would return to India bringing freedom with him and said that his own sympathies were with Japan, which would make India free. The Bureau has no information about the Lahore, Delhi and Wardha speeches referred to by S.S.K. or about his alleged part in preparing Sardar Baldev Singh and his Akali supporters to co-operate with the Unionist Ministries in helping to win the war. The support given by the Forward Bloc to the Bengal Ministry is hardly surprising in view of Sarat Bose's constant endeavour to maintain a foothold in that ministry.

S.S.K. was party to Bose's plans: to his get away and to the camouflage which attended his departure. He passed messages to Niranjana Singh Talib and Sarat Chandra Bose from Subhas Bose after Subhas Bose had left the country. He was aware of Sarat Bose's activities with the Japanese after Subhas Bose's departure. In fact, he was as deeply enmeshed as anyone else in the Bose conspiracy and his refusal to be implicated with two of Bose's messengers, whom he did not know, is proof not of his innocence but of caution. In his ostensible open role of co-operation with Government he could not afford to take risks and did not have to do so.

It is on record that Subhas Bose was greatly concerned to secure Sikh co-operation for enemy invasion forces and that before he left Master Tara Singh agreed to get in touch with S.S.K. and get instructions from him. There is reason to believe that Bose may now entertain doubts about the Sikhs, for he told agents recently despatched to India to study Master Tara Singh before approaching him. He has no doubts about S.S.K., however for he gave S.S.K.'s name as a safe contact.

83: Extract from the book *Netajeer Secret Service* by Dr Pabitra Mohan Roy (translated from the original Bengali) by the editor

Netajeer Secret Service (1980)

[*Editor's Note.* This Bengali book, from which extracts have been translated, is a contemporary source, based on the memoirs and diaries written by Pabitra Mohan Roy while under detention between 18 January 1945 (when he was arrested) and Nov 1945, when the death sentence was commuted. In 1980 these old diaries were recovered by Shri Prabir Ghosh and Shri Debasish Bandyopadhyaya from Roy's house, and made into a book. Roy helped the authors in that work. We gave given a literal translation of the work as written in the original Bengali, omitting such minutiae as are not relevant. Our aim has been to show, from the participant's own accounts, how exaggerated were the hopes of Subhas Chandra Bose that his secret emissaries would be able to make common cause with the Bengal revolutionaries. The book was given to the editor by the late Haridas Mitra* (Hari Babu in the following narrative), who had married a niece of Subhas Bose, Amita (nickname Bela). Amita Mitra (née Bose) died on 31 July 1952. Haridas Mitra, who gave an extensive oral testimony to the editor in May 1989, passed away on 20 April 1992].

[*Omitted:* pp. 31–5. — Description of the training received between November 1943 and February 1944 at the Sandicraft training camp near Penang — Ed.]

Pp. 35 ff. — On 6 March 1944 at 9 p.m. two automobiles took us by a circuitous route to the door of a very quiet house. We entered. It was a well furnished house without any persons around. Yet everything that one needed was there — beds made, clothes arranged, food laid out on the table. Yet no sign of any human beings. That night I could not sleep. At 5 a.m., when it was still dark, Major Swamy came. We were to be taken to the submarine before dawn, because the sight of some Indians boarding a Japanese submarine might arouse suspicious speculations, especially among possible enemy agents. We were taken to the wharves by a devious route. Our submarine was waiting there.

[*Omitted:* pp. 36–43 — Description of daily life in the submarine . . . — Ed.]

P. 43 — The crew took care that we were fed properly. The Captain personally supervised that. He gave us the news of the I.N.A. having entered Assam and hoisted the tricolour. We were awaiting this news for a long time, and got excited and enthusiastic on hearing it. Now it was our turn. Let us also be able to do something of everlasting credit.

That evening we left Shaheed Dwip.¹ From now the submarine will go during the day, completely under water at a very slow speed. We had already been told that we should be disembarked somewhere by the Chilka lake on the Orissa Coast. So we started studying the map of that area in great detail.

Next day, i.e. 14th March the captain said that we should be disembarked near the sun temple of Konarak. I had heard, before I started, that the Konarak area was the safest and most convenient landing spot. Then the captain let Amrik Singh and me see the sun-temple through the periscope.

On reaching dry land we shouted 'jai hind' and embraced each other happily. Our rubber

bags were still floating in the waves. In the moonlight we waded in to retrieve them, two or one at a time. . . . Having reached Indian soil, now the anxiety was how to achieve our aims. From a sandbank I surveyed the neighborhood, but did not notice any sign of habitation within a radius of a couple of miles. Still, we kept watch whole night taking turns to bury all the luggage that we did not need immediately. . . .

Now started the trek of all four of us together. Apart from clothes and bedding, we were carrying various types of tools of our revolutionary trade. We have a gramophone, an electric clock, a bucket and a tin of juice weighing about ten to twelve seers. It was difficult to carry them, and yet we could not discard them. None of us had come here to bathe in buckets of water, have a meal of ghee and rice and relax with gramophone music. These things contained the equipment of our revolutionary work—some concealed a transmitter, another a receiving set, and another the tools of a wireless mechanic.

[*Omitted*: p. 45 — Description of their physical tiredness — Ed.]

But at this moment we could not afford to have food, rest or sleep. We had the ocean behind us and stretches of sand in front. Puri was 25 miles on foot. We walked fast because we would be less in danger the sooner we were out of the area where we were.

[*Omitted*: pp. 45–6 — Description of their decision to split in to two groups of two each, one Punjabi and one Bengali in each group. Pabitra Roy and Amrik Singh to aim for Calcutta, via Puri; Tuhin and Mahindra Singh to go to Bombay, and the latter to contact Roy at Calcutta at pre-arranged rendez vous — Ed.]

Pp. 47–8 — After we had walked for a mile we rested by a well, in a cool shady mango grove, wondering which path to take because the road had forked into two. At this time a young Oriya lad was coming towards us, chanting religious invocations. I started conversation with him in a mixture of Bengali and Oriya. He told us that the building nearby, set in a clump of trees, was the Kapileshwar temple (which we had spotted on the map earlier). He had wanted to know who we were and where were we coming from. We knew we would face such questions, and had been taught, parrot like, how to answer these promptly. So *pat* came our reply that on the previous day we had gone to the temple at Konarak from Puri, and now on our way back we wanted to see some other places of warship. That was why we had come to pay our homage at the Kapileshwar temple.

Taking us to be devout pilgrims he took us with great courtesy to the temple. It was a bright morning. He pointed out the sun-temple (which we had seen through a periscope) standing at some distance. We met the priest of the temple, from whom, in course of conversation we got a number of information useful to us. . . .

The priest told us that along the road the road by the temple there was a regular daily stream of traffic of people from Puri going to see the temple at Konarak. We thought that we might arouse suspicion because we were carrying our own luggage, although our dress and manners were of middle class gentlemen, we requested the priest to engage for us a person to carry our luggage. The lad whom we had met earlier, called Radhu, was hired for the job. After saluting the deity of the Kapileshwar temple we trudged along the road to Puri.

[*Omitted*: Description of the journey partly on foot, and later in a hired bullock cart — Ed.]

About 5 p.m. we reached the outskirts of Puri—a locality known as the Mashir Bari of Lord Jagannath (the house of the maternal aunt of Jagannath). Here we left the bullock cart and

entered Puri town in a rickshaw. About this time the train from Calcutta reaches Puri. We safely checked in at a hotel, pretending to have just arrived from Calcutta.

From the time we had been in-training in the camp in Malaya till now. Amrik Singh Gill had the alias of Alauddin. Tuhin, Mahendra Singh and no other campmates knew his real name. After Tuhin and Mahendra Singh had left we decided on the way to Puri that Amrik Singh Gill will go under a new alias, 'Hans Raj'. My alias was Harimohan Choudhuri. We would have to stay in hotels in Calcutta. The residents will be inquisitive, and I would pretend to be a landowner from a small village in Mymensingh in Bengal.

[*Omitted: Description of Hans Raj leaving for Calcutta, Roy alias Choudhuri staying on in Puri, reconnoitering the neighbourhood for another eight days – Ed.*]

I reached Calcutta in the evening of 22 March. It was not possible to put up with any relatives or friends, because I did not know what their political inclinations were. I would slowly have to seek out the people whom we expected, while in Malaya, as being likely to help us. While thinking these thoughts I put up at a hotel in Harrison road, Calcutta. . . . Here again I pretended to be the landowner in a small village who had come to Calcutta to make arrangements for a visit to a health resort outside Calcutta . . . sometime I would look out from my balcony on the first floor, in the hope I might see someone I knew. One afternoon I suddenly noticed that Hans Raj (alias of Amrik Singh) was passing by. I quickly came out and caught up with him. He said that his name was now Amar Nath. It was still two days ahead of the date he and I were scheduled to meet, but it was helpful to have him for company. Meanwhile the scheduled date for seeing Tuhin had passed by but Tuhin had not turned up. Amar Nath lived in a Mess near my hotel and we fixed that we shall meet each other every day twice at fixed times in Shradhananda Park, which was nearby.

In Malaya we did not have any clear idea of the stir created in India by the 'Quit India' movement of 1942. Having reached India, I found that all the leading political figures whose names I had discussed with Netaji were in prison. Having put them behind bars the British Government felt reassured and was busy suppressing other internal unrest. It worried us a great deal to realise that the people we knew about were in prison. We were confused about whom to approach for co-operation, whom we could confide in. Yet with every day that passed, the Azad Hind forces were coming forward, and the work we had been assigned was, at this moment, very much worthwhile. The people in this country were excited about the advance of Japanese forces as described by the British. We could not let this time be wasted, so we got down to business. . . .

[*Omitted: Some details about Amarnath being admitted to the George Telegraph institute for a course on wireless telegraphy, to divert any suspicion that a non-Bengali young man with nothing to occupy himself and simply staying in hotel might arouse – Ed.*]

After consulting Amarnath we decided that he would call at the ancestral home of Netaji, ostensibly to seek a medical appointment with Netaji's doctor brother Dr Sunil Bose, and in the process find out whatever useful information we may get.

Amarnath said that as he entered through the gate of the house he noticed a gentlemen inspecting the engine of his motor car in the portico. He asked him in English about Dr Bose, but was told he was out of station. Then he asked about other members of the family.

The gentlemen was Haridas Mitra'. He later told me that he was curious to know more

about this unknown young man who had come uninvited and was so inquisitive. After taking Amarnath aside and a few minute's conversation he vaguely suspected he could be an emissary of Netaji's forces. Then without divulging his identity he got Amarnath's address and said he would call on him later. . . .

P. 55— So far only two of the four of us who started out together had been able to regroup. It was not time yet to see Mahendra Singh at the rendezvous in Bombay. Tuhin had failed to contact either me or Amarnath at the appointed dates. This worried us a great deal, because Tuhin had some tools with him which was very necessary for our work. Meanwhile I kept thinking and worrying about the gentleman who took Amarnath's name and address from him the other day. Two days had passed since then. . . .

In the first week of April Amarnath suddenly reported that the gentleman from Netaji's house will be seeing him that evening. After dusk Amarnath brought Shri Haridas Mitra to meet me in a park. He told us he was the husband of Netaji's niece. I told Hari Babu about the Azad Hind movement in South-east Asia and the forward movement of the Azad Hind Fauj towards India, under Netaji's direction. We also discussed briefly what we needed to do immediately to get our work started. I became optimistic having found an experienced political worker like Hari Babu with us.

Next day Hari Babu came again. I told him that I have spent two weeks in this hotel, although initially I had said I would stay only for five or six days. I would attract the suspicion not only of the police but also of ordinary people if I hang around idly like this. On the other hand the Azad Hind Government was expecting messages from us in mid-April. We wanted a house where the electric supply was on A.C. system, for our instruments were not adaptable for the D.C. System.

[*Omitted*: Description of their futile and frustrating efforts to rent a suitable house, despite Haridas Mitra's continuing efforts, and as a result Mitra putting up Roy at his place, and Mrs Mitra (Subhas Bose's niece) giving them complete moral and material support — Ed.]

P. 59 — Although I had been once involved in one of the revolutionary groups in Bengal, but I had lost touch with them due to my twelve years absence from India. All revolutionary leaders were in prison. Still, I kept a look out for some, but could not locate any of my erstwhile associates, I met some young revolutionaries and had a candid discussion, stretching over many nights in the dark. But to this day I do not know why after all these discussions, they refused to co-operate. We had been inspired by Netaji's ideals and left our wives and families and ventured out so far. Yet these young revolutionaries of Bengal, who claimed to be the bearers of Netaji's tradition, blandly ignored us. They attached no importance to the fact that Netaji had himself sent us. Still I would say, in that darkness, it was Netaji's words which inspired us to go it alone.

P. 60 — It was past 22nd April. The Azad Hind Fauj is eagerly awaiting information from us, while we are piling up a series of failures. Hari Babu was doing his best for us' but so utter was our disappointment at the lack of response from the revolutionary friends that Amaranath and I pestered Hari Babu no end. Meanwhile, Tuhin had not made contact, and I had no idea whether he had joined up with Mahendra Singh in Bombay. However, we could not remain inactive, as more members from our camp were scheduled to be ferried by submarine to the Orissa sea coast. We must tell them about the difficulties we faced and that near Konarak and at many parts of that coastline regular patrolling by coast guards was the practice.

Tuhin had not come, and so we were deprived of the power pack apparatus which was with him. At Amarnath's request Hari Babu brought one from a friend of his, Amarnath fixed a transmitter to it, and with the help of the various tools we had brought, sent a message to the headquarters of the Provisional Government of Free India on a specified date in April, using the Special Code given to us in Penang. After a few day's efforts like this we realized that the message was not reaching headquarters. It was difficult to transmit message to a faraway country; in the absence of the power pack apparatus. Tuhin's arrival was becoming uncertain. We decided to have a power pack made in Calcutta itself. Hari Babu would pose as a travelling cinema projectionist and get some experienced engineer in Calcutta make this apparatus for us. With this preparation for increasing the voltage we should be able to send messages as soon as we get the apparatus.

April ended and the first week of May was gone we had not yet got a suitable house, without which we could not do our work. After some discussion with Hari Babu we decided that Mahendra Singh, whom I was scheduled to meet in Bombay on 15 May, should be brought over to Calcutta. Until a house is fixed he would pose as the durwan in Hari Babu's business office. Without any further delay I boarded the train for Bombay from Howrah on 11 May 1944.

[*Omitted: Description of his journey to Bombay, hanging around at the Gateway of India on 15 May evening, and seeing Mahendra Singh there just as dusk fell -- Ed.*]

P. 61 — Mahendra said that Tuhin had not got in touch with him either. I briefly told Mahendra what we had been able to achieve so far and decided to start for Calcutta in a couple of days after having collected some useful information. Next morning I wired the news about Mahendra to Hari Babu by our special code. . . .

P. 62 — While we were in Bombay two incidents happened which must be mentioned, which made us modify our earlier plans of work. Hari Babu's business was involved with a contractor who supplied provisions for the army. For reasons unknown to us the Army authorities ordered the contractor to sever his links with Hari Babu. This worried us and made us wonder whether the police and the intelligence branch had got wind of our existence somehow. If so, they would have arrested us by now. Eventually we decided that the authorities were suspicious of Hari Babu because he was related to Netaji.

One other news worried us. We read in the papers that at a place called Pusni near Karachi twelve Muslim colleagues of us had collectively surrendered to the British Police. They had spent more than a month with us as fellow trainees in the Sandicraft training camp in Penang, and had started by submarine for India only a few days before us on 27 February 1944. Before they started we had helped to pack their transmitter, power pack, receiving set and other instruments. And they had now betrayed us!

[*Omitted: Narrative of their return from Bombay, finding that power pack was ready, but no trace of Tuhin — Ed.*]

Pp. 63-4 — May was nearly over. We had not yet got a house. We started looking for houses on the outskirts of Calcutta where the electric supply was on A.C. System. We heard about a big house at the end of Behala, and at once went and paid two months rent in advance. The house was very suitable for us, located in a colony away from Diamond Harbour Road, surrounded by bamboo groves and ponds full of water hyacinths, away from the range of prying eyes. . . .

On 9th June we moved into the house in Behala, and set up house. Amita, Hari Babu's wife had given the necessary household equipment.

[*Omitted*: pp. 64-5 — Description of how Roy pretended to be a landowner from Mymensingh who had made money out of war-time scarcity, and had come to Calcutta to seek out business contracts. Amarnath acted as his cook and personal man-servant — Ed.]

We bought an HMV Radio set, and created a small transmitting and receiving station in that house in Behala. We took great precautions while sending messages. Every time a word was transmitted a powerful electric bulb would light up and go off again. So we covered up all chinks in the doors and windows while doing that work. . . .

[*Omitted*: Description of some difficulties with the landlord who wanted the house to be temporarily vacated for his daughters wedding — Ed.]

4th July — Last year on this day Netaji had come to Singapore and taken charge. Azad Hind Radio had told us about 'Netaji day' and celebrated that at home. Then went to another celebration at Hari Babu's place [in Netaji Bhavan (Ed.)].

It would be about 12 noon. On the way back I noticed four people at the junction of Elgin Road and Chowringhee talking among themselves, and I at once recognised them as some of our former camp-mates of Penang from the group which had gone to Karachi and surrendered to the British 'Now I realized that they were working behind the scenes to trail people like us for the police. Having noticed them I quickly made myself scarce and told Hari Babu that they are keeping Netaji's house under surveillance. We had to be more careful.

7 July — Reported to Headquarters that transmission would be suspended for a while, we shifted to a place in Kalighat with our luggage (during the period the landlord was using the Behala house for his daughters wedding).

15 July — Back to the house in Behals, and resumed transmission work.

[*Omitted*: Speculation about where Tuhin could be, his reactions to British propaganda against Japanese spies, C.P.I. propaganda against Subhas Bose — Ed.]

P. 68 — We had not given up our efforts to contact the revolutionary groups in Bengal. Hari Babu kept on trying. One day he called at our Behala house and reported that he was going to talk to Binod Banerji, who had been a political prisoner for his revolutionary associations, and later assistant secretary to Netaji when the latter was Congress President. . . .

P. 69 — From headquarters repeated radio messages enquired about how much success had we achieved in making contact with the Bengal revolutionaries; otherwise the people at headquarters would find it difficult to collect intelligence and operate in the Assam-Burma frontier. Meanwhile the month of August was over . . . Binod Babu could not give us the address of any revolutionaries.

[*Omitted*: pp. 69-70 — Description of difficulties due to their apparatus becoming out of order and how those were surmounted — Ed.]

P. 71 — Hari Babu told me that the revolutionaries to whom Binod Babu had spoken had wanted to know which revolutionary faction we had belonged to earlier. This was a new experience to us on returning to India — People were reluctant to help unless you belonged to their faction. Yet all these people were nationalists, wanted India to be free. I noticed that

many workers were willing to lay down their lives for the freedom of their country, but not to give up thinking about factional self-interest. . . .

Meanwhile heavy monsoon on the Assam-Burma front had halted the advance of the Azad Hind forces, and they had beaten a strategic retreat. We had to change our plan of action. Hari Babu was apprehensive that the police might be on his trail. We decided at the slightest hint of danger we would go into hiding in some secluded spot outside Bengal. . . .

It was probably 10th or 11th October 1944. On reaching Hari Babu's house I learnt that the police had commandeered his motor car under the Defence of India rules. This worried us even more. . . .

22nd October 1944 – In the morning while I was busy in the kitchen, there was an impatient knocking at the front door. I came out to find Hari Babu's nephew Shibprosad Basu, whom I had met at Hari Babu's house. I guessed something had gone wrong. He said that the police had arrested his uncle (Hari Babu) at the crack of dawn . . . I told Shibprosad that I did not have much money with me. He could kindly tell that to Mrs Amita Mitra. . . .

In the evening a servant of Hari Babu brought me a sealed envelope from Mrs Amita Mitra. I realized that it contained money. I at once planned that Amarnath, Mahinder Singh and I will go away, the first two to Punjab, and I to Bihar. I do not know what would have been our fate if Amita Mitra had broken down under the stress of her husband's arrest and not been able to send us money at the right time.

[*Omitted*: p. 73 – Roy went into hiding at a house in Karmatar, Bihar, which belonged to Haridas Mitra, and where a business associate of Mitra and his wife were staying. He stayed there for twenty-odd days – Ed.]

P. 74 – Amita Mitra had advised not to stay too long in Karmatar, because the house belonged to her husband, and the police might get round to it. . . .

I decided to stay somewhere on the Orissa coast because a few more were scheduled to arrive from Penang by submarine. I finally selected Puri, where I had stayed when I first came to India. Since tourists, pilgrims and people seeking a change of air are always visiting Puri,

P. 75 – I am not likely to be noticed there. On 20th November I left the uneventful days in Karmatar and started for Puri. I had come to Puri at the beginning, with great hopes, and I was back there after a few months. But I had lost that old enthusiasm; my mind and body was fatigued. I put up at the same old hotel, under the same old name, passing myself off as a timber merchant. I saw Amrik at the seaside and found that he was staying in another hotel, under the name Janki Das. He told me that he had wound up the work in the house in Behala, and that Hari Babu was still in police custody.

[*Omitted*: Narrative of their days in Puri, Konark, and Bhuvaneswar – Ed.]

17th or 18th December – While strolling on the beach as usual I noticed a gentleman passing by in a rickshaw. His dress and unshaven appearance suggested that he was in mourning, but I recognised him to be Dr Prafulla Kumar Datta, the officer-in-charge of our training camp in Penang. . . .

P. 78 – I followed him and spoke to him in the darkness of the black – out. He told me that seven or eight days ago his party had been landed by submarine on the Chilka coast.

[*Omitted*: Discussion between Roy and Datta about starting their work afresh, and leaving Puri. Arrest of Datta towards the end of December, and Roy left to his own devices . . . – Ed.]

[*Editor's note*: So far as 1944 is concerned, the memoir ends here. The rest of his experiences, briefly,

is as follows (pp. 82-95 of the book): He was arrested on 18 January 1945, in Puri, brought to Calcutta on 26 January and kept in police custody, where in separate cells Haridas Mitra and Amrik Singh were also kept. On 21st May their joint trial began under the Enemy Agents Ordinance. It was held *in Camera*. Tuhin, and Binode Banerji surfaced as witnesses for the prosecution. They were sentenced to death on 30th June. Thanks to the efforts of Mrs Mitra, who lobbied Mahatma Gandhi, who in turn interceded with Lord Wavell, the death Sentence was commuted to transportation for life on 4 November 1945. They were released by the interim Government in late 1946.]

-
1. The new name given to the Andaman Islands after the INA occupied it.

XVII

International Perspectives

The documents in this section have one common theme, although their authorship, specific contents, and the audience aimed at vary considerably. They are all concerned with how foreigners, especially the governments of the countries allied to Britain, perceived the Indian demand for self-determination and the Raj's policy of postponing any consideration of this until after the war. Some of them are propaganda efforts by nationalists or foreigners sympathetic to the nationalists. Some are the propaganda of other parties in India who were supporting the war effort. Many records Indian receptivity to foreign propaganda, especially Indian perception of the U.S.A., which was perceived as destined to emerge as the strongest power among the United Nations after the war. Running through all the documents – and explicit in some documents – is the theme of the anxiety of the Raj to project a favourable image of itself abroad. Propaganda efforts by Mrs Vijaylakshmi Pandit can be traced in Documents 9, 14 and 18. A summary of foreign press opinion is to be found in Doc. 6. Among foreign correspondents whose contributions the Raj disliked was Louis Fischer^{*} and Mrs John Gunther^{*} (Docs 11, 16), both of whom were American journalists. Activities of the India League of America (Doc. 20) fit in with other evidence of efforts to gain American sympathy (Doc. 12). An American missionary R.R. Keithahn, who was a follower of Gandhi, and worked in Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, was a thorn in the flesh of the Raj (Docs 28, 32, 34, 37). Whether the U.S.A. was interested less in helping the cause of Indian freedom and more in carving out a sphere of influence in India is a point that bothered some observers of the international scene (Docs 1, 30, 33, 44). A significant development in this period was the creation of the Indian Council for World Affairs (at the initiative of liberals like Pandit H.N. Kunzru^{*} and Tej Bahadur Sapru^{*}) to be a forum for expressing non-Governmental opinion on international affairs (Doc. 22).

Other Documents Relevant for this Chapter:

1. Doc. 78 in Chapter II.
2. Doc. 1 in Chapter IV.
3. Doc. 5 in Chapter IV.
4. Doc. 14 in Chapter IV.
5. Doc. 18 in Chapter X (part of it).
6. Doc. 23 in Chapter XIV.



1 Editorial — *Independent India* dated 10.1.1943

Independent India – Vol. 7, Nos 1–2

[NMML]

10th January 1943.

Voice of Democracy

The recent developments in the military situation have opened up the perspective of an early military defeat of the Axis powers. It is true that the Nazi War machine still remains intact, is still capable of mobilizing the resources of the entire continent of Europe. It is therefore probable that a long and strenuous struggle may have to be fought before the Democratic forces can achieve their victory. Any undue optimism therefore must prove to be dangerous, but there are grounds to legitimately hope that the end of the ordeal may come earlier than expected.

The Radical Democratic party has characterized the present War as an international Civil War. Fascism is an international phenomenon. The object of the present war is the destruction of Fascism. That object can only be attained when the menace along with the causes that gave rise to it are destroyed. That being the case the war will continue, even after the military hostilities are over. But since the recent turn in the tide has given rise to the possibility of an early termination of the military hostilities, it is necessary to visualize the correlation of forces as it will in all probability be after the termination of the present hostilities.

Fascism is a world-force. It has arisen with the object of destroying the forces of freedom and progress throughout the world. World domination is its declared objective and the destruction of the revolutionary forces all over the world is the purpose of that objective.

To achieve that purpose international Fascism has forged its instrument in the form of the Axis powers. Military defeat of that instrument is therefore an important step in the direction of the complete destruction of Fascism. As such, the perspective of an early defeat of the Axis powers must naturally be welcome to those who have been struggling to destroy Fascism. But the military defeat of the Axis powers will not amount to the attainment of the object of this war. The struggle against Fascism will shift from the international to the home front. And this will happen in every country where the prosecution of the war has not led to the eradication of the causes of Fascism. In certain countries the home front may be completely secured; in others it may not. The decisive battles of the war will thus have to be fought by the democratic forces on the home front.

From the situation as it exists at present and the way it is likely to develop in the near future, it can be inferred that the British Democracy will assert itself on the situation during the post-war world. Certain reactionary elements may exist but they will be incapable of influencing the situation. At any rate, England after the war is bound to have a Government more democratic than at present. It is therefore clear that the right to self-determination, promised to the Indian people, will not be withheld from them by any external agency after the war. But the benefits of the situation thus arising, may not be reaped by the Indian people unless Indian Democracy is strong enough to assert itself. India may miss the opportunity of

liberation because of the absence of the liberating forces. To create those forces and to organise them is the task the Radical Democratic Party proposes to perform.

The possibility of the Indian people missing the opportunity arises from the fact that the British Democracy has failed so far to understand the real nature of the Indian problem. Mere conferment of the right to self-determination need not necessarily amount to the enthronement of Indian Democracy. To be liberating, the right must be exercised by the Indian people, and not by the parties and middlemen that talk in the name of the people without representing them. The transfer of power to the Congress and the other parties that have kept tune with it, and the creation of the type of Government demanded by them will not prove to be the solution of the Indian problem at all. It will simply lead to the setting up of a reactionary Fascist regime in the country and perpetuation of the slavery of the Indian people. Isolated nationalism is clamouring for freedom as an empty abstraction. It has raised the issue, devoid of its progressive, social and economic content. It is therefore natural that it should sever all connections with Britain where the forces of freedom and progress are asserting themselves. It is this alone that can explain its policy of disorganizing the defence of the country in the midst of the gravest calamity to it. It may change its colours, realising this impracticability of its pro-Fascist coup succeeding. That may create the possibility of the policy of appeasement again coming into its own in the country. If that happens, the result will be the same as it has been in the case of appeasement elsewhere – the enthronement and strengthening of the forces of reaction. The danger is bound to be there, so long as the British Democracy does not properly appreciate and realise the nature of the Indian problem. The only way to avert that danger is to establish a closer relationship between the British and the Indian Democracy – The Radical Democratic Party will build up that co-operation.

British democracy operates in India through the state. Indian Democracy can therefore build up a closer relationship with it only through a greater co-operation with the state. The Radical Democratic Party will therefore continue to co-operate with the Government for the prosecution of the anti-Fascist War, and will attempt to increase the range and the extent of that co-operation. . . .

The danger becomes further aggravated by the consideration that the reactionary British elements will be interested in setting up a reactionary regime in India. They may attempt to preserve the continuation of the policy of awaiting a change of heart of the native reaction that has overdone its job. Just as appeasement on the continent took up the apparently laudable garb of the preservation of peace, in India it takes up that of an abstract right to self-determination. Unless therefore the implications of appeasement are realized by British Democracy, in so far as it applies to a colony like India, it may be misled into adopting a policy leading to results neither in its own interests nor in those of the Indian Democracy.

The danger becomes much more acute in the light of the fact of 'certain American interests taking Indian nationalism under its protective wings'. America is the country which is likely to emerge from this war as a formidable Imperialist power bidding for world domination. The American influence in Indian politics has considerably increased during the recent times. It is likely to increase still more during the period of the prosecution of this war. The 'painless' American imperialism is thus likely to step into the shoes of the much-hated and already dying British imperialism. Coming on the scene as exploiters, and not as liberators the American interests would naturally be concerned with the enthronement of the reactionary vested interest in the country. That can be achieved provided the demand for the right to self-determination is championed and supported. The growing American advocacy of Indian independence, and

the feeling that it has been creating of viewing the Americans not as a new danger on the scene but as friends and liberators, is already laying down the psychological foundations for the success of this neo-Imperialism. The rest is being done by the nationalists whose propaganda is all along presenting the Britisher as the enemy, the American as the friend, the liberator. The Radical Democratic Party warns the country against that danger. It calls upon it to fight not a ghost but to apprehend a real danger and be prepared to fight that danger:

Interested in the defeat of the Axis power, the party will continue to support the efforts of the present Government for the prosecution of the war. Aware of the necessity of making British Democracy realise the nature and the implication of the Indian problem, the party will strive to build up a closer co-operation with it through increasing the range and extent of co-operation with the state in India which operates as the instrument of British Democracy. But while doing so, the party sounds a warning that if efforts were made to foist a Fascist regime in the country under the pretext of national independence, it will call upon the people to rise in revolt against any such attempt to perpetuate their slavery and to destroy their hope.

2 Bombay Congress Bulletins – Phillip's Visit to India dated 18.1.1943 and 15.1.1943

File No. 3/19/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Telegram

Assured Talk of Compromise

Another dove has descended upon India, and suddenly the air is surcharged with all manner of speculations. The newspapers have begun their usual round of sensationalism, by throwing some flash lights of speculation on Mr Philip, the personal representative of President Roosevelt, who has arrived in this country to study the situation and report to Roosevelt.

Those who indulge in such speculations and try to build up hopes of some settlement of the Indian problem through such emissaries are either woefully ignorant of the deeper forces that have created this war, and are working for its culmination, or are just out to cater to the whims of the public by playing with their sense of curiosity and sensationalism. As a matter of fact, however, there is absolutely no ground for any such speculation.

Let us think it out once again: All talk of this war being a war for Democracy, Peace, Justice, Freedom etc., is sheer nonsense and bosh. No one in India now believes in those high-sounding phrases. The present war, is, in plain words, and in fact, a race between two rival groups of Imperialist Powers to oust and crush each other, and to grab as much booty as possible. It may be that one group is more cruel or more bloodthirsty than the other, but, essentially, the spirit that moves them, the motive force that guides their activities, is the same. The exploited and the down-trodden 'subject races' of the world like the Indians, the Chinese, the Africans, the Arabs, or even the French and the Belgians do not see any difference between the ruling classes of Britain and America; or Germany or Japan. There is nothing to choose between them. Each one of these is out to smash another and grab whatever possible from him.

The character of this war, which is a creation of Imperialism, is not changed by the entry of Soviet Russia. Nor is it materially altered by the America's plunging into it on the side of Britain. The masses of the people in all countries have an inborn hatred towards war and bloodshed, but it is the tragedy of our times that they are helpless in the hands of their respective ruling classes, who by the virtue of their power acquired through the interplay of the economic forces, are today able to wield them as they like. Thus are the common innocent people, imperceptibly, dragooned into military machines to play havoc with one another. Looking this way, there is no prospect of any peace in this world, as long as the ruling classes remain where they are. Only when the masses of all the countries, irrespective of the character of their ruling classes, rise against the latter, and are able to eschew all sense of domination, whether political or economic, there will be any chance of a lasting peace. This is the task for which we all must strive and struggle. Let us not be misled by any talk of compromise. Is any compromise with the Imperialist gangsters ever possible? What can Mr Roosevelt do? He cannot press Churchill for any 'leniency' toward India, while he himself keeps thousands of Negroes under bondage in his own country. The ruling clique of America, whose representative Roosevelt is, no less a free-looter than that of British. America is in the war because she also wants to share in the booty that will fall to them after the war. And if some Philip drops down on India, he cannot have any other work but to help further that mission. Yes, he will study, study with the help of bureaucratic officials, the ways and means and prospects of America's economic domination over India, and not the needs and aspirations of Indian people. India is grateful to Fischers, Edger Snow, Lin Yutang and others who have been championing India's cause, but they can do no more than enlighten the people of these countries. The real remedy lies, as we said above, in the over-throw of all the ruling classes. To this task we have set ourselves in India, and we will unflinchingly carry it out. There is no compromise. Compromise with whom? With those who have butchered our countrymen. With those who have been spreading atrocities on our women? With those who have been torturing thousands of our comrades and valued leaders? There is going to be no compromise short of complete surrender on the part of the British. .

Do or Die

15-1-43 **Call of Hunger:** A little piece of news appeared in the press last Sunday. It said: 'Hunger demonstrations, leading to clashes with police, a frequent sign in big towns in northern Italy today. During these days in Milan, there were four demonstrations by weary marchers who were forcibly dispersed by the police. Similar incidents occurred in Florence and in Venice. Delegations try to protest before Mussolini, but in vain. Influential industrialists predict a collapse in 3 months. . . .'

Read India for Italy and Bombay and Poona and Calcutta for Milan and Florence and Venice, and the rest of the matter will give you an exact picture of the terrible food-situation that obtains in our country today. Apart from the geographical position, there is not much difference between India and Italy. India is as much an occupied country in the grip of the British gangsters, as Italy is in the hands of Germany and its agents, the Italian Fascists. Politically and economically India is as much, and even more suppressed and exploited by the British usurpers as Italy is by the Germans. There is not the slightest doubt that the there are forces of exploitation and aggression that has been sapping the capitals of the occupied countries like Italy or France or Belgium or Hungary are and have been at work in India, and have been playing havoc with the Indian people. If the hunger demonstration staged in the cities and towns of Italy are the result of heartless looting of food for the Army machine

at the cost of civilian people, the long and very often the turbulent queue in our own cities culminating in clashes with the police are no less the result of British looting of food stocks at the cost of Indian people. And, whether the collapse in Italy comes or not, it is bound to come in India.

The food-situation in India is becoming more critical, the queues are getting more and more restless, and no one can say when this restlessness will burst out into an open defiance and angry assault. No amount of discussions, plans, delegations, and colourful propagandists, reports about the arrival or the expected arrival of wheat from Punjab, from Australia, is going to solve the problem. The root of the danger lies deep. The usurper Government does not care a whit for the hunger stricken stomachs, so long it is able to carry on its loot of food for its own purposes. But blinded as such usurpers are, they do not see the monster of hunger that they themselves have created, and it will not be very long now when this monster takes a jump and crashes upon them with a bang.

Incidents of looting of grain shops have now become usual. On Sunday last two such shops were looted in the Parel area, and there was a severe clash with the police. Some policeman also got hurt and several from the crowd were arrested. But hunger knows no repression. Greater the repression, greater its intensity. It is like adding fuel to the fire. Out of the vast multitude of hungry people rises the cry: 'Food' Food. And out of the labourers in fields and factories comes the cry: No food. No work.

The hunger restlessness is now increasingly affecting the mills, and strikes are going to be the order of the day. More and more workers are threatening their employers to stop work unless promptly provided with food. And the employers also cannot save the situation. When they approach the usurper authorities they are either met with flat refusal or asked to pay more attention to war-production. The day is not far off when the hungry and the starving, whether in fields or factories, in bazaars or in offices, will get together in a common cause, to throw off the usurper machinery that has been responsible for all this hunger and starvation. Meanwhile, the underground forces of revolution are working, full steam ahead, to organise for the final assault. That assault is not very far. Do or Die

3. Governor General to the Secretary of State for India (London)

File No. 7/1/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Telegram Z No. 622 dated 25th January 1943

From . . . Governor General (E.A. Deptt), New Delhi

To . . . Secretary of State for India, London.

Gladyshev, the representative of Tass Agency arrived in India in August 1942. Although a likeable personality and apparently well-disposed to us, he lacks understanding of India and speaks little English, though he reads it tolerably well.

2. At first Gladyshev's telegrams to Moscow were unexceptionable though tending to play

up minor incidents. Latterly he has shown a tendency to plug flattering references to Russia, set side by side with attacks on Government of India. He was interested in proposed goodwill mission. Finally he has shown signs of suspicion and one of his telegrams had to be heavily censored as it attempted to over emphasise importance of an article published by the *Calcutta Statesman* which offered moderate, though ill-advised criticism of Russian version of German casualties. A subsequent telegram which quoted from a violent and hysterical counter to the *Statesman* article appearing in the hostile Indo-Soviet Journal was condemned.

3. Gladyshev's new attitude may to some extent be attributed to partial success of certain parties professing communism in convincing him that they are the real friends of Russia, while the Government of India are not. He does not realise their traditional trick of playing off Russia against the British Government. He is also impressed by the fact that this section of press published *Tass* material, whereas the bigger English papers do not. The latter also habitually reject material put out by Government of India unless it is exclusive or 'hot news'.

We are trying to influence Gladyshev by personal relationships and are also producing as counter to organs which profess Communist ideologies a monthly magazine called 'Soviet Union News' which has proved popular. Gladyshev's initial support of this magazine is now somewhat nullified by his leanings towards those who attack it violently as likely to queer their pitch.

4. Gladyshev is first Russian publicist or official to come here since Soviet Revolution and we feel colour of his reports may well be more important than his own insignificance would suggest. Danger is that those reports may incline Soviet Government towards support of disruptive elements here, whose object is to drive wedge between Russia and British Commonwealth. We suggest that beginnings of alignment with Soviet require careful handling and that Soviet Government would not approve of tendencies given above.

4 Governor General to the Secretary of State for India (in continuation of Doc. 3)

File No. 7/1/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Telegram Z No. 677 dated 27th January 1943.

Secret

From
Governor General (E.A. Department), New Delhi.

To
Secretary of State for India, London

Continuation our telegram No. 622 January 25th.

2. It would be of great assistance in assessing this problem if we could know how far Gladyshev's messages are influencing Russian Press or Government.

3. Cuttings may be difficult to arrange, but could Ambassador let us have even a brief monthly telegram giving main lines of Russian Press comment, if any, on India?

4. We were interested to read F.O. telegram No. 31 January 23rd to Moscow.

X BR. (3) FS. JS. DS (II). PSV & O. Secy Ex. Council, Home Secy.

Press Tass Moscow – Gladyshev's Message

People's War publishes Independence Day manifesto of Communist Party addressing quote Brothers Sisters Patriots All unquote Gives background against which Nation celebrates its thirtieth Independence Day colon repression enemy bombing imprisonment national leaders wholesale fines shootings muzzling of democratic press stop Nation never faced such perilous situation stop. Its existence never so much threatened stop. This year question independence concretely posed thus colon. Will India repeat age long story of one conqueror replacing another query stop Present time demands not mere repetition independence pledge but execution thereof stop. In face Japanese attack against India Indian independence can take but one form colon national defence and national unity for transferring country defence to popular hands stop. Advocates joining battle national freedom immediately together people Soviet Union China Britain America stop Fifth column lighted path Japanese bombers Calcutta by throwing rockets in sky and lighted fires guide enemy murderous bombers stop. These fifth columnists dash who directly responsible for murder innocent men women Calcutta undash doing everything towards creating anarchy stop. India five months struggle growlingly disunited country and weakened its struggle against bureaucracy stop. Only one way of executing Independence pledge colon seizing national defence through national unity stop. Bureaucracy failed isolating Congress forming anti Congress front and drawing League into it stop. By denying power bureaucracy antagonized every honest man every honest party including League stop. Today unanimity among Indian parties and isolation of bureaucracy at highest stop. Self-determination matter of justice equality stop. Sooner every patriot realises this sooner unity be realized stop. Slogans colon. We must unite to be free. We must defend to be free. We must secure National Government for final independence against all sabotage and fifth columnism which nothing but black treachery. Release leaders for defence Legalize Congress for freedom End present regime forge Congress League unity for National Government stop Soviet Victories Chinese resistance beckon us join powerful front peoples world for freedom democracy stop. These tell only one thing colon no imperialism can withstand powerful unity peoples world now developing against fascism stop 63191 Gladyshev.



5. Honorary Secretary, India League, Durban to the Viceroy of India regarding resolution passed by the India League at Durban, S. Africa

File No. 1/2/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

India League

Durban
2nd February, 1943.

The Viceroy of India,
New Delhi, India.

Sir,

The following resolution was passed at a Mass Meeting of the Citizens of Durban, held at the City Hall, Durban on the 26th January, 1943, under the auspices of the above League.

'This Mass Meeting of the Citizens of Durban held at the City Hall, Durban, on January, the 26th, 1943, under the auspices of the India League expresses profound indignation at the British Government's attitude towards India and deep sympathy with the peoples of India in their present distress. It is convinced that freedom for India is essential for gratifying the political aspiration of her teeming millions, and a pre-requisition for the proper mobilization of the vast material resources and man-power in active support of the United Nations at this decisive stage when no effort should be spared to give the last crushing blows by opening Second Front in Europe to inflict total defeat on the Fascist Powers-the enemy of Mankind.

It is for this reason the this Mass Meeting appeals to the Prime Minister of Britain and the heads of the various Governments of the United Nations, to secure the immediate release of the Leaders, to re-open negotiations and make possible the setting up of a provisional National Government.

This Meeting is fully convinced that this is not only possible but imperative and that such a step taken now will have the effect of inspiring India's Millions to unite, both for the protection of their Motherland against foreign aggression and helping to defeat the Axis enemy, and for the amelioration of the conditions under which they are living.

It believes that such an act taken now by the British Government will be hailed, not only in India but throughout the world as an act of Statesmanship, that for all time will establish the sincerity of a great democratic people and encourage the people of the United Nations and the colonial Countries to go all out in the struggle against Fascism.

I hope this will receive your consideration.

Yours faithfully,
Signed
Honorary Secretary.



6: News item in *The Times of India* dated (15.2.1943) quoting from foreign news papers

Jayakar Collection, File No. F. 527

[NAI]

Washington: Mr Gandhi's latest fast has passed almost unnoticed here. Apart from the fact that Mr Gandhi is not much more than a name to the majority of Americans, the mood of this country is now more and more concentrated on war news, on the offensive implications of Mr Churchill's speech and on President Roosevelt's reports on the Casablanca conference. In short, though sympathetic to India's aspirations as a whole, the United States are devoting all their gigantic energies to matters of greater import and urgency.

British Paper's Appeal

London: February 13: *The Manchester Guardian*, commenting on Mr Gandhi's disclaimer of responsibility for the recent disorders, says: 'Government believes and most people will agree with it — that violence was certain to follow the Congress call to civil disobedience. But all this gets us nowhere now. From the time of the arrests Government have been entirely rigid in refusing to take or allow any action which might possibly have led to the relaxation of the tension'.

The paper recalls the refusal to allow Mr Rajagopalachari to see Mr Gandhi and other Congress leaders, and says: 'Nothing was or is done and now that Mr Gandhi is embarking on a fast, which, however much the Indian Government may disclaim responsibility, may move India to its depths'.

Protest Against Alien Rule

15.2.43.

The *Manchester Guardian* adds:

The danger of Mr Gandhi's fast is that to a greater part of India he embodies a protest against the alien rule, whether or not he is right in the long disputation which he held with the Viceroy.

In that controversy there is no hope of an agreement. Gandhiji holds that the Viceroy should have seen him after the Congress had passed the Civil Disobedience resolution. He contends that — as is true — he himself has always been sincere and opposed to violence of any form. He refuses to accept the view that the disorders which followed the arrests of the Congress leaders were due to the Congress policy and not to the arrests themselves: Government on the other hand believes that violence was certain to follow the Congress call to Civil Disobedience.



7. Secretary of State for India (London) to New Delhi – Gladyshev's message to Moscow

File No. 7/1/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Telegram Secret/1407

From

Secretary of state for India, London

To

Governor General (E.A. Department), New Delhi.

No. 3686

Dated 28th February (received 1st March) 1943 T.O.O. 1700 T.O.R. 1930.

Your telegrams Nos 622 and 677 of January 25th and January 27th GLADYSHEV.¹ Foreign Office view with which we agree, is that Soviet Government will be very careful as long as war lasts, not to meddle openly in Indian politics since it is obviously their interest that trouble in India should not extend to interference with common war effort. Consequently COM-INTERN will have given Indian Communists, as others, instructions to avoid such criticism of Government or pursuit of communist aims as would clash with war effort, but to glorify Soviet and extract all possible prestige from Soviet victories. This does not, however, mean that Soviet now supports all institutions in British Empire or have forgotten previous theories, though these may well undergo considerable change as a result of war.

2. This appreciation is supported by Moscow report contained in my telegram No. 11049 of June 21st and last sentence of Joyce's telegram No. 11534 of June 29th.

3. In above light tendencies of GLADYSHEV mentioned by you are not surprising. But his influence on policy of Soviet Government towards India which during war at least, provided Anglo-Soviet relations remain good, will remain as described in paragraph No. 1; on Soviet Press which has no independence will be nil repeat nil. Few of his messages have been appearing recently in Soviet Press and those mainly harmless. Comment in Press is very rare (compare Joyce's telegram to Puckle 17699 October 11th) and Soviet Government are unlikely to permit any comment which could be considered as Anti-British. Press Attache at KUIBYSHEV has, however, been asked to telegraph direct to you if and when any comment appears.

4. I appreciate difficulties but if continued exercise of personal influence by External Affairs and Information and Broadcasting Departments leads to more messages on Indian war effort which Soviet Press publish, it will be worthwhile.

X. Br (2) FS JS DSII USI PBV & O Secy Home Deptt POF & CPA & Secy I&B Deptt.

1. Doc. No. 4 above.



8. Governor of Madras to Viceroy Telegram R., 30th March 1943

Linlithgow Collection
[NAI-Acc. No. 2207]

Private & Personal. No. 32-M. Your telegram No. 815-S. Of 27th March. Phillips visit. Phillips saw following (a) Deputation of Madras Hindu Mahasabha-Rao Bahadur U. Ramappa, R.M. Palat, Parasram Jethanand, S. Srinivasa Aiyer – which presented memorandum stating only solution to deadlock was international arbitration for Hindu-Muslim differences on League of Nations minorities principles. Memorandum said Hindus being 93 per cent of population in Madras constituted nation and their demand national demand, and only obstacle to national democratic Government in Madras was reluctance of British interests. Deputation alleged to have gained impression that Phillips was not favourably impressed with Pakistan scheme. (b) Deputation of Madras Presidency Muslim League – Ahmad Ibrahim, Jamal Mohideen, Abdul Lateef Farookhi, Allahpichai, Rasa Khan – reiterated Pakistan demand but could gain no impression of Phillips' reactions. (c) Members of Justice Party – Muthiachettiar of Chettinad, P. Balasubramania Mudaliar, S. Muthia Mudaliar former Minister. Muthia Mudaliar concluded. Phillips attached no meaning to Dominion Status and thought Congress only representative political organisation capable of doing good to country. Deputation suggested Pakistan demand not improper but Phillips refused to be drawn (d) Liberals – Right, Hon'ble V.S.S. Sastri and G.A. Natesan – got impression that America would not intervene in political controversies between India and England and that Phillips definitely for preservation of unity of India and against Pakistan. Sastri told Phillips that provincial coalition Government at Centre and in Provinces only solution to deadlock. (e) C.R. Srinivasan, Editor *Swadesamitran*, a nationalist Tamil daily counterpart of *Hindu*, R. Guruswami, Secretary All-India Railwaymen's Federation, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, Leader of Justice Party and C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier – no details of these meetings available.

2. Phillips stayed with Howard, Manager of Standard Oil Company, and was apparently most discreet. From my impression of Phillips when I met him in Delhi, I think he is much too astute to give anything away and also has come to learn facts of Indian situation not to express opinion.



9: Intercepted letter of Jim Simmonds (Friends Ambulance Unit)

File No. 20/20/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Indian Censorship

Intercepted Place Bombay Date 12-4-43 Letter dt. 6-4-43

From
Jim Simmonds,¹
1 Upper Wood St,
Calcutta.

To
Muriel Simmonds,
Byways Lower Brimely, Bovey Tracey
Newton Abbot

Previous References:

Postmark
Bombay Telegraph Date:
Language: English

ORIGINAL
Condemned Sent to
Held Pending
instructions of . . .

Distribution: Chief Censor, India (4)

Writer is a member of the F.A.U.² and is employed in famine relief work in the area devastated by the cyclone last year.

Writer is discussing the political situation: 'While Linlithgow continues in his wooden way, Muriel there is no hope. We and Indians and others who take an 'intelligent' view and are interested in this country are getting exasperated at the goings on at Delhi. A boy of 10 could do better. He would try and cooperate to some extent. If anything happened then the Govt. would have asked for it and would be to blame – this is unlikely as there are some 75,000 or more political prisoners. After all its their home and country and then in them all this unexpressed feeling of exasperation and the wish to be free. Being treated and handled and talked to in the way the Govt. has done it is bound to increase in them this desire and feeling. The following is fact: 'Non-Party' groups want to meet and to make presentations to Delhi for cooperation and reconciliation. Linlithgow asks them to write out their petition and send it to him. He will read it and write a reply. Then delegation can come and read out its memorandum and Linlithgow will read out his reply. AND THERE THE MATTER MUST END. NO DISCUSSION. I ask you. Comment is unnecessary. This was a fact. Naturally the thing fell thro. And then we complain of the Indian attitude'.

'Heads of Govt.: here a lot of block heads – because they want to be'.

4001/8200/IN of

April 14, 1943

P.T. Coulton

Major,

For Lieut-Colonel,

O.C. CENSOR STATION, BOMBAY.

Intelligence Bureau (Home Department)

Note on J.R. Symonds

J.R. Symonds is an Ex-Chairman of Oxford University Pacifist Association. He was a member of a mission to Spain during the Civil War and an organizer of F.A.U. shelter work after raids on London. Later, he was employed on evacuation problems. He came to India towards the end of June 1942 as 'technical administrator' of a party sent to India by the F.A.U. to help in connection with civilian relief. In this connection will Home Department please see the note sent to them with our U.O. No. 29/D. Genl./42, dated 3-7-42, 6-7-42 and 31-10-42. The following is an extract from a letter Symonds recently wrote to England from Calcutta:

. . . Have you the solution to the Indian problem? I haven't. Indeed it all seems more complex than ever, now that I have had a little administrative experience. Certainly, I cannot subscribe to that Liberal School which believes that perfect efficiency would result from an Indian National Government. But on the other hand the war is in fact the golden time for a transfer of power, since there is far more incentive to co-operation between parties now than there will be after the war. And frankly, just from reading the papers like everyone else, it does not seem that the Viceroy is particularly keen on such a transfer of power. . . .

Signed
12-5-43

Home Department (Mr Sahay)

D.I.B. U.O. No. 29/D.G./42

Seen. No action necessary — V. Sahay. 14-5-43

Secret

Copy of a letter, dated 10-7-42 addressed to Paul D. Stuege, Friends Service Council, Friends House, Euston Road, London N.W.1. by a member of the Friends Ambulance Unit, Calcutta.

Mr Gandhi most generously gave us two long periods to talk with him on each of our two days (24th & 25th June 1942) at Sewagram and we also sat beside him at meal times twice each day. So we had plenty of time to talk about all manner of things.

We naturally began by telling him of the work that the F.A.U. team had in prospect and he assured us that our arrival in India now was most opportune. India wanted people who would come from England to serve in contrast to those who came to rule. . . . After that, we plunged into general discussion of the whole political situation. I tried to explain to him something of the background of the Cripps' visit as we had seen it in England, especially to convince him that whatever he felt of Cripps' proposals, Cripps himself was still just as true a friend of Indian freedom as he had ever been and that he had not been changed as MacDonald¹ was changed by going into an Imperialist Government. Mr Gandhi assured us that he was willing to think well of Cripps as a man, especially as Nehru who knows him far better than Mr Gandhi himself personally, had always a high regard for him which he still retains. But he went on to say that he regarded the proposals as bad proposals and he would not even admit that the proposals for the future were any real advance on what the British Government had promised before. . . . Also he thought that Cripps did not act wisely in trying, so to speak, to take India by storm with his proposals and then when he was met by doubt and criticism he really had nothing to fall back upon. If he had refused to publish the

proposals as soon as he did and had shown himself rather more willing to be a genuine negotiator the result might have been much better. However, Mr Gandhi assured us that he does not at present wish to go to gaol himself or to be the means of sending anyone else to gaol, and in spite of his emphatic demands that the British should hand over their power in India immediately he was confident that a free India will wish to keep the British and even American soldiers in the country in order to resist a Japanese invasion, as there is no prospect that a free India will accept his pacifist convictions. He said nothing to us of any idea of a free India trying to negotiate a separate peace with Japan, although an Indian friend had warned us that he thought Mr Gandhi might take that line. He insisted that the handing over of power must be to the people of India and that only two bodies viz., the Congress and the Muslim League, do in fact represent popular opinions. If the Government could not see its way to hand over power to the leaders of Congress it should invite Mr Jinnah to form a National Government. I could give as a reason for doing so the fact that the military support of the Muslim especially necessary at the present time. Mr Jinnah would probably on his part then invite the Congress leaders to assist in forming a National Government. I think this is a fair summary of the main things he said to us.

Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, the Viceroy's Secretary received us on the Saturday afternoon, a few hours after our arrival in Delhi and was very friendly about our mission and put us in touch with the appropriate Government Departments. He was also quite willing to hear and note some of the things that Mr Gandhi had said to us at Sewagram but he made it clear that there had been no suggestion from the India Office that any attempt at peacemaking would be part of our mission.

-
1. Simmonds the actual name is spelt as symonds as is seen in the official note.
 2. Friends Ambulance Unit.
 3. The reference is to James Ramsay MacDonald.

10: Government of United Provinces to the Government of India

File No. 44/11/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Copy of the Express Letter No. 26, pp. viii – from the Secy. to Govt. U.P. to the Secy. Govt. of India, External Affairs Dept. New Delhi.

Dated Lucknow, April 16, 1943.

Mrs Vijai Lakshmi Pandit¹ has informed this Government that she is making arrangements to send her two elder daughters, Chandralekha Pandit aged 19 and Nayantara Pandit aged 16, to the United States of America where they will be admitted to Wellesley College, Boston. She is applying for passports for the two girls, and she has informed this Government that the Government of the United States of America have no objection to these girls proceeding to that country. It is understood that the Government of the United States were approached

through Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Mrs Pandit is an ex-Minister of the U.P. Government and is at present a security prisoner detained in connection with the Congress Government, though she has been allowed parole for the settlement of her family affairs. The elder of the two daughters, Chandralekha Pandit, was also for some time detained in connection with the Congress movement but was recently released. The daughter was concerned with the dissemination of leaflets in Allahabad, and it was for this reason that she was detained. The Governor has no objection to the issue of these passports, and I am to enquire whether the Government of India agree to their issue.

11. News item in *The Hindu* dt 16.5.1943 about Louis Fischer

Govt. of Madras Pub Press Dept. 1943 – File G.O. 2761
[TNA]

Mr Louis Fischer Surveys India

[Mr Louis Fischer, the well-known American journalist and author, who visited India in 1942, delivered a lecture on India to a packed audience on February 23 last in the Town Hall at San Francisco. Dr Alfred G. Fisk presided over the meeting.

Mr Fischer surveys in it the recent events in India – Gandhiji's Fast, the failure of British statesmanship the Quit India Campaign and so on.]

The following is the text of the lecture:

This summer in India I saw a good deal of General Sir Archibald Wavell, the British Commander-in-Chief, and he said to me, 'If, after Pearl Harbour, we had been capable of diverting ourselves of our psychological prejudices and political traditions, we would have forthwith abandoned the Philippines, without fighting; abandoned the Dutch East Indies and Malay without fighting and concentrated all our men and equipment in Burma', because if we had held Burma, we could have moved from India, through Burma, into China for the final triumphant assault upon Japan. It was with a vague, general understanding of the importance of India in our strategy of victory in Asia, as well as the importance of India in the whole morality of this war and in the formulation of peace, that I went to India this summer.

The key problem in India is rarely mentioned because its solution cannot even be undertaken until India is free. The key problem in India is economic. The population of India is increasing five million each year. According to the official British census, the population of India in 1931 was three hundred and thirty-eight million. In 1941 it had risen to three hundred and eighty-eight million, an increase of fifty million in ten years. Now I lived in Russia throughout that buoyant period of economic expansion when tremendous cities and vast industrial enterprises were springing up all over the face of that country during successive five-year plans. But despite that rapid economic growth, only one million persons were being absorbed into gainful employment each year; whereas, India with five million additional persons each year to take care of is economically stagnant. Here a factory may go up, there a few houses, but by and large there is little economic progress in India. So that is literally a fact that the food which ten years ago, three hundred and thirty-eight million people ate, must

now suffice for three hundred and eighty-eight million people; that the clothing which ten years ago three hundred and thirty-eight million people wore must now be stretched for three hundred and eighty-eight million people; and the shelter, etc., India is a perpetually unhappy, undernourished country. When I came back from India I spoke to Pearl Buck who was, as you know, a missionary and a missionary's daughter in China, and also knows India well. She said to me, in words which she subsequently used in a *New York times* magazine article: 'The Chinese peasant lives infinitely better than the Indian peasant', You can imagine how poorly the Indian peasant lives. I went into Indian villages; I asked the peasants how they felt about the war. They never answered. They said: 'We are hungry' Indian's politics are made in the stomach. This is the report of every person who goes to India. The last statement I have seen along that line was made by Sonva Tomara, who is the *Herald Tribune's* experienced correspondent in India and she finished a recent article in that paper, saying: The more one stays here (in India) the more one is oppressed by the surrounding air of discontent, misery and frustration, 'As we know from our own experiences, if something goes wrong, we blame the Government and in India to an increasing extent, the Indian people blame British rule for their privation and their physical misery so much so that the British Viceroy in India himself, Lord Linlithgow, said India was never as anti-British as it is today'.

There comes a time in the life of every nation-it came to us early in 1776 – as there comes a time in the life of every young man and young woman, when the nation says: 'We wish to walk alone, we wish to drop the hand that has been guiding us.' India, irrespective of race, castes or religion; irrespective of whether the Indians collaborate with the British or not-and, I heard this sentiment from some of the highest Indian administrators of India-India, universally wishes to be free. Wendell Wilkie on his recent trip to the East made one great if simple discovery (many of the great things in life are simple). He discovered that there live on this planet two billion persons. When we discussed world affairs in the past we talked in terms of the five hundred million white people who inhabit the western hemisphere and Western and Central Europe. But there are in India and China and in the small neighbouring countries alone one billion persons – and they are insisting on a life of dignity, on a life of freedom. If we try to stop them, there will be an explosion the historic importance of which will dwarf even this great World War.

The symbol of India's unanimous wish for freedom is Mahatma Gandhi. He does not represent all of India, but he does reflect the will of all of India for national liberation. A great man is like good sculpture, made of one piece. A great man lives a single tracked life. Lincoln was great he lived for union. Lenin was great he lived in order to raise Russia out of the feudal mire. Churchill is great because all of his acts have been directed towards the preservation of England as a first-class power. And in the same way Gandhi is great because every single act that he performs is calculated to promote the one goal of his life-the liberation of India. He is not the man, he has no intention and never had to rule India of administrating India. His function ends when he frees India. When Churchill speaks, his eloquence is so compelling because he is merely saying brilliantly what every plain English citizen says to his wife or his neighbour every evening. A great man is you in bigger and better edition. You applaud the speaker who echoes your view. Similarly Gandhi when he talks. When he acts is without the authority of a vote or an organization, reflecting the unanimous wish of India to be free. As I sat with him on the ground in his little mud hut in the centre of sizzling hot India I had the impression as I was listening to his voice that I was listening to four hundred million voices and the impact upon me was overwhelming.

Gandhiji's Fast

I find it astounding that some Americans do not understand why Gandhi fasted. The British Viceroy admitted to me that the British Army in India is an Army of Occupation. Suppose we were occupied by a foreign army suppose our political parties were suppressed, suppose all our political leaders were in jail and a foreign nation ruling us; wouldn't we seize upon any weapon to fight the foreign invader? Gandhi has no other weapon. In Gandhi's lowly hut there is one decoration. It is a simple print of Jesus Christ. He is not a Christian. He's a Hindu, but he believes in many of the principles of Christianity, and the early Christians at least understood sacrifice and renunciation. Sacrifice and renunciation make a tremendous appeal to Indians, and the British controvert their own statements of Gandhi's waning influence by the tremendous energy and money they spend in trying to prove that Gandhi's influence is waning. His fast has shaken India. The Viceroy has a Cabinet, or executive council, which consists of fourteen members-ten of them Indians. These are high placed Indians who are ready to collaborate with the British. In other words, independence doesn't come first with them. Three of those ten Indians have resigned on account of Gandhi's fast. I know one of them, Sir Homi Mody, knighted by the British King – a millionaire-a Parsi, not of Gandhi's religion, a hard-boiled business man. He has resigned because of Gandhi's fast. You can imagine if men like Mody who were ready to serve intimately with the Viceroy, ready to collaborate with the British, if they feel that because of Gandhi's fast they can no longer serve the British. You can imagine how the millions feel. The hundreds of millions who have abhorred the British all the time and refuse to touch the British. The repercussions of Gandhi's fast, no matter how it ends, will shake Asia.

Churchill's Aim

All this did not have to be. Gandhi when I saw him in June and subsequently, was in a conciliatory mood. He had publicly whittled down his demands. He was not asking for what the British could not give. There did not have to be a civil disobedience movement. There did not have to be all the killings (the accusation by the British levelled against Gandhi that he has provoked violence sounds fantastic in the mouth of a regime which is based on violence). The killings did not have to take place, nor did the fast have to take place. Gandhi begged twice this summer to see the Viceroy, but the Viceroy refused, Gandhi wanted a conciliatory agreement-the Viceroy wouldn't have it. The reason is simple: Winston Churchill said when he was fifty-five and he hasn't changed since then: 'The truth is that Gandhism and all it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed'. And this is Churchill's first opportunity in high office to grapple with Gandhi. The British have definitely thrown a challenge to the Indian national movement. The British have definitely decided to try to break Gandhi, to try to break the Indian movement for freedom. Chiang Kai-shek has warned Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt that this attempt to suppress a great movement for freedom in the midst of a great war for freedom may drive all of Asia into the arms of the Axis.

People sometimes try to frighten me by saying: 'You're being anti-British'. Well, I'm not easily frightened. Moreover, this is not being anti-British. If you wish to look into my 'Dawn of Victory', You will find that I am very pro-British. I love the British and I think that in many respects they are more civilized than we are. I only wish they would stay at home I am not anti-British, I am anti-Tory. (Applause) I am not anti-British, I am anti-Imperialist. (Applause.) The men, who would not save the Spanish Republic; the men, who killed Czechoslovakia;

the men who went to Mussolini and to Hitler and found them wonderful are still in the British Cabinet, and I do not expect those reactionaries and Tories to give India freedom.

A Week with Gandhi

This summer I spent a week with Gandhi. I walked with him every morning from a quarter to six to a quarter after six. I took a solid hour's interview with him every afternoon and had lunch and dinner with him each day. I'd gone down expecting to encounter an austere forbidding cold saint. Actually he's very warm and plays with the kiddies but he has one extremely embarrassing characteristic — he says everything he thinks. We each of us carry a blue pencil in our minds, we exercise an internal censorship. But among the very few things that Gandhi carries on his person you will find no blue pencil. I was walking with him across the fields one day and asked him how he had come to introduce his weekly day of silence — on Monday, as you know he doesn't speak — which might be recommended to others. He explained that it happened years ago. He said: 'I used to travel morning, noon and night in hot trains, and on open bullock-carts through hot India, and thousands of people would come to me to ask questions, make pleas and beg that I pray with them and I used to get tired; so I introduced the weekly day of silence. Since then I have clothed this weekly days of silence in all kinds of moral virtues and given it a philosophical content, but actually it was only because I wanted to take a day off.' Now he didn't have to put it that way, but Gandhi has a devotion to the truth and an uninhibited tongue which makes him tell the whole story-gets him into all kinds of difficulties. He said to me, for instance, and he has said subsequently in writing: 'I would go to Japan and sign a treaty of peace with the Japanese. Now he immediately added in the conversation to me, I know the British will never let me go to Japan and I know that if I ever got to Japan the Japanese wouldn't sign a treaty of peace with me.' Then why talk about it? Because the idea had occurred to him and for Gandhi the fact that an Idea isn't practicable doesn't mean that he mustn't talk about it. However, this statement has enabled persons, who for very ulterior motives wish to smear Gandhi, to say that Gandhi is pro-Japanese. Now there are many Americans and many English whose word as to who is pro-Japanese I would not accept, because many of those Americans and Englishmen were themselves pro-Japanese and appeased the Japanese and sent Japan the scrap and oil which our boys are now getting back in uglier form. There is one man whose word I would take as to who is pro or anti-Japanese, and that is Chiang Kai-shek and he is pro-Gandhi and pro-Indian Independence, and he has intervened (as I told you) with President Roosevelt and with Winston Churchill in recent months repeatedly, with a view to the moderation of British policy in India. Chiang Kai-shek knows that Gandhi is anti-Axis And Gandhi has proved it. But it's simply Gandhi's manner of speech that exposes him to these false charges.

Genesis of 'Quit India'

Gandhi did the same thing in the current political crisis. Against the background of India's eternal misery and the mounting resentment and bitterness there occurred the British military reverses in the Far East-Hong Kong, Malay, Singapore and Burma-British prestige in Asia dropped to zero. There was panic in India. The Indians were afraid that the British would run from India as they had so recently from Burma. There was no confidence among Indians in England's ability to defend India. The British Government in London realized that an emergency had arisen in India, but it was only after a very healthy prod from President Roosevelt that the British War Cabinet rushed one of its members, Sir Stafford Cripps, out

to India to repair the damage. Now whatever the causes of Cripps' failure (and in the light of his subsequent dismissal from the war Cabinet—He was taken into the war Cabinet when the Churchill Cabinet shook as the result of the fall of Singapore and the escape of *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*, the two German pocket battleships, under the nose of the R.A.F. and the British Navy, through the English Channel. Churchill needed Cripps' popular support and took him into the war Cabinet: and Cripps was dismissed from that Cabinet three days after Rommel's defeat in Egypt and after we landed in North Africa — in that perspective it becomes clear that Cripps' mission to India was only part of the destruction of Cripps. Stalin shoots his rivals and Churchill digests his, Cripps tried to succeed. He failed because certain reactionary British imperialists did not want him to succeed—did not want him to become a greater figure in England than he was, but whatever the causes of Cripps' failure, the fact is that he failed to repair the damage. The damage, therefore, grew worse. It was as an intuitive, spontaneous reaction to that deterioration of the Indian situation that Gandhi said, 'I'm sick of this, the British must go.' Then he thought: friends talked to him, and he said, 'That was wrong. I have not right to say that.' Gandhi is one of the few big men in the world who is big enough to admit his errors in public. And Gandhi said, 'I cannot ask the British to quit India during the war that would mean making a present of India to the Axis', Gandhi has said from that day to this, 'The British and Americans can stay in India. They can reinforce the armed services in India. They can use India as a base for military operations against the Axis Powers'. Neither Gandhi nor any other Indian leader is asking the British to get out of India during the war. Neither Gandhi nor any Indian leader expects complete independence during the war. All that Gandhi or the Indian leaders are asking for is an Indian National Government, which Gandhi said to me in so many words, which were subsequently published, 'an Indian National Government which would not interfere with military operations, but which would immediately sign a treaty of alliance with the United Nations to help us win the war'. The Indian leaders contend that it is only by giving India some such concession, some such instalment during the war on complete independence after the war, it is only in this way that you can arouse the Indian people to support the war for freedom. If we ask ourselves why the Russians and the Chinese have fought so stubbornly and well, whereas the Indians are completely apathetic to this war—the answer is that one fights the war, that you and I are fighting this war, because we have something to lose or because we expect to gain something. But the Indians have very little to lose and nobody had told them in ringing terms that they are likely to gain anything.

India and Atlantic Charter

On the contrary, I sat in the gallery of the House of Commons in September, 1941, when Churchill, after his rendezvous with President Roosevelt in the Atlantic where they drew up the Atlantic Charter, came to the House of Commons. A member of Parliament arose and said, 'Mr Prime Minister, does Article III of the Atlantic Charter, (which gives every country the right to choose its own form of Government) does the Atlantic Charter apply to India?' Churchill stood up and said, 'No sir', and sat down. Nothing which Smuts or Halifax or Herbert Morrison or Cripps or any British spokesman has said since that day at all instigates or diminishes the validity of those two words, 'No sir'. Indeed, Churchill himself reinforced them on November 10, when speaking in London, he said, 'England will hold her own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire'. And by calling the British Empire a British Commonwealth you don't change its

spots. Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia are free dominions, but India is an oppressed and unhappy colony. If we are to use India as a base for the defeat of Japan we will have a sorry time if there is turmoil and bitterness and discontent among the hundreds of millions.

What are our war aims in this war? The four freedoms—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want (that means prosperity and security), freedom from fear (that means peace). These are the things that we want for ourselves. This is not a war about a map. There may never be a Peace Conference after this war. Peace will not be established by lifting up one country and destroying another or by tearing a piece of territory away from one country and tacking it on to the other. This is not a war about a map; this is a war about ourselves; this is a social war; this is a war about the fundamentals of the life that we live.

Some people who think in two dimensions say: 'Hitler and Mussolini and France and the Japanese militarists made this war'. That is correct; but we made them. Hitler, maniac, mad man though he be, is nevertheless the child of our civilization. He is a product of our society. We defeated the Kaiser, we got a Hitler. We could defeat Hitler and get a worse Hitler, unless we destroy the soil and the seed in which Hitlerism grows. This, therefore, is not merely a war against foreign Fascism and foreign Hitlers. This is equally a war against the 50 per cent Hitlers and the 10 per cent Hitlers and the 2 per cent Hitlers who live in the midst of the Democracies and who have helped to make this and other wars. (Applause.) The peace will depend on us, on what we think or what we do during the war. After all, the peace will be no better than the men who make it. Governments create peace in their own image. Peace like charity begins at home, and only to the extent that we prepare for a peace will there be a peace. Some day we may be grateful to Gandhi for having raised for all of us that fundamental question of whether we can purify ourselves during the war as to be capable of making a better world after the war.

On July 4 while I was in India the British Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, gave a party in his great marble palace in New Delhi to celebrate America's independence from the British Empire (Laughter). At that party I heard all the arguments against India's independence from the British Empire. A British General who had been in Burma said to me. 'But could a free India after the war defend itself?' I said to him. 'Could England?' What country nowadays can defend itself single-handedly? Not England, not France, not Italy. Probably not the United States and Russia. If only those countries which can defend themselves are to be independent after this war then there will be very few independent States, and the General's question only means that after this war there will have to be an international organisation which will defend all countries against all aggressors. At the same party I was asked to sit down next to Lady Linlithgow, a handsome, regal lady, the wife of the Viceroy. She tried to talk to me about the weather which is a ubiquitous subject of conversation in India, it being 110 degrees usually from morning until late in the afternoon, but I soon got her off on to the subject of politics and India's independence, and she said. 'But are these people capable of ruling themselves?' Sometime I'm blunt in conversation, I said, 'Lady Linlithgow, you know that's a very queer question to ask on a night like this, That's exactly what the British Tories said about this thirteen colonies in 1776'. And as the President pointed out in his speech which is printed in today's paper, 'There were plenty of Americans, the sceptics, the cynics of Washington's day who did not believe that ordinary men and women have the capacity for freedom and self-Government'. I did not say to the wife of the Viceroy, but I went on thinking that sometimes

when I look at the mess which the so-called 'civilized' nations have made in the world, I think perhaps we ought to call in the so-called 'uncivilized' nations like China and India to help us rule the world. We are 'very wonderful at making perfect frigidaires and automobiles and bombs, but we have run ourselves into two world wars in two generation-and that is no proof of the capacity to manage world affairs. At any rate just as the majority of Americans in Washington's day felt that they were entitled to freedom and independence, so the Indians, so the Asiatics feel that they want freedom and there will be trouble if we try to obstruct them. The capacity to use freedom is learned; you're not born with it. It's learned in the exercise of freedom and independence.

At the same party and elsewhere I heard the final ultimate obstacle, objection to an Indian independence, namely the Hindu-Muslim question. Here it is important to remember this central factor one is always told of fights about cows and music, etc. But all British officials all Muslim leaders, all Hindu leaders, all unanimously said to me: 'There is no friction between Hindus and Muslims in the villages of India. But the village of India is 90 per cent of India. In other words, the conflict between Hindus and Muslims is a man-made, city political affair. In this connection it is significant that Sir Stafford Cripps, by his own admission in the House of Commons, did not while he was in India discuss the Hindu-Muslim problem with Indian leaders. That seems strange, doesn't it? Here he was in India to settle the Indian problem. Here is presumably the great obstacle to an Indian settlement-the Hindu-Muslim problem-but he never discussed it with Indian leaders. Why? Because when there is no practical solution of the Indian problem, the various critics hitch their demands to a star and make the most fantastic threats and demands and claims, as they are doing today, which have no relation to reality, they talk with as little responsibility as some political parties elsewhere and as some political leaders. But when Cripps arrived and for a moment offered the Indians a practical solution of the Indian problem, they got off their high horses, forgot their differences and talked about the settlement and not about their conflicts. Gandhi has said repeatedly. You'll find it in print, that the Indian Congress party, of which he is the leader and which contains chiefly of Hindus, but consists many Muslims, would enter an Indian National Government with the Muslims. Mr Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League said that he would form an Indian National Government with the Hindus. In other words, the Hindus will enter an Indian National Government with the Muslims. The Muslims will enter in Indian National Government with the Hindus. The only thing missing is the Indian National Government. And that the British have to give and that so far they have refused to give. It is the testimony of all persons who are not prejudiced that there could be political unity in India overnight if the British wished it. Here is a late dispatch in the *New York Times* from its special correspondent in India Herbert Mathews. He talks about an interview he had with one of the great Hindu leaders in India, Mr Rajagopalachari, and he says, 'Mr. Rajagopalachari insisted and the writer's own investigations (that is Mr Mathews's own investigation) support his thesis is that there is no fundamental Hindu-Muslim antagonism. The communities have lived in India harmoniously and will again once political differences are settled. . . .'

Divide and Rule

Some of you may know that in recent years I have been rather vehement in my denunciation of many phases of Soviet policies, but if there is one problem which the Bolsheviks have solved, it is the problem of national minorities. There were, and are in Russia more national minorities and more religions than in India. Under the Czarist regime they were constantly at

one another's throats. When the Bolsheviks came into office they opened the Czar's archives and they found for instance, that in the Caucasus the Czarist authorities one year armed the Tartars so that they could slaughter the Armenians and the next year armed the Armenians so that they could slaughter the Tartars on the old principle of 'divide and rule'. If the Armenians and Tartars were at one another's throats they would forget the Czar who was the oppressor of both. An imperialist Government has it within its powers to divide any country it rules endlessly by giving favours, by giving titles, by financing magazines and newspapers, by giving jobs, by encouraging somebody to be ambitious. There are all kinds of devious, honest and dishonest, measures that can be adopted.

I came away from India with the profound conviction that if there were the will India could be united politically overnight and that of course would be only the first step towards ultimate social and economic union. I came away from India with the conviction that the obstacle to Indian independence does not lie in India. It lies in England. India is a very good thing. Many interests and companies and families in England have grown rich on India. But the problem is bigger than that. Neville Chamberlain was an appeaser, because he was afraid that if England became involved in a war his England (the England of caste and privilege and money and aristocracy) would die. But Churchill says, 'No, England can fight this war and win it and remain the old England'. And Churchill's England includes India and includes the emasculation of the Beveridge report and includes all kinds of reactionary measures.

The question, therefore, is not whether India is ripe for freedom. The question is whether we are ripe for Indian freedom. If there were a new England emerging out of this war, if there were a new England to supplant the old England of Chamberlain and Churchill, it would not wish to hold India. That is really the issue.

Last Memorial Day at Arlington Cemetery our Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, said, 'The era of imperialism is ended'. Vice-President Wallace told an audience in New York on November 8, 'The new Democracy by definition abhors imperialism'. And Wendell Wilkie has talked in the same sense. Why? Because they and an increasing number of intelligent persons everywhere realise that in Colonies, in the rivalry of nations for Empire and for the wealth of Colonies lies the root of wars. So we have this situation. If there will be Empires there will be wars. In order to abolish Empires you have to have a new England, But there cannot be a new England if there is an old America. There cannot be a new England in an old world. The freedom of India depends of far-reaching changes throughout the Democratic world.

John Maynard Keynes, who is now a Lord, and one of the directors of the Bank of England, nevertheless a great economist, said recently in a speech. 'After this war England must increase her exports 50 per cent over 1938. There are no ifs about this. Otherwise England is sunk'. How can England give up her Empire, which must take her exports, if her life after this war will depend on an increase of exports even over 1938? I was in England a year and a half ago. I talked to a dear friend of mine. Storm Jameson, who is a gifted British novelist, and urged her to come to America to lecture to American audiences, and she with that wonderful solidarity that the British have developed among themselves under the blitz-she said 'I would never leave England during the war, but I don't want to live in England after the war'. The British are worried about unemployment, about exhaustion, about weakness, as a result of the war and the Beveridge plan, welcome though it is in all its aspects, is a reflection of that pessimism. The British are wondering whether we in our expanded strength after this war, conscious of our greater power, will take advantage of their weakness. If there are to be

Empires after this war then the British want to have their Empire, in other words, there must be a global transformation of the world. Mr Sumner Welles said in 1941: 'Our high tariffs have helped to ruin many foreign countries and to bring on this war'. Now people say, 'Unless we keep our high tariffs Czechoslovakia and Germany and England could send shoes, for instance, and compete with us and then our workingmen would be idle and our factories would have to close'. That's correct. That is correct if you envisage the market of the world in terms of the area of, say, this piece of paper. Then of course would have to protect out domestic markets. But suppose over-night all States between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains became a desert in which nothing lived, in which nothing grew, every American in the rest of the Country would be that much poorer. We understand that because it is our own country. It is equally true that because India is a desert in which the people wear little, eat little, that because China and Africa are deserts, the rest of the world is poor and poisons accumulate which make depressions and wars. Suppose that the four hundred million Indians wore shoes, which they do not now, would we have to worry about Czechoslovakia and German shoes coming to this country? There wouldn't be enough shoes in Germany and here. There wouldn't be enough shoemaking machinery in the United States to supply four hundred million Indians with shoes. Somebody has said facetiously, but very truly, that if every Chinaman wore pants there would be work in America for a hundred years. We have to worry about tariffs and markets and unemployment if the market of the world has the area of this paper, but I see the area of the market of the world in terms of the size of this floor, of the size of a street, endlessly expanding with a rising level of living in all countries and, therefore in our country.

I think if we were led out on a crusade: if the idealism which exists in every American were tapped and if we were given confidence and faith instead of the cynicism that exists today and that is reinforced by our political acts in North Africa and in India and elsewhere, I believe we would move forward much more rapidly towards Victory with the confidence that after, Victory there would be real solid peace and real prosperity. Thank you. (Prolonged Ovation).

12: Effects to gain American sympathy by Congress underground leaders

P.N. Chopra (ed.), *British Secret Documents* (1986), pp. 312-13

F. 28/Cong/42-E

May 24, 1943

There is a strictly secret report La-D.6 dated 24-5-43 from which we learn that the Congress underground leaders have come to some understanding with the *Free Press Journal*, Bombay, which will publish matters, which will be of help to the Congress cause. . . . Members of the allied forces stationed in India particularly Americans will be approached to subscribe to this paper. . . . Other Indian newspapers will also be approached to copy these news. The *Hindustan Times* and *National Call* have already published full text of Louis Fischer's speech at San Francisco Hall. Johan Ripy Morris of U.P.A.¹ have agreed under pressure from Devdas

Gandhi to receive such news which may prove helpful to the Congress cause and transmit some ideas to the USA through the agency. In other words he has agreed to be as helpful as he possibly can within his limitations. Indian papers like *Patrika*, *Hindustan Times*, *Tribune*, *Hindu* will subscribe to U.P.A.

United Press Agency.

13: Telegram from Washington to New Delhi

File No. 41/11/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret 3756

From . . . Halifax, Washington.

To . . . Foreign New Delhi.

No. 198

Dated 27th (recd. 28th) May, 1943 (T.O.O. 0419) (T.O.R. 1645)

Mrs JOHN GUNTHER informs me that according to a telegram received by RICHARD WALSH New York publisher husband of Pearl BUCK from Mrs Krishna HUTHEESING two nieces of Jawahar Lal Nehru CHANDRALEIKA and NAYANTARA Pandit hope to leave India shortly to enter WELLESLEY College.

2. Indian Agency General are of the opinion that you would probably disapprove strongly of visit (group omitted and would?) wish to be forewarned. They consider that girls in question would certainly be centre of Anti-British agitation in U.S.A. There is undoubtedly some risk of this.

3. Mrs GUNTHER adds that she has received a report that Mrs Pandit's eldest daughter was shot and killed by Government police while leading a demonstration of young girls for India's freedom. Other reports here are that some members of the family were arrested but were recently released. Can you give me any information.

4. May I have reply by telegram. .

Secretary and Home Deptt: and Secy I & B Department.



14: Press Message from Herbert Mathews to the United States of America

File No. 3/63/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India

Home Department
(Political Internal) Sec.

Subject: *Cable to America by Herbert Mathews regarding his interview with Mrs Vijay Lakshmi Pandit during her release on parole, and his views on public feelings towards Gandhi and the Civil Disobedience Movement.*

COLLECT PRESS
GAZETTE
MONTEREAL

TIMES DATE ALLHABAD UNITED PROVINCES (TWENTY-NINTH DELAYED TRIP OF NYK-TIMES THROUGH PROVINCES) WHICH ENDS TODAY AFTER AGRA LUCKNOW BENARES GIVES FULL MEASURE OF FRUSTRATION DISCOURAGEMENT PESSIMISM INTO WHICH INDIA AND ESPECIALLY NATIONALIST HINDUS HAVE FALLEN SINCE FAILURE OF GANDHI'S FAST STOP NEGOTIATIONS ONGOING DELHI TO TRY INDUCE VICEROY LET SOME HINDU LEADERS SEE GANDHI BUT NOBODY IN THIS KEYSTONE PROVINCE OF BRITISH INDIA ENTERTAINS ANY HOPES OF POSITIVE RESULTS PARA NYKTIMES HERE HAS HAD LONG TALKS WITH SUCH IMPORTANT PERSONAGES AS MISTRESS VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT NEHRU'S SISTER WHOSE TEMPORARILY OUT ON PAROLE SAPRU VETERAN LIBERAL LEADER DOCTOR SAM HIGGINBOTHAM AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARY WHO WITH WIFE NIECE OF BUFFALO BI II RUNS FAMOUS AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE STOP THIEVE BEEN HERE FORTY YEARS WORKING AMONG VILLAGERS AND LEPERS AND KEEPING CLOSE-TOUCH WITH INDIAN FRIENDS FROM GANDHI DOWN PARQUOTE WE ALWAYS KNEW OUR GOAL FAR OFF MISTRESS PANDIT SAID HE REQUITE BUT WE NEVER BEFORE LOST HOPE OR OUR CERTAINTY THAT CONGRESS PROGRAM WAS RIGHT THING FOR INDIA PARUNQUOTE WHEN BYE TOLD SAPRU THAT SHE SAID HE REPLIED QUOTE BUT IT IS NOT ONLY CONGRESS WHICH LOST HOPE STOP NONE OF US CAN SEE ANY LIGHT AHEAD PARUNQUOTE IN ALL MY TALKS THROUGHOUT UNITED PROVINCES THERE BEEN ONE DOMINATING THEME DASH GANDHI STOP IT MUST BE TRUE NEVER INS LONG POLITICAL HISTORY HAS THERE BEEN SUCH LACK OF FAITH IN HIM SUCH OPEN CRITICISM OF POLICIES DURING RECENT AND EVEN EARLY YEAR SUCH FRANK ADMISSIONS THAT HAS BECOME MILLSTONE AROUND NECK OF INDIA STOP YET EVERYONE AGREE THAT HE STANDS ALONE THAT NOBODY ELSE CAN SWAY MASSES OR INBRING THEIR VOTES THAT NOTHING CAN DONE WITHOUT HIM PARA PANDIT ADMITTED FRANKLY THAT GROUP HER BROTHER LEADS WHICH WAS AGAINST CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT WHICH WANTED HELP UNITED NATIONS WIN WAR AND WHICH GENERALLY INTERNATIONALLY MINDED IS MINORITY OF CONGRESS AS WHOLE STOP NEHRU HAS LARGER FOLLOWING AMONG YOUNG PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS OF PARTY WHICHIL

DOUBTLESS BE IN CONTROL SOME DAY BUT OLDTIMERS FOLLOW GANDHI AND SO DO MASSES PARA. ALL THAT HINDU LEADERS CAN DO OR TRYING DO IS SEE GANDHI AND SEEK INDUCE HIM CHANGES MIND ABOUT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND WAR EFFORT STOP HIS RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT FATAL CLAUSE IN AUGUST EIGHTH RESOLUTION CALL FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE STOP NEHRU WAS AGAINST IT STOP NYKTIMES HAS ENOUGH INSIDE INFORMATION TO KNOW THAT FOR FACT STOP SO IF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IS TO OFF CALLED GANDHI MUST DO IT ALTHOUGH PANDIT INSISTED THAT HE WOULD NOT AND COULD NOT DISREGARD PARTY RULES TO EXTENT OF DOING WITHOUT GETTING WORKING COMMITTEES ASSENT PARA NYKTIMES FOUND LITTLE HOPE OF GANDHI CHANGINGS MIND STOP SAPRU FRINSTANCE DREW COMPLETELY BLACK PICTURE STOP HE DOESN'T EXPECT GOVERNMENT TO RELENT OR MAKE ANY CONCILIATORY OFFER STOP SEES UNHOPE OF COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT STOP RECOGNIZES THAT JINNAH GETTING STRONGER STOP PANDIT SHOWED UNSURPRISE WHEN NYKTIMES TOLD HER OF HIS EXPERIENCES IN VILLAGES STOP QUOTE THEY THE SHORT MEMORIES SHE SAID REQUITE THEY MUST WORK UPON CONSTANTLY OTHERWISE THEY FALL BACK INTO POLITICAL INDIFFERENCE PARUN. QUOTE HOWEVER WHEN IT COMES TO GETTING THE HINDU VILLAGERS VOTE SHE AND EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT CONGRESS CAN ALWAYS SUCCEED PARA BOTH SHE SAPRU LOOK TO POSTWAR PER WITH APPREHENSION STOP SAPRU SHARES GENERAL DISTRUST AMONG INDIANS OF BRITISH PROMISES STOP REASONS FOR THAT DISTRUST ARE COMPLICATED BUT NYKTIMES ALMOST NEVER FOUND INDIAN WHO ADMITTED OR SEEMED BELIEVE THAT BRITISH WILL QUIT INDIA AFTER WAR PARA PUNDIT WORRIED ABOUT PEACE CONFERENCE STOP HER BROTHER HOPES WANTS INDIA PLAY GREAT ROLE IN POSTWAR WORLD AND PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BUT SHE RECOGNIZES THAT BRITISH CAN SAY QUOTE CONGRESS DIDN'T HELP I HAMPERED WAR EFFORT THEREFORE IT HAS UNRIGHT TO DEMAND PART IN PEACE UNQUOTE OTHER HAND IF CONGRESS WHICH DOES OVERWHELMINGLY REPRESENT HINDU COMMUNITY OF BRITISH INDIA CANNOT ACT FOR THAT COMMUNITY PANDIT FEARS INDIA WILL COME OFF BADLY PARA PANDIT INCIDENTALLY SQUITE WELL AFTER HER SEVEN MONTHS IMPRISONMENT WHICHIL BE RESUMED APRIL FIRST STOP HER BROTHER SHE SAID ALSO KEEPING WELL AND SOS HER DAUGHTER WHO IN PRISON WITH HER PARQUOTE THESE DAYS OUTSIDE ARE TORTURE TO BE SAID PANDIT REQUITE EYE DON'T FEEL ANY RIGHT TO BE OUT WHILE ALL MY ASSOCIATES SUFFERING IN JAIL UNQUOTE.

HERBERT MATHEWS.

15: News item in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* dated 30.5.1943

*Amrita Bazar Patrika*¹

[NMML]

Freedom for India

Poster Parade at Trafalgar Square, London May 27

A poster parade supporting freedom for India was held at Trafalgar Square, London, today.

It was arranged by the Indian freedom Campaign Committee and was banned by the authorities under the Defence Regulations but the parade is to be repeated on Saturday.

It consisted today of five people with protesters walking in a line and was organised according to Mr Fenner Brockway¹ of the Independent Labour Party because the organizers desired to challenge the authorities on the interruption of the regulations. Others who took part included Miss. Dorothy Evens, organizer of the Women for Westminster Movement and Mr Maurice Rownoree.

No incidents occurred but after the parade the police called at the Committee Office and took certain particulars (Reuter).

1. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* – a daily in English from Calcutta (East India). Editor Tuskar Kantu Ghosh, during the period of our study.

16 Mrs Gunther's article quoted in *The Hindu* Official Notings on it

Govt. of Madras Pub Press Dept. 1943 – File G.O. No. 2761
[TNA]

Mrs F. Gunther Views India

MRS FRANCES GUNTHER, the wife of the well known U.S. journalist, John Gunther, contributes to *Commonsense* an illuminating study of the Indian situation.

The following is the text of the article:

In 1938, John Gunther and I spent a three-hour lunch with Mr Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, asking for a concrete example of a Muslim grievance against the Indian Congress; he could not offer a single one. In 1940, Sir Stafford Cripps asked Jinnah the same question: Jinnah was now prepared. He gave Cripps one grievance. Cripps made a point of personally investigating the case and as he reported later in *New York*, found 'nothing of any substance in it at all'. Yet in September 1942 Herbert Mathews reports to the *New York Times* from New Delhi that Muslims leaders (he does not quote Jinnah) now tell him that they have been 'through hell'.

Jinnah is an extremely shrewd and astute lawyer, once a good fighting member of the Indian Congress, whose private ambitions found wider scope in the opportunities offered by the British than in the self-sacrificial Congress movement. But he too for all his Pan-Islam talk, is a good Indian nationalist and patriot, if the British are playing with him, he is playing with them also.

Pakistan Issue

'Pakistan' the imaginary name for two imaginary separate Muslim States in India, is the peak of the British-Jinnah interplay. The rest of India would lie, like a gigantic Polish corridor, between them. So far responsible Muslim opinion has repudiated 'Pakistan', but the plan, if carried through, would lead to the Balkanization of India, and to unending civil wars.

What has been the Congress attitude on this English-Hindu-Muslim problem? Congress believes that whatever tension actually exists between Hindus and Muslims is due to poverty and economic maladjustment and not to religion. To the Congress, the Muslims are not 'a minority'; they are 'brother Indians'. Yet every conceivable guarantee of equality for all nationals regardless of creed, has been made by the Indian Congress.

The Congress has also agreed to refer any disputed points to arbitration, to the International Court or any other impartial body mutually agreed upon. But the Congress has insisted, in the words of Nehru, that 'nothing can be accepted which goes against Indian freedom or democracy, or disrupts India, nor can a minority be allowed to dominate or override the majority. After all, the majority has some rights'.

It is precisely on this last point however, the rights of the majority, that England has put her foot down.

The United Nations and India

This brings us to the problem of the United Nations in India.

On the one hand, there is the British Empire (still pursuing a 19th Century imperialist policy), the satellite Netherlands Empire and the smaller nations of Europe and the Western Hemisphere which have not yet made their power felt in international relations. On the other hand there are Russia and China, numerically and geographically the most powerful members of the United Nations. Anybody with an inkling of Anglo-Russian and Anglo-Chinese relations of the past 150 years must realize that the elimination of English domination from India is and will remain a vital factor in the national policies of both Russia and China.

Where does the United States stand on India? — we, who have with commendable, if somewhat brash and noisy bravado, undertaken the leadership of the United Nations. This brings us back to our basic question: Are we for the Indian Revolution — or against it?

There is no original sin in the birth of a revolution — sin comes later. Just as the French Revolution tried to bring forth political democracy, and the Russian Revolution economic democracy, so the Indian Revolution is trying to bring forth a kind of psychological democracy, in which a reasoning goodwill may create a livable balance between the conflicting, centripetal forces of politics and economics.

The Indian Revolution is the first entirely above — ground revolution in history that has undeviatingly followed a policy of using wholly humanitarian means to achieve its ends — a revolution in which the means were held to be as important as the end; a revolution without hate without terror, without a spy system, without treachery, without assassination; a revolution in which all the habitual weapons of revolution were ruled out; a revolution in which the end is to be a mutual renunciation of dominating power and mutual assumption of co-operating good will.

'But why don't they wait until after the war?' Why? Because 'they' have no confidence in the English Government no confidence in its capacity to create a just peace after the war, and worse, no confidence in its capacity to conduct the war now. More reasons! The administrative record of the English Government after 150 years of absolute rule. It has granted unto India a 90 per cent illiteracy, (Japan is only 20 per cent illiterate; the Philippines only 40 per cent) a life span of 25 years (in England 60 years, in U.S. 63 years), an annual income of \$ 15 (in Japan three times as high, in England 10 times as high in U.S. 23 times as high), 83 per capita annually spent on education (in England about .200, in U.S. about .400) — all this in one of the greatest and most richly endowed countries on earth. Nothing, they believe could be worse

— no, not even the Japs! They believe that they themselves could do infinitely better for themselves. They do not hate the English. They feel sorry for them, and wish they would go home and take care of England, which needs taking care of.

They feel competent to take care of themselves in India.

America's Duty

Shall we be responsible for reducing this revolution to the old pattern of terrorism, of underground assassination, of firebrand civil war? We can if we will, attempt to wreck the Indian Revolution — by spreading misunderstandings, by inciting enmity, by sowing discord by making India feel that our world is against her, by driving her to desperation.

What is the Washington position on India as on September 1942? The State Department is said to be about equally divided for and against, with a slight balance for. But in the White House, Harry Hopkins is said to have put on the old school tie discarded by most modern Englishmen and to have told the President on Churchill's assurances that England could handle the situation i.e. ride out the ants in the pants! Churchillian assurances are not enough. Blood tears, toil and sweat are not enough, Imperialism is not enough. Beating the Jap military machine is not enough. We must create a situation in which the Japanese military machine could not exist. Such a situation demands a free India no less than a free China as its starting point.

It is unlikely, but it is barely possible, that by making itself sufficiently heard, popular opinion in the United States reinforcing popular opinion in England could influence the English Government to relinquish responsibility to a representative Indian Government with the full co-operation of such an Indian Government. The United Nations would have no extraneous problems to solve in India and could proceed to the job of winning the war. We have nothing to lose but our World War III draft numbers. We have our own self-respect, at the very least to gain.

Official Comment — The *Indian Express* in full and the *Bharatha Devi* and *Hanuman* (Tamil) — (extracts) have also published Gunther's article.

It has also appeared in *National Call* (Delhi), *Hindustan Times* (Delhi) and *Bombay Free Press*.

This article is milder than Mr Fischer's Speech. In the latter case, Government have decided not to take notice of it.

17

Editorial in *The Hindu* dated 6.6.1943

Govt. of Madras Pub Press Dept. 1943 — File G.O. No. 2761

[TNA]

A Blanket Ban

Repudiating a charge that American correspondents in India generally sent 'anti-British' despatches to their newspapers one of the correspondents recently asked very pertinently how it was possible that any 'anti-British' statements could pass the Indian censorship. The implication is that no such statement is allowed to go out. But while the censor can, and does, stop statements he cannot stop men, who have been here and seen and heard things for

themselves, going back to America and telling the truth about India through the Press and the platform. And occasionally it has happened that their writings in the American Press and reports of their speeches have arrived back in this country and been reproduced in Indian newspapers. Presumably these were allowed to come into this country, because the authorities thought it was the path of prudence not to appear to resent criticism or comment by disinterested observers within the Allied camp. Nevertheless there could be no doubt that authority must have felt extremely uncomfortable at times, owing to the outspokenness of these writings and even more because the Indian public were enabled to read them. Here it should be noted that, in reproducing them, the Indian newspapers are in no way enjoying immunity from the operation of the various restrictions they have, as a result of agreement with the Government, imposed on themselves, in view of the war emergency. In fact there has been no occasion to charge any newspaper with a breach of these voluntary restrictions in connection with such publication. Nevertheless a stage has apparently been reached when the Government can no longer 'take it' from neutral observers. So they are now trying not only to put a stop to it, agreement or no agreement, but they must needs go about it in a truly unprecedented fashion, to wit, by putting a ban on all the writings and speeches of a particular individual. At one stroke they have reintroduced pre-censorship (of which more presently) and indicated that a world-known publicist has become a *persona non grata* with them. The Central Government's order in this behalf is comprehensive, and Canute-like! It is comprehensive because it relates to 'all matter relating to India, written or spoken, or purporting to have been written or spoken by Mr Louis Fischer'; it is Canute-like because of the pathetic attempt to prevent world opinion from crossing the shores of India. We are aware that the Chief Press Adviser in New Delhi is authorized to scrutinize Louis Fischer's writings with a view presumably to passing such portions as may be safely allowed to be reproduced in the Indian Press. But, judging by the outspokenness with which Mr Fischer treats the Indian scene, the chance of any of his writings being passed for publication is about as much as that of the proverbial camel endeavouring to pass through the eye of a needle.

Apart from its merits, the Central Government's order raises, as we have mentioned above, the question of pre-censorship. If there was one thing against which the Indian Press has stood unanimously and steadfastly, even in the midst of the various restrictions to which it agreed in the name of the war emergency, it was pre-censorship. By the Delhi agreement it bound itself not to impede the war effort and the Government, on their side, refrained from imposing pre-censorship. Developments in the political field culminating in the August Resolution of the Congress put temptation in the way of the Government and there were attempts on their part to introduce pre censorship in one form or another, in connection with the publication of 'news relating to disturbances'. The Press, however, would have none of it, but it was not without a struggle that the Government were made to accept the resolution passed by the Editors' Conference at Bombay in October last. That resolution stated among other things that 'the Conference is opposed to any scheme of pre-censorship. Newspapers should be free to publish without previous scrutiny objective accounts of any incidents in connection with the 'mass movement' or disturbances. The Conference, however, considers it necessary that Editors should exercise restraint in the publication of such accounts and should avoid the publication anything which incites the public to subversive activity; conveys suggestions or instructions for illegal acts; is an exaggerated report or unfounded allegation regarding excessive use or misuse of their powers by the police, troops and other Government servants, or the treatment and condition of detenus and prisoners; and regards the restoration of the Public

sense of security. Deliberate departure on the part of any newspaper from the general policy laid down in this resolution may be dealt with by the Provincial Governments in consultation with the Provincial Press Advisory Committees'. This arrangement was accepted by the Central and Provincial Governments. And the Home Member assured the Central Assembly early this year that the Government had accepted the resolution in the spirit in which it was offered and that so long as co-operation was offered the Government would welcome it and meet it.

In the light of the above, the present order will be clearly seen to be a breach of the Delhi and Bombay arrangements. Whether Louis Fischer's or anybody else's writings are such as to infringe the bans imposed by these agreements it is for the Editors themselves to decide. If in the Government's view certain specific articles or portions thereof do come within the prohibited categories it is open to them to take action according to the procedure laid down in those agreements. By imposing a blanket censorship on all the writings of a single person the Government seem to be reverting to their attitude of distrust of the Editors. Sir Sultan Ahmed, the new Member for Information and Broadcasting appealed the other day for co-operation from the Press. Here is an opportunity for him to prove that co-operation is not all to be on one side.

18 Government of India to the Ambassador Washington

File No. 44/11/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Telegram XX No. 4520 dated 7th June 1943

From . . . Foreign New Delhi

To . . . Ambassador, Washington.

Your telegram 198 dated 27th May¹. Two eldest daughters of Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Chandralekha aged 19 and Nayantara aged 16, have been granted passports having been recommended for admission to Wellesley college by Madame Chiang and Mrs John Gunther and Government of India believe that they sailed about May 15th. They are Nehru's nieces.

2. Danger that two girls might become centre of Anti-British agitation in U.S.A. was fully considered before passports were granted. Governor of United Provinces saw advantage in moving them from present political atmosphere and there is reason to believe this consideration weighed with their mother in desiring to get them out of India though there is some evidence that the girls themselves had matrimonial projects of which she disapproved. After full discussion it was decided that adverse publicity against Government on theme of stringent action against school-girls might outweigh risk of their becoming centre of Anti-British agitation in America with result that passports were granted.

3. You will see from above that story that eldest daughter was shot and killed by police is totally without foundation. She was detained by Commissioner of Allahabad on evidence of giving assistance to Congress rebellion last August but released at end of March. Second

daughter was not arrested or detained. Other members of Nehru family have been arrested but this is a vague term and Government of India have no precise information.

X. Branch (3) FS. JS. US (I) US (II) PSV and Home Dept; S.B. (12).

1. Doc. 13 above.

19: Intercepted letter from Horace Alexander

Govt. of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P., File No. M583/1943
[Bengal State Archives]

Cover addressed to: Sjt. Rathindranath Tagore*,
'Sailabas', Kalimpong.

I Upper Wood Street,
Calcutta 9th August '43

Sjt. Rabithindranath Tagore,
'Sailabas', Kalimpong.

Dear Mr Tagore,

I am sorry that your letter of June the 19th. was somehow delayed and it is only very recently that I received it on my return from an extensive journey round India. We have had many difficulties, chiefly due to the ill-health of our members, about the development of the reconstruction work in Midnapore, and from that point of view it was really just as well that we had not asked Mr Sarkar to work with us. I was, however, very sorry to hear that in the end he was unable to carry on the work, under other auspices. We are still giving much thought to the needs of that district and to the possibility of more extensive reconstruction work, and I hope we may have further co-operation with some of your workers during the coming months. I myself am due to leave for England in a few days time and it is a matter of very great regret to me that I shall not now have an opportunity to see you and Mrs Tagore again. Nor shall I be able to visit Santiniketan; the breach in the railway line puts the journey quite out of the question I am afraid, as my time in Calcutta is so short. This is a matter of great disappointment to me, as I was longing to see Santiniketan and all of you again, and I was also keenly looking forward to Richard Symonds' lectures. I hope he will be able to deliver them at some later time in the session and if they are published in your bulletin, perhaps I shall ultimately have the pleasure of reading them in England.

Owing to a slight illness in Madras my journey was rather interrupted and I failed to make contact with Mr Bajaj. I am very sorry to have failed you in this matter. But I trust the matter of the transfer of the Andrews' memorial Fund may be carried out satisfactorily before long. I think Mr Bajaj is very ready to transfer the money to some specially accredited trustees or provisional trustees such as yourself, the Metropolitan, Mr Sastri and Mr G.D. Birla if they agree to make themselves responsible until Mahatma Gandhi is free to make his own recommendation in the matter. You very kindly showed me the scheme you have drawn up

for the use of the fund, and I hesitate very much to make any critical comment on the suggestions that you have made. I had hoped that I might have had an opportunity of some talk with you about it and if I do not venture a comment, please do not feel that I am expressing anything more than the personal feeling of one of C.F.A.'s¹ very many friends, and if you do not feel there is any force in what I say, please dis-regard it.

When I think of the generous nature of C.F.A. and his intense love for Santiniketan, I can easily imagine him saying 'Let the whole fund go into Santiniketan Endowment. Never mind about anything else; what matters most of all is to keep the place going'. But although I realise that he might very well have spoken like that, I cannot help feeling that most of his friends will be disappointed if such a large proportion of the fund goes to general endowment; that an insufficient sum is left for what would be the characteristic memorial of C.F.A. himself. It is the matter of the Hall of Western Culture (not so much the building, but the scholars who may be invited) that is chiefly in my mind. I cannot feel that the sum you are suggesting for this last purpose is adequate. C.F.A. had such a universal spirit that I think he would be eager to invite men & women from all parts of the world to come in connection with this endowment to give their contribution to Santiniketan. I can imagine that in addition to some resident worker, who would be a permanent interpreter of Western Culture, he would have hoped that scholars and men of culture, including poets and artists, would be invited year by year from various parts of Europe and America. When one thinks of the warm friendship that he had, for instance, with some of the leading Negro Educationalists in America or in South Africa, and with scholars and Christian leaders in Scandinavia, Central Europe and elsewhere, would it not be appropriate to keep a sufficient proportion of the sum available to cover the heavy costs that would necessarily be involved in inviting such people to visit Santiniketan from time to time? I should have thought that many of those who received the original appeal would have liked to see the resulting sum divided fairly equally between the different matters that are set out in the appeal. It is, of course, a matter of great regret to us, his English friends, that so far hardly anything has come from England. I am of the opinion that the postponement of any wide appeal in England till after the war was right and inevitable, however much one may regret it. I still hope that in a year or two we shall be able to circulate your appeal or something in support of it in England and that some substantial donation may be made to the present fund from the friends of C.F.A. and Santiniketan on our side of the world. Once again please forgive me for expressing myself in this way. It may be that what I have written is really based on misunderstanding.

In looking back on the varied experiences that I have had during the past year in India, the three visits that I was able to pay to Santiniketan during the spring are like beautiful cases in what has been in some ways a difficult and troubled year. I am deeply grateful to you and Mrs Tagore for your beautiful hospitality on each of my visits and it is grand to hold on to the knowledge that amid all the conflict and sorrow of the world the creative peace of Santiniketan remains un-spoiled. May every blessing be upon you and your colleagues in the years to come.

Yours sincerely,
Signed
Horace Alexander.
Friends Ambulance Unit

1. C.F. Andrews.

20 The Indian League of America

File No. 1/7/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Report on the Indian League of America Held in New York on 7.8.43.

Subject: Report on the meeting of the India League of America held in New York on 7.8.43,
the anniversary of the Congress Leaders' arrest.

Pol. (S) 1860/43
British Consulate-General
25, Broadway, New York,

No. 438

13th August 1943.

Dear Chancery,

We transmit herewith a report on a recent meeting in New York of the India League of America which was attended by two members of the Staff of this Consulate-General.

Yours ever,

New York Consulate-General

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

Enclosure

The meeting of the India League of America held in the Town Hall on August 9th in commemoration of the anniversary of the arrest of Gandhi, Nehru and other Indian leaders, was an orderly affair though markedly ant-British in tone. There was a fair attendance, probably about 1,500 people, though the hall was by no means full. The audience was not a particularly distinguished one; the Americans were for the most part elderly or very young and there was a fair sprinkling of Indians and Chinese. They were quick to laugh and applaud at jibes against Winston Churchill and the British Raj and at the various sentimental appeals for the relief of suffering India from British oppression. The speakers sat flanked by the flags of the United States and Indian Congress. A quantity of literature was available for sale and free distribution (see samples submitted herewith)¹ and a collection was taken during the proceedings for the funds of the League.

Mr J.J. Singh presided as President of the India League. Speakers were Dr Henry Carpenter, Miss Mai-Mai Sze, daughter of the former Chinese Ambassador to London and Washington, Dr Anup Singh, Editor of '*India today*' and Mr Louis Fischer, Mrs Clare Luce was included in the programme, but she failed to appear, her speech being read by Mr Roger Baldwin, Treasurer of the India League.

The keynote of the evening was supplied in the opening speech of Mr J.J. Singh who introduced the various speakers. Mr Singh, as sinister looking an individual as one might ever

hope to meet, began by remarking how the world had been shocked exactly one year ago by the imprisonment of Gandhi, Nehru, and Azad, an action which had done more damage to the cause of the United Nations than anything these individuals could possibly have done if left at liberty. Later in the evening he introduced to the audience two young nieces of Nehru who were present; the elder he stated had spent seven months in jail in India and had remarked with sweet naivete when questioned on the subject of arrival here that she had no idea why she had been imprisoned; she had no trial. The young ladies were greeted with delighted applause. J.J. Singh went on to say that immediate freedom for India was essential for the gaining of the peace even though the United Nations would no doubt win the war, without giving India freedom. This demand for immediate freedom for India was echoed by all the speakers and was adopted in the form of a resolution at the end of the meeting.

He then introduced Dr Henry Carpenter, a clergyman and student of the co-operative movement who referred to a visit he had made in the summer of 1942, immediately following the arrest of Gandhi and Nehru. Observing that the eleven Indians to whom Mr Singh had given him introductions were all in jail, Dr Carpenter claimed that anti-British feelings had risen to terrifying proportions. It would, however, be possible for all Hindus, Muslims Sikhs and Untouchables to co-operate together if Britain would only stand aside. He illustrated this by observing that at a children's school he had heard a song which, he was informed, was sung by Muslims, Hindu and Sikh children alike! Dr Carpenter struck one as a meddling but possibly sincere missionary who was totally incapable of seeing the Indian problem in any but vague philosophical terms.

Miss Mai-Mai Sze, who followed, was introduced as daughter of the former Chinese Ambassador to Washington, but her polished accents belied the country of her education. She has a clever turn of phrase, speaks extempore and her attitude towards India is probably a mild version of the prevailing Chinese attitude. The theme was conventional if well expressed. India and China had always lived on terms of peace and mutual respect but had never been so closely linked as they were today. The remark which drew the loudest burst of applause was her claim that 'if we expect unconditional surrender of our enemies, we must grant unconditional freedom to our allies'.

Dr Anup Singh produced more inaccuracies than anyone else, but his most nauseating tit-bits were avidly gobbled up.

He drew an absurd parallel between India and America of the Eighteenth Century and quoted speeches of British Statesmen in the House of Commons claiming that the various states in America were so dissimilar in race, language and customs, that they could never unite. Dr Singh was apparently rather worried by the effect produced by Mr Herbert Mathew's article in the 'New York Times' on Sunday. He characterized this article as essentially negative and hopeless in its tone and asserted that Mathews was misinformed regarding the desire of the Muslims to be free from British rule (this evoked loud applause), and that he ignored the strength of the Congress party. Another interesting admission was that America had lately been showing a tendency to view the Indian problems as an economic one, hinting that American business was already on the look-out to avenues in the Indian market.

The highlight of the evening was the speech of Mrs Clare Booth Luce, read in her absence by Mr Roger Baldwin, Treasurer of the League. She spoke of the coloured population of India, Burma and Malaya as the animals in the zoo; their British keepers might maintain that they were safer and better fed in captivity than if they were free, but could they be happy without freedom? This was the only acknowledgement, if it may be so called, of any benefit

which India, Burma and Malaya may have derived from British rule. Did the Atlantic Charter extend to Asia? While Mr Churchill was making freedom the White Man's monopoly, the Roosevelt Government kept an embarrassed silence. She expressed the hope that after the end of the war and the defeat of Japan, no American would lift a finger to help the British defeat the Indians in their fight for freedom. Her final sentence was an appeal to the Indians to throw out the British. 'Go to it', she said, 'millions of people in Britain and millions of Americans are with you'.

Mr Fischer was introduced as a man who had all his writings banned by the Government of India. He impressed one as a violent and bigoted individual, completely lacking in stability and one whose every utterance should be viewed with distrust. He plunged into a personal attack on Sir Reginald Maxwell who had been responsible for the banning of his works, on the grounds that they were prejudiced to the interests of the United Nations. Mr Fischer contend that much more prejudicial were Sir Reginald's actions in authorizing the whipping of political prisoners, the bombing of Indian villages from the air, and his part in the imprisonment of Gandhi and Nehru. He drew a parallel between British rule in India and that of the Czars in Russia, who kept rule by setting rival tribes to massacre each other. The rate of literacy in India had risen from seven per cent to eight per cent in twenty years, as compared with the rise from twenty-seven percent to ninety percent in Soviet Russia, where 'there were more nationalities and more languages than in India'. 'The Soviet Government had found it easy to solve the problem of rival entities because they had wanted to solve the problem.' Mr Fischer, who 'had never met a pro-British Indian and quoted Sir Firoz Khan Noon as saying' there ain't no such animal, was more applauded than any other speaker.

All the speakers emphasised the anti-Japanese feelings of the Indian population but not a single constructive suggestion was offered during the evening as to how Indians would overcome the problems of self-Government or as to how they would be able to withstand Japanese aggression without the presence and assistance of the British Government. The audience was evidently expected to accept India as a united population of 390 millions, unanimous in support of Gandhi, Nehru, and Congress, and hatred of British oppression; differences of religion, language and caste were apparently of minor importance and presented no real difficulty.

The meeting closed with the adoption of resolution stating in brief: 'Whereas the present deadlock in the negotiations between the Far East, whereas Indian freedom is the test of the Atlantic Charter and whereas there is a lack of trust in the intentions of the British Government to give India her freedom, this meeting requests the immediate release of political prisoners, the resumption of negotiations for the formation of a provisional national Government, a guarantee of Indian freedom by the Allied powers and the mediation of the United States should that seem necessary'.

Dr Mukerjee and Mr Natesen were in evidence. The latter stated in conversation that Dr Anup Singh's sister was the wife of Sirdar Malik, the Indian Trade Commissioner and generally attended those meetings.

A report of the meetings was published in the *New York Times* of August 10th, a copy of which is attached with other specimens of literature.



21: M.N. Roy to Vimal

M.N. Roy Papers – M.F. Roll No. 14
[NMML]

Dehradun, August 22nd, 1943

My dear Vimal,

All arrangements for comrade Pillai's going to London have been made. He will start most probably immediately after the CEC meeting or even earlier. As he will be going by ship, he will be able to take a lot of our literature along. It must be collected from now on. At least a dozen copies of all our books should be got together, besides all our other publications. I do not know how much of it you have in Delhi. Examine your stock, and immediately order from Bombay, Lucknow and Patna whatever may be missing. The collections must include a full set of the '*Independent India*' weekly, bound year by year, and one complete bound file of the Daily. All these books and papers should be packed very well in a strong wooden box with some kind of a waterproof lining. Please arrange for that also.

Yours sincerely,

M.N. Roy.

22 H.N. Kunzru & P.N. Saprú to S.P. Mukherjee (establishment of I.C.W.A.)

Shyamaprasad Mukherjee Papers, File No. 117 (MS)
[NMML]

7, Barakhamba Road,
New Delhi
24 August 1943.

Dear Dr Mukherjee,

The war has stimulated active discussion, all over the world, of problems of post-war reconstruction based on national freedom and international collaboration. Such questions as the application of the principle of the Atlantic Charter to all parts of the world, the future of dependencies and colonies with special reference to their political status and the economic and social interests of the indigenous populations, the establishment of an Executive Council on behalf of the United Nations for international purposes, and generally the creation of machinery which would guarantee a lasting world peace, are receiving the most serious attention everywhere.

One conference has already been held for the consideration of these and allied problems

relating to countries in the Pacific Zone, namely, the Pacific Relations Conference held in Canada, in December last, and attended by delegates representing several countries.

In view of the urgent need for a thorough study of such questions as have been referred to above and the importance of India being properly represented at any conference that may be held hereafter for their discussion, by delegations capable of voicing the views and aspirations of the great majority of the people, the immediate establishment of an independent organisation for the study of world affairs is necessary.

At an informal meeting held recently in Delhi of a group interested in the study of world problem from the Indian point of view, it was proposed that efforts should be made without delay to establish an Indian Council of World Affairs. The name is only provisional and intended to indicate the objects and character of the organisation. There was general agreement that

- a) i) The Council should be representative of the principal groups and interests in the country;
- ii) Should adopt a policy of study and research, both through its own members and by recognised scholars and research institutions in the country;
- iii) Should not be engaged in propaganda for any particular point or points of view;
- b) The Officers and a majority of the members of the Council should be non-officials; and
- c) The Council should undertake to secure funds for the maintenance of a research and publication programme and of close relations with similar bodies throughout the world engaged in the study of international problems.

This circular is being sent to a number of men and women in the country representing all shades of opinion in order to ascertain whether they should join and support such an organisation. Should the response prove encouraging, steps will be taken, after giving due notice to the supporters of the scheme, to establish such a Council.

We earnestly hope that you will be able to extend your valuable support to the scheme, the object of which is to enable Indians to understand their position in the world.

The reply may be sent, as early as possible to Mr B. Shiva Rao, 7, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi, with any suggestions that you may like to make.

Yours sincerely,

H.N. Kunzru
P.N. Sapru.

To
Shyamaprasad Mukherjee.



23

Sir Reginald Maxwell to G. Laithwaite

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2344]

From The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

New Delhi, September 23rd 1943.

My dear Laithwaite,

At my interview with His Excellency last Monday I promised to let him have a copy of my address to the deputation of missionaries which I received on Saturday last and His Excellency said that he would be glad to receive this. I now enclose a typed copy for His Excellency's information. On reading it again I find that I did not bring out as explicitly as I had thought when I saw His Excellency on Monday the point about the danger of starting communal divisions in the army. But he will find that the point is implicitly covered in paragraph 11 and it was this that I had in mind when the matter was referred to at my interview. There is also a reference to the danger of affecting the army in paragraph 13. I had, of course, the point fully in mind when drafting the address and it would have been better had I brought it out more explicitly in paragraph 11.

Yours sincerely,

R.M. Maxwell.

Introduction

I have been looking forward to this opportunity of meeting some of the signatories of your statement to the Press, as I know that in making it you were entirely disinterested and only anxious to promote goodwill. But I see that you have certain misgivings about the effects of the present British policy in India and perhaps even about the principles that inspire it. You wish to know whether anything can be done to relieve the feelings of frustration and bitterness which you have observed in some quarters. The point of view which you represent is, of course, one which we could never wish to ignore. Hence, with His Excellency's permission, I want to place any knowledge I have at your disposal so that if you can satisfy yourselves better about our difficulties and motives you may perhaps be able to help others who come to you for guidance.

General Policy

2. We all sympathize with the desire of educated Indians to govern themselves. But British Rule in India is the product of a long past for which we here are not responsible and we have to take things as they are. With the best will in the world it is not so easy to get out of India as it might seem, and indeed I think that the problems which confront us in any attempt to do so are probably more difficult than any that our forefathers experienced in getting into this country. We cannot leave India to fall back into chaos for in that condition it would be

a danger to the peace of Asia and of the world. We have to aim at leaving it in a proper state to fit into the post-war world. From the internal point of view also we cannot lightheartedly hand over the helpless masses, accustomed to take for granted the existence of a ready-made Government in which they have no voice, to be an easy prey to every form of tyranny and exploitation from which they now look to us to protect them. There are also other obligations and pledges which we cannot easily ignore. We must remember that once independence is granted there will be no going back. India will be beyond our help, for good or evil, short of actual reconquest.

3. British policy has, therefore, been to bring India by stages to the point of self-Government. The last stage, the 1935 Act, threshed out, as you know, with incredible labour, was a very big step. But it was not fully implemented before the war. Had it been possible to do so in time, India under war conditions might have been practically a self-Governing country by now. But for various reasons that clause was lost. Many people, I think, regret it now. But, owing to the ferment brought about by the war, the 1935 Act is now obsolescent and, instead, we have what is called the 'deadlock'.

What the 'Deadlock' Means

4. You will note that the demand for immediate independence came from the Congress and from no other party. The so-called deadlock means that in five Provinces in which the Congress Party has a majority in the Legislatures they have repudiated their constitutional responsibility of carrying on the Government of those Provinces. In the remaining six Provinces Government is being carried on by Ministries pledged to support the war effort and enjoying a majority in their Legislatures. (Three of these Ministries owe allegiance to the Muslim League and one other has Muslim League Members: so the Muslim League is not in the deadlock).

5. Congress Members have also absented themselves from the Central Legislature (but here, again, not the Muslim League). The Legislature continues to perform its allotted functions. The Central Executive Government (i.e. the Governor General's Executive Council) also carries on in the manner provided by the constitution. Its members were always appointed as individuals, not as representatives of parties, and the absence of such representation merely affects the choice of personnel. So the 'deadlock' is really only a self-imposed disability of the Congress Party, affecting less than half the Provinces and not seriously affecting the war administration or the interests of the people of those Provinces. It is regrettable, no doubt, but it is mainly a propaganda move, magnified by Indian-owned newspapers which are largely under Congress control. 'Deadlock' is itself a question-begging term.

The Constitutional Issues

6. In order to understand and appreciate the subjects of controversy it is important to distinguish two quite separate questions which are often confused.

I. The long-term policy, i.e., the process of framing a permanent constitution under which India will enjoy Dominion Status of independence.

This has two ingredients:

- (a) The process of arriving at an agreed constitution and thus creating for the first time a body authorized by India to receive the transfer of power from His Majesty's Government.
- (b) The framing of a treaty between that body and His Majesty's Government on matters

in which extra-constitutional understandings are necessary, at any rate at first. (E.g. Defence — External Affairs — transfer of Services recruited by the Crown — protection of minorities — relations with Indian States — financial obligations).

II. The short-term policy, i.e. interim adjustments during the war, or pending implementation of the long-term policy, to give representatives of Indian political parties a larger share in the Executive Government.

The Long-Term Policy

7. Obviously the long-term policy is immeasurably the more important. It is only on foundations so laid that His Majesty's Government can hand over their obligations and responsibilities, the character and gravity of which I have already explained. It is also obvious that an operation of this magnitude will mean much hard work and preliminary procedure.

8. For these reasons His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy have always made it clear that this programme must be reserved for the post-war period (but not delayed then); also that in view of its great importance nothing should be done to compromise it by way of patchwork amendments of the Constitution during the war, since any anticipatory transfer of power would to some extent (and perhaps fatally) deprive them of the power of implementing the long-term policy.

9. The principle of self-determination in carrying out the long-term policy was foreshadowed in the declaration of October 1939 and made still more explicit in the offer of August 1940. The draft declaration brought out by Sir Stafford Cripps in March 1942 was an attempt to give a more definite content to this long-term programme so that Indians might believe in it. The Prime Minister has since affirmed in Parliament that although that offer, not having been accepted, is no longer open, His Majesty's Government have not discarded the 'Principle' of the Cripps proposals.

10. The promise of self-determination — by orderly and safe processes — therefore stands. There is no reason to suppose that politically-minded Indians really disbelieve it. It was not on this part of the proposals that the Cripps negotiations broke down. The breakdown was because the Congress (but not the Muslims) wanted a short cut to power. Constitution making on our lines has never appealed to them. They regard themselves as the only organisation entitled to step into our shoes. They are careful to pretend to represent the whole of India and their general attitude has always been 'If you want and really mean to hand over power you have only to hand it over to us: we will do the rest'. The attempts now made to belittle British promises or to throw doubt on their sincerity are really only propaganda intended to cover up Congress mistakes. They realise what a false step they have made in declaring that they will have nothing to do with any constitution in the framing of which His Majesty's Government have had any hand. It was a shock to them to find themselves taken at their word in the Cripps proposals. They knew how difficult it would be to obtain agreement among Indians if His Majesty's Government were out there to resolve their differences and bear the blame, as in the communal award. It is a curious and pathetic confession of futility to represent His Majesty's Government's willingness to accept any constitution on which Indians could agree among themselves as meaning that His Majesty's Government never intended India to have self-Government.

What can be done now to improve the prospects of the long-term policy or to receive interest in it?

11. Could the process be accelerated? This is the chief suggestion made in your press Statement. I have already mentioned the magnitude of the task, for which the requisite attention and labour could hardly be diverted from the war effort. The Cripps proposals, for instance, would involve all-India general elections on a grand scale as the first step. But even supposing that all this could be undertaken in war, the opening of such a process would at once bring to a head, in an acute form, all the controversies and rivalries which it is our object to keep dormant in war. Every source of disunity would become active and, where confidence in our assurances to minorities and the belief that decisions critical for them would be postponed have at least kept communal strife remarkably in the background during the war period there would once more be grave danger of communal disturbances. Nor would it be fair or wise to launch such an undertaking merely for the delectation of politicians not one of whom has raised a finger to help the war, while so many members of our fighting services, who have a far better right to a share in shaping India's permanent future, are absent on military service. We have the best advice that any such move would seriously affect the morale of the politically minded; there is no real country-wide demand, except from a section of the intelligentsia, for more politics at the moment, and it is better to fight one war at a time. I do not say that no conceivable turn of events could make an earlier start possible, such as agreement between the main parties combined with changes in the war situation. But that obviously cannot be reckoned upon as a solution of present difficulties.

12. Could the prospect be made more definite? — I have explained that there is nothing indefinite about our promises which does not depend on Indians themselves. It is probably true to say that it is not so much because politicians do not believe in these promises as because they do believe in them that they are out to short-circuit or sabotage the long-term policy in any way possible. There is much reason to suppose that bitterness and the sense of frustration are caused, as much as anything else, by fear of the ordeal of self-determination and the consciousness that, having declined our help, Indians by themselves may not be able to make a good job of it.

13. I do not know what can be done to make the long-term policy (without discarding any of its essentials) more palatable to politically-minded Indians. I have seen suggestions in various forms that, even if it should be reckoned only from the end of the war, a definite time limit should be guaranteed within which we should 'Quit India'. The idea is in some ways attractive. But we must remember the effect on the Army — now fighting as they think, for the Crown: we do not ourselves know what sort of future we should thus be mortgaging, or even what 'independence' will mean in the post war world: and I am afraid we must admit that the war is really no time for making irrevocable pledges the implications of which cannot now be seen. Indeed it is not the practice of His Majesty's Government at any time to make such pledges.

The Short Term Policy

14. As already explained, His Majesty's Government's policy is that whatever is done during the war must be done within the four corners of the 1935 Act. But that leaves ample scope of political parties to share in the Executive Government and do everything that the present Government of India can do. In the effort to secure their co-operation in this way the Viceroy in November 1939 offered to expand the Executive Council to include representatives of Congress and the Muslim League provided that they would resolve their differences in the provincial field in such a way as to make it possible for them to work together at the Centre.

The Congress leaders refused either to consider the offer or to enter into discussion with Mr Jinnah. Again in August 1940 the Viceroy renewed this offer, but waived the condition of agreement in the provincial field. The Congress President refused even to meet the Viceroy to discuss this offer: and it was rejected 'with pain and indignation' by the All-India Congress Committee in September 1940. The draft declaration brought out by Sir Stafford Cripps also contained a clause dealing with the short-term policy: it included an earnest invitation on behalf of His Majesty's Government for the immediate and effective participation of 'the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations'. It was in the discussion of this clause that the Congress demand came into the open — that the new Executive should be allowed to function as a fully-empowered 'Cabinet Government' with the Viceroy acting as constitutional head and accepting all decisions. This was the last-moment demand — put forward after the proposals had been under discussion for three weeks — on which the whole of the negotiations broke down. Sir Stafford Cripps put his finger at once on the implications. His reply pointed out that the suggestion was not possible without constitutional changes of a most complicated character and on a very large scale; if it were to be introduced by convention, the 'Cabinet' (so-called) would be responsible to no one but itself, could not be removed, and would in fact constitute an absolute dictatorship of the majority; and that the suggestion would be rejected by all minorities in India.

15. What lay behind this demand of the Congress? As I pointed out when speaking of their attitude towards our long-term proposals, it was only a short cut to power that ever appealed to them. They had always hoped to exploit our war embarrassments in such a way as to force us to put them in the saddle and, if necessary, hold them there by force of arms against the Muslims. But another motive which supervened when Japan came into the war was largely, or mainly, instrumental in their rejection of the Cripps offer. This was the fear that India would become a battleground and that we should be unable to defend or ultimately to hold India. They wished, therefore, by eliminating at once the control of the Viceroy under Parliament, to be in a position to get out of the war and make terms with Japan. This motive gave the urgency to the 'Quit India' cry and to the attempt to capture power by open rebellion when they thought our hands would be too full to cope with it. Not a pleasant story, but it is well established and must influence our view of Mr Gandhi and the Congress as a potential war Government.

16. After Sir Stafford Cripps' strong condemnation of the Congress counter-proposals — made, it must be remembered, by one whose competence cannot be questioned: who had every reason for wishing to make his mission a success; who had never before been accused of lack of sympathy for Indian political aspirations — it is not necessary to say much about the various feelers subsequently put out by Congress sympathizers, calling themselves by such terms as 'Non-Party leader' &c. They represent with sometimes dangerous plausibility how easy it would be, if the will were there, to establish some kind of 'National Government' by the mere use of conventions not requiring an amendment of the Act. All of them on examination prove to be no better than the Congress demand. Generally speaking, they rest on the false assumption that the British could impose a 'National Government' on India, or that the Congress could form one. 'A genuinely national Government cannot be imposed: it arises from the sinking of differences among sections of the people for the achievement, through an agency which the whole nation can trust, of a purpose known to be desired by the whole nation.'

17. There is nothing to prevent the formation of a political Government at any time by modification of the composition of the Executive Council in the sense of the offer of August 1940 and the Cripps offer, if the Congress and the Muslim League should show themselves willing to work together for the common end both at the Centre and in the Provinces. Such agreement would, however, be necessary because a political Government would obviously have no good claim to replace the present Government if only one party came in and the other stayed out and non-co-operated or obstructed. But Parliament would still remain ultimately responsible for the safety and good Government of India, and until the long-term policy can be implemented that position cannot be altered, so far as I can see.

Suggestions for Removing the 'Deadlock'

18. Apart from suggestions directly bearing on the constitutional position, various other suggestions have been put forward from time to time as offering possible means of relieving the situation, restoring goodwill or enabling Mr Gandhi and the Congress to retrace the steps which led to the recent deplorable happenings and to their own suppression. There is the suggestion put forward in your Press Statement that there should be some kind of political amnesty. There are the often repeated demands for the release of Mr Gandhi and other Congress leaders or for facilities for consultation between them. There have been requests, such as that of Mr Rajagopalachari, for permission to interview Mr Gandhi and ascertain his mind. Surprise has also been expressed that he was not allowed to open correspondence with Mr Jinnah.

19. I can deal with all these suggestions together, because they all are, or should be, governed by qualification quite properly put forward in your own statement, viz., that those concerned should be 'prepared to follow constitutional methods and to work on constructive lines'. We took action against Mr Gandhi and the Congress leaders not because they were exponents of any particular political view but because they were not prepared to follow constitutional methods and were resolved to work only on destructive lines.

20. I am not here to say hard things about Mr Gandhi and the Congress. You know their record as well as I. If any one here has not read the pamphlet 'Congress and the Axis'. I would only ask him to read it with the utmost attention, for there is not a statement made in it that is not fully documented. It would be worth your while to read afterwards the new pamphlet 'Has Congress failed', which is a careful study of the whole history of Congress and Mr Gandhi's leadership from 1918 up to the beginning of the war. I shall be surprised if you do not then agree with me that Mr Gandhi's leadership has been nothing else but a blight on India's political progress and a constant negation of constitutional methods and of work on constructive lines.

21. During the war the salient facts of his leadership have been, first, the civil disobedience movement of 1940-1 based on the slogan 'It is wrong to help the war with men or money'. It was launched at the darkest moment of the war, when Britain stood alone and British cities were being bombed. It was on its last legs when, in December 1941, Government decided to release the bulk of satyagrahi prisoners. The only response of the Congress was the Bardoli resolution of 30th December 1941 in which they reaffirmed the policy of resistance to the war effort and observed 'the recent release of a number of political prisoners has no significance or importance'. So much for the amnesty. Four months later came the famous Allahabad resolution, with its scarcely disguised pro-Japanese sentiments, followed by Mr Gandhi's 'Quit India' campaign; and then, scarcely more than seven months after the release of satyagrahi

prisoners, came the second movement, described by Mr Gandhi as 'open rebellion' and initiated by the Congress resolution of 8th August 1942, which sanctioned 'the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale' and appointed Mr Gandhi as its sole leader. This movement, like the other, was timed with reference to outside events: it was sanctioned when a Japanese invasion seemed imminent and, in the then state of our defences our resources were likely to be strained to the utmost in meeting it.

22. I have reminded you of these facts because they are too easily forgotten, at any rate by the public, at a time when things are quieter. But the Japanese still stand on our borders, and in the seas surrounding India: and considerations of elementary security demand that the country should be preserved from all risk of repetition of the methods of obstruction and coercion which are so characteristic of Mr Gandhi and the Congress until India ceases to be a base of vital military operations. This does not necessarily mean that Mr Gandhi and his followers must remain in detention until that happens; many of those who were detained are already being released, in so far as it seems possible and safe to do so. But it does mean that the ringleaders cannot be allowed to regain liberty of action, or any access to the public by which their plots might be furthered, until we are absolutely satisfied that no more danger is to be apprehended from them.

23. How that might happen must wait on actual events. It might come from Mr Gandhi: he is at no time debarred from letting Government know his attitude. But he is still the nominated leader of a rebellion and has hitherto shown no signs of any desire to resign that position — one which you will observe, depends solely on himself. Or a situation in which Government could be so satisfied might arise from outside. If, for instance, we had reason to suppose that there had been an effective revulsion of feeling among his former supporters against his unprofitable leadership; or that the public, whether from other pre-occupations or because they had found other leaders, would no longer follow him blindly in every mad and destructive course on which he might set himself; then, perhaps, it might be possible to hold that the country had been sufficiently immunized to run no further risk from exposure to infection. There are at least some signs of such development of thought even now; but none of those who have asked to see Mr Gandhi have given proof of their own good faith by stating openly what proposition they wish to put to him. There is nothing to prevent them from doing so if they are sincerely convinced of anything; and Mr Gandhi could read it in the numerous newspapers which he receives. But that they should only wish to go back to the man who has misled them all these years must naturally warrant the suspicion that their only object is to get him back into the public eye and thus to stifle those more healthy tendencies to which I have alluded.

24. At any rate you rest assured that Government have done nothing and will do nothing to arrest any developments that seem to offer a real and tangible hope of improvement in the political situation. But big issues are at stake in this matter and we must be very demons of vigilance to prevent any false or speculative moves which might do far more harm than good.

25. Finally there is the vaguest suggestion of all for ending the 'deadlock'. It usually runs something like this: 'Government has sufficiently shown its strength: it can now afford to make some generous gesture to restore goodwill'. This, I am afraid, is the product of loose thinking. It assumes either that there is no policy that matters, or that the present policy is purely vindictive or capricious. Both assumptions are, as I hope you will by this time agree, quite unfounded. It would be justifiable to reply, 'what gesture can Government make to resolve a deadlock which was not of its creation or choosing?' Those who put forward this suggestion are usually careful not to explain what they mean by it: but when it is probed, one cannot

find any other meaning than this, that the Congress should be allowed to have their way. That would indeed be putting a premium on power politics.

General Remarks on the Policy of Government

26. I am afraid all this will sound to you rather negative, rather hopeless. But I should like you to consider that this is not because His Majesty's Government have no forward, positive policy for helping India to attain self-Government, or because the Government of India have some dark design intended to prevent that policy from being carried out. The trouble has arisen simply because others, intent only on their own aims, have definitely tried to sabotage that policy. It is, as I have tried to show, a good policy, a reasonable policy and a thoroughly British policy: rather plain cooking, perhaps, for those who like fancy dishes, but still the only safe policy for a vast, amorphous and undisciplined country such as India. There is at any rate nothing Machiavellian about it: so far as I know, it is sincerely meant. We have every right to believe in it. Remembering that the responsibility is ours — wholly ours — until we have discharged it. We must rely on our own judgment and not surrender it to the interested clamour of a particular section of India's great population. There is another India, not represented by the Congress, to which we owe something. The Congress, it is true, owing to the support of Hindu 'big business' and capitalist interests, enjoy a virtual monopoly of political influence and propaganda; but we need not take them at their own valuation or allow ourselves to be stampeded into becoming their accessories.

27. It is, again, not true, if any one says it that we have not done our best to secure a settlement of these differences. The story I have told is one of effort after effort made by His Majesty's government and the Viceroy to gain the honourable co-operation of Congress leaders, who have rejected every offer because they would not compromise, would not abate one jot or tittle of our own demands. No one can know the many hours spent by the Viceroy in interviews with leaders of every section of Indian opinion, including long, long interviews, conducted in the friendliest spirit, with Mr Gandhi himself. I can say truly that it is not for want of trying that solutions more acceptable to the two great Indian parties — the Congress and their opponents the Muslim League — have not yet been found.

28. But, if we are accused of undue rigidity either in our attitude to constitutional questions or in our treatment of those who have sought to wrest the initiative from us in dealing with those questions, I should like to make one remark here. People must have time to learn a lesson: to profit by experience. No policy can lead anywhere, or command confidence, if it is constantly being changed, especially if it is changed in deference to violence and clamour. And I should like to add, if I may, that I personally have sufficient belief in the rightness of things to hold the view that a sound, consistent and intelligible policy, pursued without ill-will or vindictiveness, will not in the end lead to permanent estrangement or bitterness.

Concluding Remarks

29. If I may have your patience for a few minutes longer, I should like to make one or two concluding remarks of a more general character.

30. To me there is a curious incongruity about the fact that while British policy everywhere else in the world is unhesitatingly identified with the battle for right against wrong, for liberty against tyranny, here in India every bit of interested or hostile propaganda is so easily regarded as sufficient to place us on our defence, to make our policy suspect and to arouse misgivings about the principles by which the British are inspired in their dealings with this country. I, for

one, am quite unable to believe that the British character is capable of such violent fluctuations, and I should like your help in putting this idea across to doubters who may come to you for reassurance or guidance. I know that they, like the rest of us, are liable to be affected by environment, which is largely the product of one-sided propaganda. But we must recognise and be on guard against the counter-offensive of evil — its fifth column, as it were, which aims at disseminating the poison of doubt and defeatism.

31. It has, I am afraid, been the tendency of mankind throughout history to follow false prophets. The amount of support that they gather to themselves in their lifetime is no index of their rightness: your true prophet is more often honoured after his death. For a long time Hitler and Mussolini enjoyed the almost unanimous support of their peoples. Now, at the cost of incalculable suffering, we have to rescue those peoples and the whole world from the consequences of our own complacency. One of the manifestations of evil in the world today is the attempt of individuals and their fellow-gangsters to establish an absolute domination over the minds and wills of their countrymen for the sake of power. We must recognise and fight that evil wherever we see it. If, as I am convinced, such a tendency exists in India today, whether invested with a pseudo-religious flavour or not, we should be wrong, we should be utterly false to our trust, if we let it grow unchallenged or, for the sake of peace in our time, sought to make terms with it.

‘For if the trumpet give an uncertain voice, who shall prepare himself for battle?’

24 Regarding a Catholic Priest, Antony Ellenjittam

File No. 1/4/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Subject: Question of repatriation to India of Rev. Fr. Antony Elenjittam, of Cochin, a Catholic Priest with strong pro-Congress Sympathies.

Secret

Intelligence Bureau, Home Department

Home Department may care to see the attached note recorded by the Home authorities regarding one Rev. Fr. Antony Elenjittam who arrived in England on 18-8-42 from Rome with the intention of proceeding to India.

2. Fr. Antony Elenjittam is a resident of Thaikoodan, near Vyttili between Ernakulam and Trippunittura in the Cochin State. He was sent in 1935 by the Malampuzha Seminary to Rome to study Theology. There he joined the Dominican order and was ordained. He became Anti-British under the influence of Italia propaganda and became obsessed with an admiration for India's Nationalist leaders which undermined his loyalty to the Church.

3. As a result of his interrogation and the examination of his papers on his arrival in the U.K. in 1942, the authorities decided that Elenjittam should remain in England until the termination of the war. He was sent to one of the monastic houses of the Dominican order, Hawkesyard Priory near Rugeley, Staffordshire. Early this year he was allowed to go to Oxford where, it was considered, wider opportunities for study would make him more contented with

his lot, but where he would still be under the discipline of his order. This discipline together with the narrow ecclesiasticism against which Elenjmittam had long rebelled proved too much for him, and he cut himself adrift from the Dominicans. He is now living in London at the Y.M.C.A. in Great Russell Street. As he has no money of his own, it is not known how he is managing to subsist.

4. We have been asked by our London correspondent as to what attitude would be adopted by the Government of India if Elenjmittam were to request to be allowed to return to India. It has been suggested that now that Italy is out of the war, and is more or less an ally, the ostensible reason for keeping him in England vanishes. The Home Office is very unlikely to place him under any form of restriction for he is no longer of any interest to Security; and is regarded harmless. His liking for the Italians can no longer be regarded as of any consequence; moreover his views about the British and their war aims have undergone considerable modification as a result of a year's residence in England under War conditions. What probably have undergone no change are his strong nationalist outlook and his reverence for the Congress. He would probably have no compunction, should he be allowed to return to India, in enrolling himself as one of the followers of Gandhi. If on the other hand, he is allowed to remain in England, he may easily be drawn into Indian political circles and his facile pen might make him useful as a propagandist.

5. We should be glad to have the views of the Home Deptt. in the matter.

Signed
(G.C. Ryan)
Asst. Director (R).

Home Department (Mr Olver)

D.I.R. U/OO No. 1/A.G./40-(33), dated 25th Nov. 1943.

25 Activities of Rev. R.R. Keithahn

G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. File No. 28-P(S)/44

[NAI]

Subject: *Undesirable activities of R.R. Keithahn in Mysore and Madras.*

2. *Expenditure incurred by the Mysore Government in connection with the deportation of Rev. R.R. Keithahn and his family.*

India Office,
Whitehall,
S.W.I.

Pol. 1706/43

By Fast Air Mail (M.S.)

27th November 1943.

My dear Fitze,

We have noticed in recent fortnightly reports some references to R.R. Keithahn, the American ex-missionary who is now a Congress worker in South India; (1) see paragraph 9 of the Madras

States' report¹ for the second half of September and (2) paragraph 3(c) of the Mysore report for the first half of October².

The Mysore report mentions that Keithan has been externed from the Madras Presidency. If, as appears, it was found possible and necessary to take this action, we wonder whether it would be well to consider the possibility of finding some means of preventing him from continuing his activities in Indian States.

Yours sincerely,

Signed J.P. Cibon.

Sir K. Fitze, KCIE, ICS,
Secretary to H.E. the crown Representative,
New Delhi.

1 & 2. Not printed.

26 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

5. Optimism in regard to the war continues unabated.

The unbroken Russian successes have confirmed the expectation that the war with Germany will be over this year. The air offensive over Germany has created a profound impression of the strength of the Allies. Recent articles in the Press by journalists who had visited the Arakan front have stimulated an interest in war news from the Burma Front. More interest is also taken in events in the Pacific and the Press, in particular, is devoting more space to news from the Japanese theatres of the war than in the past. Japanese and German radio propaganda is reported to be heavily discounted and infrequently listened to.

27 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The event which aroused most interest in Press and educated circles during the fortnight was the passing of new decrees by the Supreme Soviet recognising the rights of Soviet Republics to undertake their own defence and foreign policy. This modification of the Soviet constitution was inevitably and favourably compared by Nationalist newspapers with the Imperialist policy of the British Government and its determination to defer the solution of the Indian problem until after the war. Economic affairs still occupy first place in everyday life in the Punjab.

28

Regarding Rev. Mr Keithahn

G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. File No. 28-P(S)/44

[NAI]

Correspondence

External Affairs Department,
New Delhi.

D.O. No. 1026-1/44.

The 9th February 1944.

My dear Merrell,

I enclose an aide-memoir setting out the case against the Reverend Mr Keithahn, which I mentioned to you when last we met.

The Government of India propose to take action in the sense explained at an early date, but they are anxious to afford you an opportunity of offering any observations which you may think proper on the case of this American citizen. As I explained they have taken into account the possible argument that an order of deportation would achieve for this man a position of notoriety which he might turn to account, but they have decided that his breach of a solemn undertaking must be the determining factor in the case, and that he cannot be permitted licence to pursue his course in defiance of his engagements any longer.

Yours sincerely,

Signed O.K. Caroe.

George R. Merrell, Esq.,

Secretary in charge of the Office of the Personal Representative of the President of the United States of America to India, New Delhi.

Aide-Memoire

The Reverend Ralph Richard Keithahn, M.A., B.D., who was born of German-American parents on the 29th January 1898 in Fairmont, Minnesota, first came to India in June 1927 as a member of the American Mission at Madura, Madras, control of which vests in the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, Massachusetts.

On the 10th July 1930 the American Madura Mission passed a resolution declaring that the Reverend Keithahn had not observed the pledge, given by each member of the Mission before beginning work in India, to maintain an attitude of neutrality towards all political movements, and that the Mission desired publicly and unanimously to dissociate themselves from such of his activities as constituted a breach of that pledge. Mr Keithahn left India shortly afterwards, of his own accord.

2. In 1932 the International Missionary Council in London let it be known that Mr Keithahn wished to return to India, to which the Government of India replied that they would place no obstacle in his way provided he gave a written assurance that he would not take part in

political activities. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, however, did not favour Mr Keithahn's return to India at that time, giving no indication of the reason which prompted their attitude.

3. In November 1934, Mr Keithahn made formal application for a visa to enable him to return to Madura with his family, his application being supported by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was granted a visa for India on the 15th January 1935, on his signing the undertaking of which a copy is attached hereto.

Mr Keithahn and his family arrived to the Madras Presidency in March 1935 but subsequently moved to Bangalore, where Mr Keithahn joined the Social workers Settlement.

4. In 1941, Mr Keithahn began once more actively to interest himself in politics. He became Secretary of the Kodaikanal Ashram Fellowship, entered into correspondence with Indian political leaders and began to take a leading part in the organisation of Students' Conferences, in the course of which he has openly propagated pacifist views and, incidentally, acknowledged pride in his German descent. Latterly his activities have intensified, and in three successive months in 1943 he opened the All Kerala Students National Organisation Conference at Calicut (the proceedings concluding with a resolution to stage anti-Government demonstrations), presided at a Students conference at Guntur, organised a training camp in Mysore for members of the National Students' Organisation (affiliated to the Congress Party) and attended a meeting convened with the expressed object of mobilizing public opinion in favour of the release from detention of certain members of the Congress Party. Some of the remarks made by Mr Keithahn in his public speeches are recorded in the second document annexed hereto.

5. Great patience has been shown, in spite of the War conditions, in allowing Mr Keithahn to continue his activities for so long in flagrant breach of his written undertaking. The Government of India are now reluctantly compelled however to the view that their forbearance must end, and they propose accordingly to deport Mr Keithahn. They consider also that it would contribute to the war-effort of the United Nations if Mr Keithahn were kept under surveillance on his return to the United States.

Undertaking (Copy)

I hereby undertake to give all due obedience and respect to the lawfully constituted Government, and, while carefully abstaining from participation in political affairs, it is my desire and purpose that my influence, in so far as it may be properly exerted in such matters, should be so exerted in loyal co-operation with the Government; and, in particular, if engaged in educational work, I undertake to do all in my power to promote good-will and understanding between the people and the Government of the Country, and to make those under my care law-abiding and good citizens.

Signed

Ralph R. Keithahn,

Date: October 20, 1934.

A few of the more salient remarks made by Mr Keithahn in his speeches at Student's Conferences.

He exhorted students to study their national programme, so that they might take a correct leadership in this revolutionary age, he characterized Mr Gandhi as the world's greatest Leader, and declared that Indian students wanted freedom to think, act and live like free men.

He himself was of German descent and was proud of it.

America had great sympathy for India's cause and he wished Americans and Indian could come into closer contact.

He compared Mr Gandhi to various religious leaders, in that he brought a new light to the world; Gandhi was right in saying that India could achieve independence through the spinning wheel. He was confident that the programme of the Students National Organisation would take them to their goal.

He knew that the Students' organisation was a powerful force. The enthusiasm among students, especially in South India, showed the possibilities of a tremendous youth movement much better organised for a national constructive programme. It was because of that apparent possibility that he was taking an interest in the student movement. Students should realise their responsibilities to build a new nation and a new order. He realized that a revolutionary change had taken place by the Satyagraha movement.

India was in bondage, and it was a matter of serious concern to think that India and many other parts of the world were still in bondage to those United Nations which professed to fight for freedom.

(Another speaker accused President Roosevelt, Mr Churchill, 'and even Hitler' of holding back the 'reigns of peace', in the speakers' view non-violence was the only hope for the world).

28-A: Rev. R.R. Keithahn offered a hearing

G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. File No. 28-P(S)/44
[NAI]

Political Department
New Delhi.

D.O. No. D. 1355-P/44.

Dated the 13th March 1944.

To
The Hon'ble Lt. Col. D. de M.S. Fraser. C.I.E.,
Resident in Mysore.

My dear Fraser,

Please refer to Burnett's D.O. Letter No. D50/P-44, dated the 19th January 1944, regarding the Rev. R.R. Keithahn.

2. Since that letter was written, the Central Government have informed us that they have decided to deport Mr Keithahn from India but that in deference to the wishes of the American Mission here and as a special case, in view of his close connection with an important Congressional organisation in Boston, they have agreed to give him a hearing before the decision is finally enforced.

It is understood that Mr Keithahn is still in the Mysore State. The Home Department have, therefore, approached us with a request that you will give him a personal hearing on the basis of the enclosed statement of charges.

3. I also enclose for your own information another note explaining in more detail the nature of those charges.

4. We should be grateful if you would kindly call upon Mr Keithahn to show cause why he should not be deported for the reasons given in the statement and forward a copy of his explanation to us for further action.

5. It will of course be necessary to obtain the co-operation of the Mysore Govt. in his deportation after his explanation has been received and considered, but there will presumably be no difficulty over this and we will address you further in due course in regard to the actual arrangements to be concerned between them and the Govt. of Bombay.

Yours sincerely,

Signed L.C.L. Griffin,
Political Secretary.

29: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Delhi for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The recent Anglo-American – Irish differences on the subject of the removal of the German and Japanese Embassies in Dublin was the other subject discussed. While the *Statesman* endorsed the view point of Great Britain and America, the *National Call* and the *Dawn* supported the stand taken by Eire. 'The Dawn said 'Axis and Allied diplomats' move cheek by jowl in Libson and Stockholm. If Dublin prefers not to discriminate, who shall blame her?' The *National Call* considered this yet another diplomatic reverse for the Allies and tried to justify the stand taken by Eire on the ground that Great Britain had not so far conceded the Irish demand for the amalgamation of Ulster with Eire.

30: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Rumours that the American Army is to establish a rest camp in Darjeeling have caused anxiety owing to the extreme shortage there of such everyday necessities as water and electric supply, fuel, soap and foodstuffs. The fact that the American Army has taken over a portion of the Bengal and Assam Railway has given rise to some suspicion as to the intentions of the Americans towards India after the war. Similar suspicions have been roused by a so far unsubstantiated rumour that the United States Forces are taking fifteen-year leases of certain Calcutta properties.

31: V.M. Tarkunde to M.N. Roy

M.N. Roy Papers – M.F. Roll No. 2
[NMML]

1st May 1944

My dear Comrade Roy,

Karnik, Maniben & Khan left on the 29th April. They were all well and in good spirits. Your letter to Karnik reached today and I am forwarding it to London by Air Mail. I learn that none of the copies of the Peoples Plan could go with Karnik as the censor, to whom they were submitted three days beforehand, did not pass them in time. I will know more definitely about this today. In the meantime I am sending 5 copies of the plan to Pillai's address by Air Mail.

The pamphlet on the Indian Gallup Poll was also printed in time for Karnik to take some copies along. I do not know whether they were also kept back by the censor. A copy of the pamphlet will go to Pillai by Air Mail. I am also sending some copies of the Delhi office. Unfortunately the get up of the pamphlet is bad, and the pamphlet was printed even before the blocks of photos were ready. This was done contrary to instructions, and hence the pamphlet does not contain any photos.

I have sent a draft of my speech for the I.I.¹ and a summary for the *Vanguard*. I am also sending to the *Vanguard* as well as the Reception Committee of the conference the message left by Karnik. Karnik & I had planned to draft a resolution on the Constitutional progress of India and the nature of Indo-British relations, for the use of our delegation at the London Conference. The resolution, however, could not be drafted as Karnik left a day earlier than expected. Karnik, therefore, suggested that the I.F.L.² executive should draft a resolution at Jharia and send it by Air graph to London as well as give it publicity in India.

More than a month back, I had written 5 short articles on the Bombay Plan for the *Morning Standard* which had asked for them. The articles, however, have not been returned, probably because negotiations are going on for the purchase of the paper by Birla. I am sending the articles to the *Sunday Observer*. A copy is enclosed.³

Nothing is yet decided about the Presidentship of the Karnatak Conference. Naik had written that I should preside. But I know most of the comrades personally. They want a person who will be able to impress the middle class intellectuals. If you think of anybody, kindly inform Naik accordingly.

Parikh, Mrs Parikh & I will leave Bombay on the 3rd with heartiest greetings to both.

Yours sincerely,

Signed

V.M.T.

P.S. Maniben's car will be available to you during your stay in Bombay.

1. 'Independent India'.

2. Indian Federation of Labour.

3. Not printed.

32: Regarding Rev. R.R. Keithahn – Letter from Keithahn to the Government

G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. File No. 28-P(S)/44
[NAI]

156 Bannarghatta Road,
Bangalore City,
May 31, 1944.

Dear Sir,

I have read very carefully your letter of the 17th¹ May, D.O. No. F. 261/1940 and have done my utmost to understand the implications of the points you have raised therein. No reasons were given of my externment from Madras. Therefore I am happy to have specific reasons given and an opportunity to respond to same. This alone can work for understanding and co-operation. Let me reply without any reservation of mind.

1. You refer to the written undertaking I was required to give 'in 1935' as a condition precedent to the grant of a visa for India. I can say with a clear conscience that I have done nothing against that undertaking. Rather I have done much to carry out that promise. I have always been a law abiding citizen both in America and India. I have not participated in any political movement. I have done what lay in my power to promote goodwill and understanding between the Government and the people. This was impossible without an understanding of the people and what deeply moved them towards legitimate national aspirations. Most of the points now raised against me show that it was my endeavour to understand the mind of the people that is now brought up as my offense in various forms and colours. When the Madras Government externed me from the Province I submitted quietly to the order even until this time though I was convinced it was most unjust and though it interfered seriously with such constructive work as I have done since I came to India in 1935 at the Kodaikanal Ashram Fellowship. Thus even under provocation I tried to co-operate in the spirit that I felt was expected of me. But allow me to meet the various points raised against me in the order in which they occur in your letter:

2(a) It is wrong to say that I have taken an active interest in politics since 1941 if it is meant that I have actively participated in politics. It is true I have corresponded with political leaders but not as such, correspondence included letters to Congressmen, Muslim Leagues and Christian leaders. My single idea has been to help in an understanding among the parties and communities concerned, help in even more to work for reconciliation wherever there was misunderstanding as between the religious communities. Such work has been done at the Kodaikanal Ashram and in the International Fellowship. In my view such efforts are a most sacred duty incumbent upon all disciples of the Christ who work in India today and are in harmony with my promise 'to promote goodwill and harmony between the people and the Government'. Moreover, I laboured under the conviction that the lawfully constituted Government in India would not and could not object to it.

2(b) You charge me with having attended a meeting at some unspecified time and place which was convened for mobilizing public opinion in favour of the release of Congress leaders.

This charge is wholly unfounded. But for an American citizen like me there is a world of meaning in the eyes of the Government of India, an offense punishable by deportation. This is another of the charges which makes me sad and fill me with wonder.

2(c) (Reg. Approving references to the methods adopted by the Congress Party by Keithahn.) This charge is even more vague and how can I ever disprove it when it is so vague. If you have in mind any reference from me regarding the value of positive and active suffering love against Japanese aggression etc., then it is for you to point out to me quite exactly those references in order to enable me to defend myself against any possible misinterpretation. And certainly, if you refer to the use of 'Truth', it is against the terrible and unblinking use of falsehood for one's own ends that we are fighting today in Nazism. If it is what I call the 'Way of the Cross', termed 'ahimsa' by India. This 'ahimsa' by India, then again if I remember rightly, it was Mr Churchill himself who pointed out in 1939 that no one could expect real victory with methods of warfare. All would lose. I assume that meant non-violent or non-destructive methods ought to be used to settle our differences. I believe that is the declared aim of the Allied Nations.

3(a) You charge me with openly propagating pacifist views in some students' conference. Nor can I truthfully plead guilty even to this charge. Though I am a firm believer in peace and the Christian outlook which considers all wars as a negation of the Christian way of life and of constructive nation building, I am not a pacifist. It is my faith that pacifism is merely a philosophy of negation and is not vital enough for present day life. I go much farther than the pacifist and accept the position that suffering, self-less love should be an active and creative corrector of the present day terrible violence in the world. It is therefore impossible that I should propagate pacifist views at any students' conference. Are not the leaders of the war themselves already planning the structure of what they hope may be a durable peace for the future of the world. As a worker, inspired by a Jesus Christ, nothing in your charges fills me with greater sorrow than this particular one even if wrongly made.

3(b) At the All-Kerala Students conference to which you refer please accept my assurance that no resolution to 'stage anti-Government demonstrations' was passed. On the other hand, at that conference and at all subsequent contacts with students my chief aim was the very opposite: that of directing the awakened student consciousness into wholly constructive channels.

3(c) Your final charge is that I openly 'stated that India was in bondage'. This is also a vague and general charge. Moreover, you do not state where and when I made such a statement. Even so is it crime to make such a statement? Have not Government spokesmen in Delhi and London repeatedly said that it was a lack of unity in India which stands in the way of India's freedom, meaning thereby that there is the absence of that freedom today. Was not the Cripps offer itself not made to show India a way out of her present subjection? Have not even such men as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri and numerous other Indian leaders of all parties and creeds, other than the Congress, repeated it *ad nauseum* that India is not a free country and should be made a free country without delay. I request therefore to be informed even if I referred to India as being in bondage, how I have committed a crime against the law for which I am now threatened to be deported.

Let me in conclusion try to make my position clear. I am first of all and always a constructive village worker. Tackling the problem of the village I naturally seek the co-operation of all: Hindu, Muslim and Christian; high and low, Government and the public. I can give numberless examples how I have co-operated fully with the Government of Mysore, even in the critical

days of 1942. I believe I have their confidence. If it were not so, I would have taken an active part in the 1942 struggle. Rather I held aloof, although I had been working with students. And at the time, officials of the Government called me in with others for informal discussion as to what might be helpfully done to mend the serious situation in Mysore. The students were not in a mood for constructive work and naturally I held aloof. Nevertheless I felt a deep sense of responsibility. And when an opportunity came in 1943 to guide students into constructive channels I felt it was my duty to respond and make some contribution in a difficult situation. My undertaking demanded such response.

But, undertaking or no undertaking, I consider myself a friend in obligation to the British people:

1. They have given me my loyal co-partner in life;
2. One strain of their religious life has made deep impression upon my own;
3. Some of my most loyal and helpful friends in India are British. Hence it is natural that my position has always been that Indian and British, for their mutual welfare, must work out their problems together. And that together they might demonstrate to the world how the East and West could co-operate creatively. I have often said this openly to British friends.

I have never taken any active part in politics. But I have not closed my ears or my mind to all that has taken place around me. I have never felt that as a worker under Christ, the Prince of peace, in India I should do nothing to understand the people and their burdens. Only then could I effectively promote goodwill and understanding between the people and the Government of the country.

More than that, as an American I am an active and co-operating friend of the British on the present great struggle against fascism in Europe and the new Imperialism of Japan in Asia. I believe Mr Roosevelt and Mr Churchill when they say that they are fighting this terrible war at so great a cost for the preservation of Democracy in the world and for what we would call the Christian way of life. I believe that the Freedom of India is a part of the cause of Democracy in the world as British leaders themselves have maintained. I believe that it is my duty, not a political agitator, but as a constructive worker, in the village, to help in the solution of the tremendous problem of India's freedom. That is the whole of my outlook and purpose without any addition or subtraction from the truth. I am willing to be judged on that issue in this matter. If I have to pay a price for it I shall gladly do so knowing that I have done nothing except carry out the will and spirit of the Christ as it was given me to know in relation to my Christian duty to the country of my adoption.

I do pray that the Government of India may be able to take the larger view and trust that I also am a loyal and sincere partner in what I conceive to be struggle of the United Nations against falsehood injustice and devastating wars. May each one of us patiently seek to understand the mind and spirit of one another and seek that fuller co-operation that alone can bring us real Victory. I am at your service in this regard at all times.

Yours faithfully,

Signed
Ralph Richard Keithahn

33: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

2. It is noticeable that newspapers seize with avidity on all items that suggest differences – either present or to come – between the U.S.A. and Great Britain and give them special publicity.

Much has been made of the alleged intrigues of American Big Business to obtain control of the airways of the world, to have the biggest merchant navy in the world and to capture the oil resources of the world.

It is also suggested that the U.S.A. will insist on obtaining facilities to exploit the British Empire and India in particular.

However, India, unlike Canada and Australia, is said to fear and dislike American domination.

34: Rev. R.R. Keithahn's case – Further letter from Keithahn to Government

G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. File No. 28-P(S)/44

[NAI]

7th June 1944.

The Resident,
Bangalore (C&M Station).

Dear Sir,

On June 1st I replied to several allegations made against me by the Government of India through your kind offices. That the issue may be clear and that we may work to understanding I make the following further brief statement which I hope you will forward to the Government of India.

Humanity is one. We have yet to realise our calling through the great constructive forces of pioneering Truth and creating, selfless Love. For the last 20 years I have devoted myself humbly to this great task among India's needy.

The world is locked in a terrible, destructive struggle which all of us pray may issue into a lasting period of lasting peace when constructive forces of Goodness may work freely among all peoples. I trust that the Allied Nations are striving towards this end.

But having no faith in methods of violence naturally I cannot join in or endorse the present violent struggle. However, that places special responsibility upon me to work devotedly with the creative forces of Truth and Suffering Love, in which I do firmly believe, for the realization of Universal freedom and peace as has already been declared the aim of the Allied Nations.

The call to work for me does not lie in the political field, but in the building of True

Community. It is in this constructive work for a free and pioneering humanity that I take my stand and would be judged.

Yours sincerely,

Signed Ralph Richard Keithahn.

35 Rev. R.R. Keithahn's case — Correspondence between officials

G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. File No. 28-P(S)/44
[NAI]

Secret
Bangalore

D.O. No. F. 261/40

29th July 1944.

My dear Vedavyasacharya,

I am desired to refer to the correspondence ending with your Confidential demi-official letter No. Camp 3/CB dated the 8th July 1944.¹ The Bombay Government have now intimated that they have received a deportation order for Keithahn from the Government of India, and are ready for his reception. The following arrangements are suggested:

- (1) The Government of Mysore should issue an order externing Keithahn from the State and at the same time under Section 2(1)(a) of the Restriction and Detention (Emergency) Act 1944 prescribe the date and time at which he should leave and the route by which he should travel.
- (2) He should be given a reasonable time, say a fortnight from the date of the order, to pack up his belongings and prepare himself to leave.
- (3) To ensure that he knows the position and does not leave anything behind hoping to be able to send for it later, he should be told unofficially that as soon as he reaches Bombay territory he will be served with a deportation order and will be required to leave India.
- (4) Since he has already been externed from the Madras Presidency he cannot travel by the Guntakal route. The route prescribed should therefore be the Bangalore-Harihar Poona-Bombay line. It is being suggested to Bombay that he should be met by the Bombay Police at the border. He should therefore travel from Bangalore city to the border under Mysore police surveillance so that he can be officially handed over to the Bombay Police there.
- (5) As soon as the order is issued by the Mysore Government two copies may kindly be sent to this Residency immediately, so that one of them may be forwarded to the Bombay Government for making necessary arrangements at their end.
- (6) Keithahn's passport and those of his family may be forwarded to this Residency with renewal application if necessary, for necessary action.
- (7) The way into Coorg the only other avenue of escape has been barred by a Government of India order.

2. If you can think of any points not covered by the above I should be grateful if you would kindly let me know.

Green has been asked to discuss the matter in detail with Somappa on Monday.

Yours sincerely,

Signed A.E. Drake.

1. Not printed.

36 Rev. R.R. Keithahn's case — Correspondence between officials

G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. File No. 28-P(S)/44
[NAI]

Confidential

No. F. 261/1940

From
The Hon'ble Lt. Col. D. de M.S. Fraser, C.E.I.,
C.I.E., Resident in Mysore.

To
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Political and Services Department, Bombay Castle.

Dated, Bangalore 2nd August 1944

Subject: The Rev. R.R. Keithahn.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your letter No. 8163/34-A dated the 24th July¹ 1944 and to enclose for your information a copy of a letter which has been sent to the Mysore Government², showing the arrangements which will be made at this end for removing Keithahn. As soon as the Mysore Government have issued their order, you will be informed of the date on which he may be expected in Bombay Presidency.

2. It is suggested that suitable orders should be issued by the Bombay Government to ensure that he travels from the border to Bombay by a predetermined route. From what I know of him, he is likely otherwise to cause considerable trouble. It is suggested also that censorship of his postal and telegraphic correspondence should be imposed for the period he remains in the Presidency — he has been subject to interception orders under the Post Office and telegraphs Acts for some time here.

3. It is assumed that the Bombay Government will arrange for his sea passage. But the Government of India appears to have overlooked his family. He has a wife and three children a girl of 12, a boy of 10 and a girl of 5. It is not known for certain whether he will take them with him; his wife has been associated with him in his activities, and he might try and leave

her behind to maintain his contacts. On the other hand his mission will almost certainly refuse to maintain her in India after he leaves, and must know this. His intentions will be ascertained after the Mysore order is served on him, and if he shows any signs of not taking her with him, the Government of India will be informed and an externment order from Mysore State will be served on his wife also. It may therefore be assumed that the whole family will require sea passages, and they may be booked accordingly.

4. Please let me know if any points of difficulty in these arrangements occur to you.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Signed
D.M. Fraser,
Lt. Colonel,
Resident in Mysore

1. Not printed.
2. Not printed

37: Rev. R.R. Keithahn's case — Keithahn's letter to Inspector General of Police

G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. File No. 28-P(S)/44
[NAI]

Copy of a representation dated 6/8/1944 from Mr R.R. Keithahn, No. 156-Bannarghatta Road, Bangalore City, to the Inspector-General of Police in Mysore, Bangalore.

Dear Friend,

Para. A

In regard to the notice served on me pertaining to my leaving Mysore on the 17th evening, via. Harihar, it is now decided that the family will go with me. We understand that the Government is making all arrangement.

- (a) For transport to the Railway station of ourselves and luggage;
- (b) For arrangements for travel on the train;
- (c) For food and other necessary arrangements on route.

Para. B

There are two complications which we would like to bring to your kind attention:

- (1) The time allotted for packing and making all my necessary arrangements in the organisations in which I hold responsible positions is all too short. I therefore request that another two weeks be kindly granted and that we leave Mysore on the night of September 1st.

- (2) Our warm clothing and other personal possessions are at the Kodaikanal Ashram. Therefore, I request that the Government of Mysore kindly secure permission from the Government of Madras for my proceeding to Kodaikanal to secure same.

Para. C

There is another matter which concerns us and that is as to what we may plan for after we reach Harihar:

- (1) Are we to understand that all arrangements are to be made for our transport to and stay in Bombay? We have been told that sometimes it is impossible to secure transport for two or three months. Whatever that may be, is to be understood that we are to be cared for while waiting for transport?

Our three children are in school and if there is a long wait in Bombay it would be better for them to remain in school until time of sailing.

- (2) Are we to understand that all arrangements for transport to the U.S.A. are to be arranged? I ask this with a sense of responsibility.

We do not receive regular monthly income. Hence, if financial responsibility is involved on me an route I must try to arrange for same. Are we to understand that the Government of India is assuming all financial responsibility.

I send herewith our old and cancelled passport with 3 copies of passport pictures duly signed.

Our children are of the following ages:

Mearl Marie	12
Richard Kagawa	10
Ruth Kirhbai	5

With much gratitude for your kind co-operation.

Yours Sincerely

Signed Ralph Richard Keithahn.



38 Resident, Mysore State to Government of India, Rev. R.R. Keithahn's case (contd)

G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. File No. 28-P(S)/44
[NAI]

Confidential
M.F. – 261/1940.

From
Resmys,
Bangalore.

To
Polindia,
New Delhi.

Dated, Bangalore, 8th August 1944.

Express Letter

Reference correspondence ending with your secret demi-official letter No. F. 28-P(S)/44, dated the 19th July¹ 1944.

2. As soon as I heard from the Government of Bombay, I asked the Government of Mysore to issue an externment order for Keithahn, and they did so fixing August 17th. To make clear the arrangements contemplated for getting him to Bombay I enclose copies of my letter² to the Government of Mysore and the Government of Bombay.

3. As soon as the order was served on Keithahn and he was informed that he was to be deported from India, he made a representation to the Inspector General of Police in Mysore. I enclose a copy of this representation,³ and make the following comments:

Paragraph A: Keithahn's first reaction was to wish to leave his family here. For the reasons given in my letter to Bombay (copy enclosed) this is undesirable. It is possible that the decision to take them which he has now announced may be a trick, and he may intend to change his mind at the last moment. To be on the safe side it appears desirable that a deportation order should be issued against his wife as well.

Paragraph A(a) and (b): The Mysore Government are being asked to make these arrangements. They will probably ask for their expenses to be refunded by the Government of India, and presumably there would be no objection to this.

Paragraph A(c): It is by no means clear that Keithahn is in such financial difficulties that he cannot afford incidental expenses of the journey to Bombay. The Mysore Government are being asked to make enquiries on this point and if necessary to give him a reasonable cash advance on the assumption that it will be refunded by the Government of India.

Paragraph B(1): This request is not unreasonable under the circumstances and the Mysore Government are being asked to extend the term of their order until the 1st September.

Paragraph B(2): The Government of Madras are being addressed to give the necessary permission.

Paragraph C(1): It will presumably be necessary to provide Keithahn and his family with free living accommodation and to pay their necessary expenses while they are held up in Bombay. Whether the expenditure involved will be met by the Bombay Government or the Government of India or eventually recovered from his Mission in the U.S.A. is a matter for the decision of the Government of India. To allow him to leave his children behind would involve unnecessary complications and I think he should be told that it is not possible.

Paragraph C(2): Presumably the answer is that all arrangements for transport to the U.S.A. will be made, and that Keithahn will have no financial responsibility until he arrives in America. Again how the expenditure is to be eventually met is a decision for the Government of India.

4. I should be grateful for your immediate instructions on the above points. The Bombay Government may also be informed of what is decided.

The issue of the above has been authorized.

Signed Ltd.
Secretary to the Resident.

Copy with copy of enclosure 3 to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

-
1. Not printed.
 2. Not printed.
 3. Doc. 37

39 British Labour Party leaders criticism of Govt. Policy — Report from office of the Chief Press Adviser

File No. 3/28/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Copy of an extract from a message from Kelkar to the *Free Press Journal*, Bombay, dated 10.8.1944.

'Commenting on the latest development in Bombay Reginald Sorensen, Sir Richard Maxton, Fenner Brockway said they were horrified by Government decision to arrest the volunteers¹ who were only going to pray, sing, and salute. British progressive public opinion is shocked at Government high handed news in arresting the volunteers for anticipating their recitation of the "Quit India" resolution. They are puzzled over Government's decision since Gandhi clearly stated the resolution would not be recited by the volunteers'.

H.D.Dy. No. 5666/44 - Poll (I) dated 11.8.44.

Forwarded to Home Dept. as requested.

Home Dept. (Sir Richard Tottenham)
S.P.A. U/o No. 5678/44 dated 10/8

1. The volunteers had assembled for a symbolic demonstration in connection with the observance of August 8.
- Ed.

40: News item in *The Hindustan Times* dt 10.8.1944 about meetings in London

File No. 3/28/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Meetings in London

(From Our Correspondent)

LONDON, August 9 – Acting on Mahatma Gandhi's suggestions Indian organisations here are holding symbolic demonstrations today to mark the anniversary of the Congress leaders arrest on August 9, 1942.

An East End meeting is going to demand, firstly, the release of Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad and other Congressmen; secondly, the termination of the political deadlock in the light of Gandhi's proposals; and, thirdly, immediate establishment of a National Government in India.

Another meeting has been called in the West End which is scheduled to deal with the 'Quit India' Resolution.

Responsible political circles in London are inclined to believe that Indian prisoners will be released shortly.

It is hinted that the Government might adopt the procedure of releasing the provincial leaders first, then the ex-Ministers, to be followed by the release of some members of the Working Committee.

An India Office spokesman was inclined to be non-committal when pressed for more precise information about the reported move for the release of Indian Congressmen. 'We do not know', he averred. 'There is no change in the situation; but as Mr B.G. Kher' has been released, similarly the release of others depend on the prisoners themselves'.

According to news from America, the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, has been approached on the occasion of the second anniversary of the arrest of the Congress leaders, with an appeal signed by 110 prominent demanding the release of the Indian leaders and the ending of the deadlock.

London Press Comment

London Press comments on Gandhiji's latest statements appear critical, according to Reuter's messages.

'Mr Gandhi's own suggestions' says *The Times*, 'may well gain in clarity from the scrutiny to which Mr Jinnah will doubtless subject them in the approaching conversations.'

The Glasgow Herald discussing the second anniversary of the 'Quit India' resolution says: 'Mr Gandhi beyond doubt has come round to desire for a settlement, while the *Scotsman* avers'. 'It would be a great political achievement if Mr Gandhi and the Congress could effect an enduring agreement with the Muslim League, for the division between these two bodies is the chief obstacle to the development of Indian self-Government.'



41 Government of India to the Government of Bombay

File No. 3/28/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

D.O. No. 3/28/44 - Poll(I),
Home Department,
New Delhi

14th August, 1944.

My dear Iengar,

Your telegram 21P, dated August 12th.¹ I find that the Press message from which we quoted in our telegram of August 11th was from Telkar² to the *Free Press Journal*, Bombay. If the message was not published in that paper or elsewhere (I have not seen it myself in the *Hindustan Times*), the need for a Press Note was certainly reduced. In any case, it was obviously a question on issuing something immediately or not at all. Apart, however, from Kelkar's message dated August 10th³ (which, incidentally, was despatched *after* our official comment⁴ to which you refer, must have reached London), we have noticed attempts in the *Hindustan Times* and other papers to question the legality of your arrests and to suggest that the people were let off because they had committed no offence for which they could be prosecuted. There was also Fenner Brockway's statement dated August 10th, which was reproduced in India on August 11th, that the Bombay arrests for symbolic demonstrations was a courageous act. There were clear grounds, therefore, for believing that, 'in spite of our official comment', attempts to misrepresent the action of the Bombay Government had by no means been abandoned, and from that point of view we consider it most regrettable that the Bombay Government should not have seen its way to complying with our suggestion. The points that might have been made were.

- (a) That there was no foundation for the suggestion that there was to be no attempt to recite the quit India Resolution, as might have been proved by publishing the application made to your Commissioner of Police,
- (b) That the Bombay Government could not have been expected to accord official sanction to the recitation in a most public place of the very Resolution the passing of which by the A.I.C.C. led to the declaration of that body as an unlawful association and the arrests on its leaders two years ago,
- (c) That anyhow the permission required by the law had been refused and the offence which the arrested persons had committed and for which they could have been prosecuted was simply disobedience of a lawful order; and
- (d) That those who seek to justify open defiance of the law on the plea of the 'symbolic' character of the offence, while condemning as outrageous similar action on the part of the authorities in making the arrests, merely invited ridicule upon themselves and their followers.

2. The situation, as you suggest, may be well understood in Bombay, but a Press note on

some such lines would have had a wide circulation both inside and outside India and would have served to counter the sort of mischievous attempts that were being made to discredit Government as a whole and the Bombay Government in particular.

Yours sincerely,

Signed R. Tottenham.

H.V.R. Iengar, Esquire,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay
Home Department (Spl), Council Hall, Poona.

1. Not printed.
2. Kelkar is spelt Talker in the same letter. 'Kelkar' is the right name. — Ed.
3. Doc. 39.

42 Regarding Rev. R.R. Keithahn

G.O.I. Pol. Secret Dept. File No. 28-P(S)/44
[NAI]

Confidential
1594-P

Telegram R.

From Polindia, New Delhi.

To Resident, Mysore.

No. 1594-P

Dated the 22nd August 1944 (Tod 1600)

Express

Reference your Express Letter No. F.21/6/1940 August 8th 1944 regarding Keithahn¹.

2. You should please proceed with Keithahn on assumption that he will be taking his wife and children with him to America and inform him that expenses which will be borne by Central Government will be confined to his railway fare Bombay and his passage America but Bombay Government will assist obtaining passages for wife and family on same boat as himself. He may also be informed that if he left his family behind he would not be allowed return India on pretext of seeing them or taking them back to America. To avoid expenses residence Bombay over possible prolonged period Keithahn and family should remain Bangalore until shortly before actual sailing. Bombay Government will be asked inform you direct and sufficiently in advance of date they should leave State. Provided they have not left by September 1st Mysore Government should be asked give further extension to Keithahn by amending their externment order to provide for him leave state on date to be fixed subsequently by their I.G.P.² This may be fixed after intimation likely sailing date received from Bombay Government.

3. If on hearing orders mentioned above Keithahn replies he financially unable meet costs railway journey passages or wife family and you are satisfied this is genuine, please inform this Department immediately so that the Central Government can decide whether externment orders should be served on wife which would involve Central Government meeting journey and passage expenses of whole family.

4. If, however, Keithahn now accepts orders in para. 2 above without demur but at last moment on point of departure he will not or is financially unable take his wife family with him, Mysore Government should be asked by you issue forthwith externment order on them also and pay for railway journey Bombay, with Bombay Government and this Department being informed by you of action taken as soon as possible afterwards.

5. All expenses incurred by Mysore Government on lines mentioned above will be refunded by Central Government.

1. Doc. 38

2. Inspector General of Police.

43 American–British perception on South East Asia – Extracts from R.G. Casey's Diary (dt 20.9.1944)

R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 78

[NMML]

September 20th

Group Capt. Bell called. He works closely with Denning at SAC, SEA. Evidently the Americans are being very difficult in that they will not co-operate with us in this theatre in any way that would lay them open to the charge that Americans were 'helping to regain colonies for British Imperialism. May be this is Election Year stuff. Denning thinks so, but I am afraid it is deeper than this. Mountbatten has had to swallow indignities at the hands of *Stillwell*. I'm told that *Stillwell* (Deputy to Mountbatten) went back to Washington lately, without saying a word to Mountbatten about his going. The Americans affect to believe that we're pursuing some nefarious political ends in the Far East. Individual senior American officers say that have had their 'orders'. I remember that *John Davies* (Political Adviser to *Stillwell*) said to me in Cairo in November last that he thought 'it would be better if Americans were not asked to participate with the British in the retaking of British colonies such as Malaya'.

44

News item in *Hindustan Times* (dt 14.11.1944)

Rajagopalachari Papers
[NAI – Acc. No. 1426]

Phillips Letter to Roosevelt

NEW YORK, Nov. 12. The following is the text, according to Drew Pearson, of the letter which Ambassador William Phillips wrote to President Roosevelt in the spring of 1943.

Dear Mr President,

Mr Gandhi has successfully completed his fast and the only result of it has been increasing bitterness against the British among large sections of the people. The Government has handled the case from a legalist's point of view 'Mr Gandhi is enemy' and must not be allowed to escape from his just punishment, and at all costs British prestige must be maintained.

The Indians look at it from a different angle. Mr Gandhi's followers regard him as semi divine and worship him. Millions who are not his followers look upon him as the foremost Indian of the day and that since he was never given an opportunity to defend himself it was a case of persecution of the old man who had suffered much for a cause which every Indian has at heart—freedom for India. So, presumably, Mr Gandhi comes out of the struggle with enhanced reputation and moral force.

British Interests

The general situation as I see it today is as follows. From the British point of view their position is not unreasonable. They have been in India for 150 years and, except for the Mutiny in 1857, generally speaking, internal peace has been maintained. They have acquired vast vested interests in the country and fear that their withdrawal from India would jeopardize those interests. Great cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras have been built up largely through their initiative. They have guaranteed the regime of the princes who control territorially about one-third of the country and one-fourth of the population of India. They realise that new forces are gathering throughout the world which affect their hold over India and they have, therefore gone out of their way, so they believe, to offer freedom to India as soon as there are signs that Indians themselves can form a secure Government.

"This the Indian leaders have not been able to do and the British feel they have done all they can in the circumstances. Behind the door is Mr Churchill who gives the impression that personally he prefers not to transfer any power to the Indian Government either before or after the war and believes, that the status quo should be maintained. . . .

Unfortunately as the time for the end of the war approaches the struggle for political prestige and power between parties has increased and this has made it more difficult than ever, for the leaders willing to reach a compromise or agreement. And sixty thousand Congress supporters are, further more, Mr Gandhi and all Congress leaders, not to mention fifty, in Jail. The Congress is the strongest party and there is no one available to speak for it. There is thus a complete deadlock and I should imagine the Viceroy and Mr Churchill are well satisfied to let the deadlock remain as long as possible. That is at least the general impression in most Indian circles. The problem therefore is can anything be done to break this deadlock

through our help? It seems to me all we can do is to try to induce Indian political leaders to meet together and discuss the form of Government which they regard as applicable to India and thus show the world that they have sufficient intelligence to tackle the problem.

Minorities

We must not assume they will adopt the American or the British systems. In view of the importance of guaranteeing protection to the minorities, a majority form of Government may not be applicable and coalition may prove to be the only practicable way of guaranteeing internal harmony.

We cannot suppose the British Government can or will transfer power to India by a scratch of the pen at the conclusion of the Peace Conference, unless there is an Indian Government fit to receive. The question which remains, therefore, is how to induce the leaders to begin now to prepare for their future responsibilities.

There is perhaps a way out of the deadlock which I suggest to you not because I am sure of its success, but because I think it worthy of your consideration. With the approval and blessing of the British Government, an invitation could be addressed to the leaders of all India political groups on behalf of the President of the United State to meet together to discuss plans for the future. The Assembly could be presided over by an American who could exercise influence for harmonizing the endless divisions of caste, religion, race and political views.

The conference might well be under the patronage of the King Emperor and the President of the United States and the President of the Soviet Union and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in order to bring pressure to bear on the Indian politician. . . . The conference could be held in any city in India except Delhi. . . .

. . . Should you approve of the general idea and care to consult Mr Churchill, he might reply that since the Congress leaders are in jail, a meeting, such as is contemplated, is impossible. The answer could be that certain of the leaders, notably Mr Gandhi, might be freed unconditionally in order to attend the conference. The British may even be searching for a good excuse to release Mr Gandhi, for the struggle between him and the Viceroy is over with honours, for both the Viceroy maintained his prestige and Mr Gandhi carried out his protest against the Government by his successful fast and has come back into limelight.

There is nothing new in my suggestion except the method of approach to the problem. The British have already announced their willingness to grant freedom to India after the war if Indians have agreed among themselves as to its form. Indians say that they cannot agree because they have no confidence in the promises. The proposed plan, perhaps, provides the guarantee required by the Indians and is in line with the declared intentions of the British. Possibly, this is the way out of the impasse which if allowed to continue may affect our conduct of the war in this part of the world and our future relation with the coloured races. It may not be successful but, at least, America will have taken a step in furthering the ideals of the Atlantic Charter. I offer the suggestion now in order that it may have your consideration before I return to Washington at the end of April or early in May when I shall be able to give you at first hand further information on the subject.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM PHILLIPS

United Press of America.

XVIII Communal and Separatist Movements

We have already made some general observations in the introduction on the imperial polity as established in 1935, and on the reactions of the imperial administration in 1943–4 to signs of communal organizations flexing their muscles. In this introductory note to the 264 documents related to this theme, some further hypotheses are suggested.

In a subcontinent like India, with its ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity the creation of a pan-Indian national consciousness as an ideology to challenge the imperial administration was not an easy task, because popular discontent could, and did, in many areas, get canalized into enduring political formations which had regional, linguistic, and/or religious characteristics. The imperialist device of communal electorates within 'provincial autonomy' and the elections of 1937 had given a lease of life to these formations in the provinces of Sind, (Allah Bux's Azad Muslim Party), Punjab (the cross-communal alliance of the Unionist Party), and Bengal (Fazlul Haq's Krishak Proja Party). There were complex social-economic factors specific to these areas which explain why this happened, and why neither the Congress nor the Muslim League could register any significant electoral success there. If electoral results of 1937 are taken as a criterion, there was no evidence of the Muslim League being representative of all politically aware Muslims on an all-India basis,¹ whereas the Congress could claim to be representative of the political nation in the non-Muslim constituencies in the seven provinces where it had taken office.

Since 1937 Jinnah, as leader of the Muslim League, had been trying to project the image of his party being the sole spokesman of the Muslim inhabitants of the subcontinent, taking advantage of the changing equation of the Raj with the other political parties in India, and the preoccupation of the Raj with the war effort after September 1939. As our documents show, at the beginning of 1943 he was still a long way off from establishing this claim, even in the provinces with Muslim Prime Ministers (Docs 3–12, 15, 23)

The Congress electoral success in the seven provinces where it held office till October 1939 made it confident, perhaps overconfident – of repeating the performance in provinces where the majority of the population were non-Hindu and where electoral victory under the 1935 Act involved winning seats reserved for Muslim candidates under the Communal award. There were two strands of thinking within the Congress apropos of its claim to represent pan-Indian nationalism embracing all religious groups. One conceded the federal principle and the idea of provincial autonomy, while asserting a common national identity for all Indians. Its most powerful expression is to be seen in Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's presidential address to the Ramghar Session of the Indian National Congress.² The other was to assert that ideal of All Indian unity based on a joint electorate on universal suffrage, with no provision for the representation of separate interests, a tendency which went back to the Nehru report of 1928.³ A British constitutional historian, in a book published in 1943, commented on this second strand as reflecting 'totalitarian' tendencies which worried politically conscious Muslims.⁴

A totalitarian tendency among Hindus had been germinating, not in the Congress but among the group of politicians associated with the Hindu Mahasabha and its para-military affiliate, R.S.S. There are a lot of documents on that in this chapter, one of which, emanating

from the government of C.P. & Berar, gives a detailed history of its genesis, organization, and strength at the beginning of 1943. (Docs 63, 73).

Any appraisal of the documents in this session has to take into account that by the end of 1942 the policy statement and actions of the Raj had been such as to encourage the stand taken by Jinnah, and cast the prospects of the future constitutional developments in the mould of communal separatism. The statement of Linlithgow, inspired by Churchill, in August 1940 (the 'August offer'),⁵ followed by the clause on 'provincial option' in the Cripps proposals of 1942, appeared to be a discreet encouragement of Pakistan.

The documents describing the Indian scene in these years show that there was more fluidity in the politics of intercommunal relations in the initial stages, though towards the end of 1944 that was less in evidence. Notwithstanding the stand of Churchill and Cripps, some British administrators in India were uneasy about a total vivisection of the country (vide Wavell's speech to the Council of State and Central Legislative Assembly (Doc. 97), some of the entries in the diary of the Bengal Governor R.G. Casey (Docs 207, 208, 213), and the views of the Punjab Governor B.J. Glancy (Docs 40, 44)).⁶ At the beginning of 1943 the Muslim Prime Ministers of Sind, Bengal and Punjab were representing parties other than the Muslim League. The nationalists within the Congress were showing signs of wanting to negotiate with the Muslim League leadership or even participate in a coalition cabinet with them, (vide the Rajagopalachari formula (Docs 133, 138) we see the inclusion of Congressmen of the Bose group in Nazimuddin's ministry after the fall of Fazlul Haq in Bengal (Doc. 28)),⁷ and outside the area of legislature politics, the C.P.I. and the R.D.P. were working towards the joint involvement of Hindus and Muslims in the struggles of the working class and the peasantry (vide Docs 25, 35, 36, 38 and Chapter IX, 131, Chapter V, 55).

However, the intransigence of Muslim and Hindu Communalism found plenty of scope to express itself throughout 1943 and 1944. Jinnah tried unsuccessfully, to extend his influence in the Punjab and weaken the authority of Khizr Hyatt Khan 'Tiwana,' (Docs 30, 41, 44, 94, 115, 130, 166, 184). The use of para-military bodies like the Muslim National Guards during Jinnah's tour of the Punjab, or by the Muslim League ministers in Sind and Bengal caused concern to the authorities, though they were very slow in trying to put a stop to it. (Docs 19, 72, 75, 84, 89, 90, 99-103, 120)

On the Hindu side, the stand taken by Veer Savarkar⁸ on the 'two-nation theory' and the comments on it by his colleagues in the Hindu Mahasabha executive (Docs 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 62) illustrated the limitations of the philosophy of 'Hindutva' in providing an antidote to the propaganda of the Muslim League. The R.S.S. continued its activities in support of the 'Hindutva' idea, and, B.S. Moonje⁹ carried favour with the British authorities for approval (Docs 14, 48, 64-8, 93, 158, 160). The efforts of Gandhi to come to an agreement with Jinnah (Docs 214-16, 218-22, 229-30, 232-5, 238) failed because of Jinnah's intransigence.

- 1 In the Punjab the Muslim League secured only 1 out of 84 Muslim seats, in Sind 3 out of 33, and none in the North-West Frontier Province. In Bengal it got only 39 out of 117 Muslim seats.
- 2 Presidential Address, Indian National Congress, 53rd session, Ramgarh, March 1940 (Translated into English from Original Hindustani, Abul Kalam Azad). Pub. by Gen. Secretary, Reception Committee Ramgarh Congress (*Allahabad Law Journal Co. 1940*).
- 3 David Page, *Prelude to Partition* (Delhi 1982), pp. 169-74.
- 4 R. Coupland, *Indian Politics 1936-42* (London 1943).
- 5 The 'August offer' was a statement made by Lord Linlithgow on 8 August 1940, at the behest of Churchill, which asserted that any future constitutional settlement was contingent on the approval of minority com-

munities. Churchill had, in the privacy of a British Cabinet meeting on 2 February 1940, stated that 'he did not share the anxiety to encourage and promote unity between the Hindu and Muslim Communities. . . . He regarded the Hindu-Muslim feud as the bulwark of British rule in India' (Quoted in R.J. Moore, *Churchill, Cripps, and India* (Oxford 1979), p. 28).

6. Also see T.P. Vol. I, Docs 236 and 248, Vol. VI, Docs 29 & 39.
7. T.C. Goswami, Barada Pain, and Taraknath Mukherji.

Other Documents Relevant for this Chapter:

1. Doc. 121 in Chapter I – Sect. B.
2. Doc. 152 in Chapter II.
3. Doc. 153 in Chapter III.
4. Doc. 8 in Chapter IV.
5. Doc. 12 in Chapter V.
6. Doc. 26 in Chapter V.
7. Doc. 54 in Chapter V.
8. Docs 9 & 13 in Chapter VI.
9. Doc. 84 in Chapter VIII.
10. Docs 38, 98, 99, 131 in Chapter IX.
11. Doc. 76 in Chapter X.
12. Docs 56 and 57 in Chapter XI.
13. Doc. 8 in Chapter XVII.

1 Governor of Sind to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2233]

From H.E. Sir Hugh Dow, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Governor of Sind.

(131-2-G.G.-38)

D.O. No. 85.9 (2)

February 22nd 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow

In this letter I am giving the confidential report on my Ministers required in accordance with the Private Secretary to the Viceroy's D.O. No. 2448-G.G. of 17th June 1938.

2. The Ministry came into office, under the Premiership of Sir Ghulam Hussein in October last in circumstance of which you are sufficiently aware. At that time Sir Ghulam Hussein had but a small personal following but he seemed to me in the words of the Instrument of Instructions, 'the person most likely to command a stable majority in the Legislature'. Events have justified this selection, and now at the beginning of the Budget season, the new Ministry has a larger number of declared adherents in the Assembly than the late Ministry ever had, while Allah Bakhsh's following is a mere handful. Most of the credit for this consolidation of the Ministry's position must go to Sir Ghulam Hussein himself; his Muslim colleagues are all extreme Communalists, and Sir Ghulam has much ado in keeping them from the throats of their Hindu colleagues.

3. Sir Ghulam Hussein, however is no longer a young man and likes to take his ease. He has now only the Finance and Food Control portfolios; of neither of these has he any real grasp and is content to take official advice whenever his colleagues will let him. Nepotism is a weakness of his or perhaps I should say a source of his strength for he tries to get his relatives well-placed in all Departments. He is not communal in his outlook though he is overborne by the other Muslim members when this appears to be the line of least resistance: he does however take strong prejudices against individual officers and is capable of pursuing these almost to the point of a vendetta.

He has more than once hinted recently at his early retirement from active politics. It has certainly given him great pleasure to pay off old scores against Allah Bakhsh, who he never at heart forgave for supplanting him in the Premiership. Personally I think he will hang on as long as things go quietly for him, but he might prefer to go at any time if he were faced with the probability of a major political defeat.

4. Khan Bahadur Khuhro, the Revenue Minister, is a restless and unscrupulous person who thinks he ought to be Premier and will not be happy till he is. He has a narrow communal outlook, and it requires constant watchfulness on my part to prevent him issuing off his own bat orders to which his Hindu colleagues would and have a right to object; he is tenacious in argument and brow-beating in manner and quite shameless about his petty dishonesties when he is found out. A very hard worker and makes plenty of work for others.

5. Mr Gazdar, is Home Minister. He was formerly a temporary Engineer in the P.W.D. where his reputation was shady; the shades have perhaps deepened since he gave up administration for politics. His politics are highly communal; but so far the responsibilities of office seem to have toned them down and I have been agreeably surprised at the reasonable tone and spirit in which he has gone about his work as Home Minister: on more than one occasion he has acted as a brake on Khuhro.

Per Illahi Bekhshish is as irresponsible as ever. He is a hopeless administrator, constantly interferes in petty establishment matters, and is bad tempered and offensive to his subordinates. His politics are merely those of the Vicar of Bray, and all his colleagues realise that he would desert them as readily as he joined them, on any assurance that he would retain office.

Rao Sahib Gokaldas was kept in his place by Nihchaldas, but now has to take a more prominent part in Cabinet matters as P.W.D. Minister. He is not showing up too well under the test. He is conceited, weak and obstinate, and wastes a good deal of time quarrelling with the Chief Engineer on purely technical matters. He is a zamindar of the Larkana District which is also Khuhro's country: both are interested far more in their personal prosperity than in the welfare of the State and they are therefore, as P.W.D. and Revenue Ministers a formidable combination to be overborne in the impending settlement discussions.

Dr Hemandas Wadhwani is the new Hindu Minister having before held office for a month in the Mir Ministry. He is in charge only of the Medical and Public Health Departments, and is the nearest thing I have in my cabinet to an honest man. He has, however very little sense of administration, and is very apt to take hasty action which brings him into difficulties. He is not communal in spirit and quite obviously finds the highly communal atmosphere within which Sind politics are carried on rather uncongenial.

Yours Sincerely,

H. DOW.

2. Extracts from the Minutes of Security Officers Conference

File No. 111/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Minutes – Security Officers Conference – 8/9 March 1943
Item 7-RSSS

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh

A note on the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh was circulated with Intelligence Bureau's Circular Memorandum No. 60/D.G.42 dated 18-5-42. Reports received since this note was compiled disclose that the Sangh has steadily pursued its policy of expansion and preparation in many parts of the country. It is desirable to focus attention upon this organisation and its activities, which have dangerous possibilities.

The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh preserves a very rigid secrecy and takes pains to avoid attracting the attention of the authorities. Its ultimate aim is an India ruled over by the Hindus and it has been quietly preparing for this for years. It believes in the method of infiltration and aims at planting its members in all the key services, both civil and military. Although its leaders have disclaimed any direct affiliation with the Hindu Mahasabha, it follows the Mahasabha's policy of encouraging Hindus to join the fighting service with the object of acquiring military knowledge and experience. The ultimate intention of the Sangh is to use such military knowledge and experience in freeing Hindustan alike from British and Muslim domination.

What is the extent of knowledge about this organisation in the various Provinces and what do they think about it? How far have its preparations gone? Do the Provinces regard it as a serious danger now or a potentially serious danger for the future and, if so what special measures are needed to combat it?

3. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind for the first half of March 1943

File No. 18/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Communal

During the session of the legislative Assembly a resolution on Pakistan was moved by Mr G.M. Sayed M.L.A., and passed by the Assembly. The European members remained neutral while seven Hindu members walked out as a protest.



4. Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection
[NAI – Acc. No. 2227]

From
B. Glancy,
Governor of Punjab.

Govt. House, Lahore
March 15th, 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Nothing of any outstanding importance has been happening in the Punjab since I sent you my last report. Mr Gandhi's fast gave rise to very little excitement in this Province, though Hindus in the towns were mostly in sympathy with his manoeuvre and many of them were genuinely distressed by the thought that his demonstration might lead to fatal results. The rest of the population were either indifferent or in some cases derisive and I think that there is no doubt that, if Government had surrendered, their prestige would have been seriously impaired. . . .

The Premier has as you are aware been attending a Muslim League meeting at Delhi, where he had none too easy a time. Mr Jinnah would like the Muslim League to have a much greater degree of control over Punjab politics, and he and his lieutenants complain that the Unionist Party in this Province have hitherto only been paying lip service to the League. The Premier acknowledged the general leadership of the Qaid-I-Azam amongst the Muslims of India and referred him to the Jinnah-Sikander Pact – a loosely worded document the purport of which is to the effect that in all-India politics the League is to be regarded as supreme and that the Unionist Party is more or less free to make its own line in the Punjab. Khizar¹ affirmed his adherence to this pact and for the time being this has been accepted. A proposed resolution advocating more active interference by the League in Punjab politics was withdrawn. The Premier has succeeded for the present in blocking the attack but it seems evident that there are rocks ahead. Jinnah had also some kind words to say about the Punjab Governor's alleged violation of constitutional procedure in failing to consult Muslim Leaguers before taking steps for the appointment of a Premier and he appears to have been disagreeably surprised when his attention was drawn to the text of the Governor's Instrument of Instructions.

I enclose the provincial Fortnightly Report¹ for the second half of February.

Yours sincerely

B.J. Glancy

1. Not printed.



5: Official Noting reg. A.R.P. service — dt 25.3.1943 (extracts)

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. W/58/43
[Bengal State Archives]

I am afraid I cannot endorse the draft.¹ There is enough loophole for appointing authorities to disregard the Communal Ratio Rules and thereby further exacerbate the feelings of the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes.

I am not prepared to admit that suitable Moslems cannot be found for these services. Subject therefore to the Communal Ratio Rules being strictly observed, I don't mind what appointments are made and what powers are given to the appointing authorities. In spite of my protest to the contrary, the A.R.P. appointments have given me the greatest possible trouble and afforded the most excellent materials for the Opposition to discredit me and the present Cabinet in the eyes of the Moslem public. The A.R.P. appointments have done more mischief than all the other propaganda of the Opposition put together. I wonder if the appointing authorities realise that while they make the appointments, I am responsible to the Legislature for the due observance of the Communal Ratio Rules. Until now, I have not been able to make the permanent officials realise that the matter does not end with the making of the appointments. Various factors arise for consideration, and one of the most difficult of these is the observance of the Communal Ratio Rules. This point the permanent officials are prone to forget with an air of supreme indifference, and all my worries during the last few months have been due to the non-observance of the Communal Ratio rules in the matter of A.R.P. appointments.

The draft therefore may be amended in such a way that the interest of all the communities may be safeguarded

Signed Fazlul Haq*
25/3/43

Taken up to H.C.M.² He agrees that the draft may issue with the addition of a statement to the effect that the . . . instructions regarding recruitment should be referred to. . . .

1. Earlier part of the document is in Chapter V — Doc. 26 — Draft not printed — Ed.
2. H.C.M. — Honourable Chief Minister.

6 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind for the second half of March 1943

File No. 18/3/43 — Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

7. Both the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League are intensifying their propaganda. The former is attempting to mobilize Hindu opinion against Pakistan by holding meetings to

condemn the Money lenders Bill and the Land Alienation Bill introduced in the last session of the Assembly. The Muslim League is busy enlisting members and nearly 30,000 members have been enlisting in the Thar Parkar district alone. Branches have been opened at several places in the upper Sind Frontier district where a Pakistan Conference was held recently. The Sind League Assembly Party has also been organized with the Hon'ble Premier as Leader. Five sub-Committees have been appointed to deal with the various aspects of provincial administration. They are; (1) Anti-Corruption Committee, (2) Jagirdari Committee (to Consider the defects of the Jagirdari system), (3) Price Control Committee (4) Committee for the revival of Honorary Magistrates and (5) Constitution Committees.

8. At a meeting of the Sind Provincial Muslim League held at Karachi on the 14th March under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur M.A. Khuhro, Minister Revenue Department, resolutions were passed requesting Government to withdraw cases against 'abadgars' for hoarding wheat and to withdraw Martial Law from Sind.

7 The Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2336]

To H.E. Sir. John Herbert, G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal.

The Viceroy's House New Delhi
April 2nd, 1943.

[Secret.]

My Dear Herbert,

You will have had my telegram¹ of last night authorizing you to go into section 93 and also my private telegram² indicating my wishes as regards the formation of a government and making it clear that I did not wish you to commit yourself in any way to giving a commission to any individual without prior consultation with me.

2. I feel that it is only proper that I should comment on your private and personal telegram of last night. I have every sympathy with the difficulties in which you find yourself and I make all allowances also for the strain inevitably placed upon you by the circumstance of this case and by the necessity of working to so close a timetable.

3. But I would not like you to think that I am at all happy at the way that this matter has been handled. We both of us know your late chief Minister well and we are both aware that he is an extremely adroit and wily politician, very difficult to pin down, and not a man to take any chances with. I am gravely disturbed, even now at the possibility that we may have trouble in the House of Commons over his resignation; and I feel little doubt that the campaign in his favour is likely to be pressed with extreme resolution by his friends; while he can probably look for a substantial measure of support from the Hindu Press. I have to bear in mind, too the possibility of certain ministerial changes in Bengal reacting on the terrorist position, and the extreme delicacy of the communal situation there. You are of course very familiar with that field and it is your immediate responsibility. But it is also a matter to which

I have to give weight in judging the handling of particular situations and in reaching my decision as to whether I ought wisely to agree to your proposals for Section 93.

4. I of course accept entirely the account you have given me of your conversation with Fazlul Huq which resulted in his resignation, and your estimate of the position in relation to a majority for Huq's Ministry. What disturbs me is that one cannot expect the man in the street or the home press necessarily to judge your late Chief Minister with the same detachment as you or I can. They must inevitably pay some attention to statements made by a man who has been Chief Minister of Bengal for the last six years and a good deal of the mud may stick. The short point is that the situation as it stands admits of being misrepresented as follows:

- (a) that Huq was confronted by you with a draft of a letter of resignation; not it is true, on Government House paper but nonetheless a draft of a letter of resignation; that he thereupon asked to be allowed to consult his colleagues and his party; that he was advised by you if he really intended to resign, not to do so since his party did not want him to resign and would dissuade him from doing so; and that thereafter, after an interview of an hour and a half, under pressure from you, he signed his letter of resignation;
- (b) that at the first public opportunity which he had the next morning not only did he break away entirely from the arrangements in that letter of resignation, but that he stated publicly and in the most formal manner in the Legislature that he had been forced to resign and that he claimed again publicly and in the Legislature that that was despite the fact that he was supported by a majority in the House—a contention plausibly supported by the fact that his Ministry had weathered two or three no-confidence motions in the few days preceding;
- (c) that in those circumstances, at a time when it is of peculiar importance to avoid the use of the breakdown provisions of the constitution, the largest Province in India has been unnecessarily driven into a Section 93 situation from which it may take some time to emerge, despite the existence of an experienced Chief Minister with a majority behind him in the House;
- (d) that every encouragement has been given to Sir Nazimuddin, who, if Fazlul Huq is right in claiming that he has a majority, must be in a minority position to form a Ministry in substitution of Fazlul Huq's;
- (e) there is of course the further point in connection with this last matter, that the presence in the Huq Ministry of certain Caste Hindu elements, nuisance as it may have been in certain ways, has probably had a very real and material value in keeping communal feeling low and so indirectly in decreasing the chances of terrorist outbreak.

5. That is the case which you and possibly I may have to face if the matter is pressed in the House of Commons; and I will frankly confess accepting fully as I do your own view of the matter and having given you my support that I should be sorry if we find that we do in fact have to face it. For while the answer clearly must be as stated by you, I am uneasy at the thought that it may expose you to criticism. I cannot but feel myself, with every sympathy for your position that it would have been much wiser to have taken no chance whatever with Huq until you had got your budget through, and that even then, the course of wisdom would have been to let him make his own mistakes, and his own messes. I know that you have been anxious to get a more representative government in Bengal. But our business is to get a stable government; and I think there is always the risk of burning one's fingers if one goes too far into internal provincial politics.

6. However while I feel bound to put my view on record I do not propose to pursue the matter. As regards the future I have made my wishes clear; and I am only anxious that we should get out of Section 93 as early as possible, whether the Chief Minister is to be Huq, or Nazimuddin, or anyone else, the one essential condition being that he must have a stable majority. But the position is so important that as I made clear in my telegram I must ask you to refrain from committing yourself in any way as regards commissioning any individual, and to consult me, with details of the majority anticipated, before a final decision is taken.

7. I can clearly see from the telegrams of which I have been receiving copies or which are being addressed to me by your former Ministers and their friends, that you may find it necessary to counter in some way the suggestions that are being made by Fazlul Huq and by his supporters. But that of course must be for you to consider.

Let us hope for the best!

[90(2)-G.G.-12.]

Your sincerely

Linlithgow

1 & 2. Not printed.

8. Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy (two letters)

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc No. 2336]

Govt. House Calcutta,
April 7th, 1943.

Dear Linlithgow

This is my report for the second half of March. I enclose the Home Department report for that period.¹

2. *Political* - My concluding remark in my last report was that it seemed impossible to tolerate Huq's vagaries indefinitely. We are now under Section 93 and I well realise how concerned you must be about this. I think our telegraphic correspondence on the subject fully covers the history of the circumstances leading up to the present situation and paragraphs 7 to 9 of the Home Department report also present in purely factual form a concise and fair picture of those circumstance. What I write now is by way of explanation and comment.

3. When Huq resigned, his Ministry was tottering. Just before resigning, he admitted to me (as he had done so often before) that the position of the Ministry was quite intolerable it could only maintain itself by pandering to the wishes of those whose votes kept it in existence. Foremost among these were the Official Congress whose vote had saved the Government the day before though they normally abstain from voting. Huq said frankly that in such circumstances good government was impossible, and that where the Ministry was kept in force by the Congress vote, the law and order position was necessarily impossible.

4. I want to make it clear that it is a parody of the facts to suggest (as has been done in

certain section of the Press) that I forced out of office a Ministry which fully enjoyed the confidence of the Legislature. I have explained the position existing in the Legislative Assembly. In the Upper House the position of the Ministry was even more precarious. There they had lost to the Muslim League every one of six Muslim seats for which the triennial elections were recently held; and only escaped a vote of censure on the food question by 16 votes to 15. I append to this letter a copy of an article in the *Statesman* which seems to me to give a fair and dispassionate picture of the position.

5. If Huq had not resigned when he did, a motion of no confidence would have been moved in the Assembly on the 29th or 30th March. I felt perhaps wrongly that yet another debate on such a motion resulting in the fall of the Ministry would further embitter the relation between parties to an extent which would make negotiations for a Ministry of all the parties quite impossible. If on the other hand, Huq managed to scrape through the session he would never have resigned but would have continued his tricks, evasions and misgovernment until again confronted with the Legislature and this he would have tried to avoid until the next Budget Session in spite of all efforts of mine to ensure its rights to the Legislature. Further, it would in such circumstances have been exceedingly difficult for me to dismiss Huq despite his numerous acts of misconduct. I felt therefore that Huq's promise to resign, openly expressed in the Assembly, was an opportunity not to be neglected; and I must admit that I urged him pretty firmly to honour it though compulsion is a quite unfair description. In this connection I have heard three lines of argument developed the co-existence of which is a fair commentary on Huq's character. One is that it is absurd to suggest that a man has been compelled to do what he publicly undertook the day before to do. The second is that nobody in Bengal could seriously believe that Huq could be forced to do what he did not want to do. The third is that obviously Huq would never keep a promise except under compulsion!

6. My estimate in retrospect is that Huq certainly did not intend to resign when he came to see me; but that at some stage in the interview he decided that it might be to his advantage to do so if he subsequently played his cards well. This I am afraid, he succeeded in doing. He signed a draft letter of resignation prepared not for his signature but merely as a model so that he could say that he was 'framed' by the Governor; he undertook to see the Budget through the next day thus allaying my mind until it was too late; and he asked for the announcement of his resignation to be postponed in order that he might spring it himself, wreck the Budget and claim universal sympathy. What Huq and his colleagues did *not* foresee was that this trick with the Budget would bring in Section 93.

7. Though Section 93 was thus inadvertent on all sides subsequent events to my mind go to show that a break of this kind was necessary to secure a fresh alignment of parties. In other words, it now seems highly unlikely that an all-round Ministry could have been achieved by friendly negotiation and without some such jolt. My mistake was to suppose that Huq's resignation would produce an atmosphere suitable to negotiation though I still think I was right in supposing that his defeat would not have helped to that end.

8. Nazimuddin's preliminary report bears this out. On the 5th April he claimed the support of 144 members in a House of the effective strength of 228, implying an absolute majority of 40. His 144 votes consist of 90 Muslims (this may be optimistic as to about 10), 24 Scheduled Caste, 25 Europeans, 2 Anglo-Indians and 3 Unattached members. It will be seen that no Caste Hindus are included in his figures, the reason being that he has so far not approached the Mahasabha and Bose Group (the Congress will never come in), partly because excitement

and bitterness have not died down and partly-I imagine-because he is waiting to get into a stronger bargaining position.

9. On the face of it, it is unsatisfactory that as yet no Caste Hindu has offered support to a Ministry intended to represent all parties, the objective in pursuit of which we find ourselves under Section 93. But Nazimuddin is not without hope of bringing in the Caste Hindus though he is raising some rather tiresome objections as to the form of his authorization from me to pursue his enquiries.

10. For some reason or other he attaches significance to being 'commissioned' to try to collect supporters. The word though it occurs in my telegraphic correspondence with you, does not seem to have any well established meaning in this context. Nazimuddin concedes readily that if he fails to collect a majority to my liking he does not expect to be made Chief Minister. A formula which would apparently content him would be for me to 'ask for his assistance in the formation of a stable Ministry as broadbased as possible' I must confess to a feeling that we are getting rather involved if there are to be four stages (1) preliminary enquiry and report (2) assistance in forming a Ministry (3) commissioning to form a Ministry (4) appointment as Chief Minister. I incline to think that subject to your agreement we might proceed to (3) at once on the clear understanding that if the results are not satisfactory to yourself and myself (4) will not follow.

11. One hears suggestions (as in that *Statesman* article that a general election might solve our problems. Apart from the arguments for or against a general election in war time, I am not so sure about this. The Muslim League might – probably would – sweep the board. But even now it looks as if Muslims are coming together under Nazimuddin. On the other hand the election might bring in a number of Caste Hindu irreconcilables who would be cautious enough to keep out of jail and constitute a troublesome opposition.

12. I realise that my handling of the situation has exposed me to public criticism. I realise too and for this I wish to express my very real regret – that I must have caused grave anxiety to the Secretary of State and yourself from that and other angles. But I do feel that I have (shall I say?) blundered into the right solution in spite of all the political disadvantages. Huq and Huq's Ministry were a menace to good government and security. I had 'managed' somehow with them so far you yourself know with what difficulty and by what shifts but it was impossible for the thing to go on. I do not speak of myself but the wear and tear on the loyalty, discipline and nerves of the service was becoming intolerable. And as I have already said, I believe that a clear out of this kind was necessary to clear the way for an all round understanding between parties. That I hope we shall soon get. If we do not, I feel that a strong Ministry without the caste Hindus, though by no means the ideal solution, will be infinitely better than the Ministry which has gone, if it be remembered (as it hardly ever is in Bengal politics) that the war has to be won and the Congress rebellion kept under.

13. Huq's behaviour throughout has been more than usually unbalanced. He has alternated between attacks on myself by means of statements in the Press and attempts to approach me for some lucrative post. His most remarkable effort was to ring up my Secretary, at the most anxious period of my telegraphic correspondence with you regarding section 93, to protest at the removal of his police guard by the Special Branch of the Police 'who appeared to be taking his resignation seriously'!

14. As we all hope that the Section 93 regime will be short, I am not proposing Advisers; but if it is prolonged beyond a few weeks we shall not be able to do without them. As it is I feel the need of someone to replace a Minister at the head of the food organisation.

15. I cannot sufficiently thank you and your Government for the help we are receiving with regard to food supplies. Braund is proving particularly helpful. The promised supplies are now reaching Calcutta but it is perhaps as yet too early to expect any drastic reaction on prices. Feeling that our propaganda system-particularly with regard to food-requires vigorous reinforcement. I have succeeded in getting the whole-time services of Tyson and I hope soon to show a marked improvement in this respect.

Yours sincerely,

J.A. Herbert

[40(3)-G.G.-43]

[*Enclosure.*]

Bengal under Section 93

Bengal has ceased to enjoy parliamentary institutions in the exercise of which the Province has not of late found much satisfaction. On Sunday the Chief Minister resigned his office as a preliminary to a search for a more widely based Minister. His Ministers followed suit. That more stable Ministry however was not to be found, and the Governor has felt obliged to exercise his special responsibilities and take over the administration under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. So Bengal joins the Provinces in which the system of government instituted by that Act broke down because the Congress central authority ordered Congress Ministries to resign a step from which many calamities have followed.

Clamour is heard because Mr Fazlul Huq resigned while still in possession of the confidence of the Assembly. The two loudest voices say, the one that had he stayed on in office for a few more days he would have been beaten on a vote of no confidence, the other that had the Assembly been permitted to meet again it would have carried a vote of confidence in him by a handsome margin. As these contentions belong to the realm of the might have been they are not useful as a guide to the facts. What is certain is that the Ministry was losing ground: indications of this were many, the last a majority of only 10 in a division when 208 voted. For all practical purposes an escape like that by the skin of the teeth, is defeat. If that voting represented sincerity of view about the Ministry's competence, as we assume it must have done in a division that turned on Government's handling of the food situation about which feeling runs high, the only conclusion for practical man is that the Ministry had no strength left for its work. That was the position the Governor had to face and the shrill cry for his recall heard in one of the city's parks a day or two ago need be noticed only as an illustration of the strange things men can say in excitement. The view that +1 means confidence and -1 loss of confidence is not a useful belief in the practice of politics.

On the last day of the financial year March 31st the Governor found himself with no Ministry and with no early probability of one. Negotiation and discussion between party leaders had discovered no way to an all parties or many-parties coalition on which a Ministry would be firmly based. Normally the remedy for such a situation is a general election and a new Legislature. But this time is not eminently suitable for the stir and turmoil of an election in a Province that is near the war front, nor at best is a general election quick remedy. Even were an election advisable, the Province must have some Government until it is over. Therefore the Governor has felt obliged to fall back on Section 93 of the Government of India Act as an immediate resource. We believe him that he has done so reluctantly and hopes soon to

be able to revoke his decision. When a Ministry can be found that commands the confidence of the Legislature government through parliamentary institutions will be restored. If that is not possible the only way of getting rid of government by Section 93 is to discover by a general election what the Province wants. For the present, Ministers disappear, the Legislature is suspended, the Governor exercises their functions.

From H.E. Sir John Herbert G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal

Govt. House Calcutta.

April 7th, 1943.

[Secret & Personal]

Dear Linlithgow

Although you will have seen my official report on the present position in Bengal, I write to tell you personally how greatly I appreciate the tone of your 'Secret' letter of April 2nd fully realising the difficulty in which I have inadvertently placed you. It feels, however that two points should be made clear:

- (a) I accept full responsibility for my actions as regards Huq's resignation and feel that I should make clear that in this respect you are perfectly justified in giving me no support whatever. I am responsible and am fully prepared to take the blame in the general interest of the State and I would not wish you in any way to be implicated in my decision.
- (b) I suggest that you are only implicated in the actual bringing into effect of Section 93. This as you know was the fault of the Speaker who adjourned the House for a fortnight and thereby made it impossible either for me to prorogue and reassemble the members or for him to reassemble the members before the 31st. As the result of his action we were advised that the only method by which the budgetary demands could be passed was to temporarily go into Section 93 for this purpose. I suggest that in this respect there can be no suggestion that you are in any way to blame. The circumstances were then beyond your (also my) control and the Proclamation was necessary for obtaining supplies before April 1st.

I also feel that I should add that having permitted myself to become a party to the circumstances leading up to Section 93 I consider it my task to make amends by recommending to you reasonably soon the courses which lie open so that you may approve or disapprove any proposals.

I express my sincerest regrets at having put you in such a difficult position. I do however feel that in the long run the recent events will prove to have been to the general interest. The previous position mainly caused by the lack of an election was untenable and a change was necessary.

Your sincerely,

J.A. Herbert.



9 Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

Govt. House Calcutta.

April 10th 1943.

Dear Linlithgow

In paragraphs 8 to 10 of my last fortnightly report dated the 7th April,¹ I outlined the position as it then stood, in relation to Nazimuddin's tentative enquiries regarding formation of a stable and representative Ministry.

2. Since then (8th April) Nazimuddin has again reported, claiming the support of 85 Muslims 24 Scheduled Castes, 4 Unattached members and 2 Anglo-Indians as well as 25 Europeans; 140 votes in all in a House of 228 making an absolute majority of 72. He further reports that he has been in negotiation with the Caste Hindu groups and saw S.P. Mookerjee yesterday.

As a result of these contacts at which he says the Hindu members were most reasonable (and most certainly did not decline to consider collaboration with him), Nazimuddin envisages the possibility of a Cabinet consisting of a Muslim Chief Minister and twelve Ministers-Six Muslims, three Caste Hindus and three Scheduled Caste; and he urges that in order to enable him to clinch the present possibilities he should be enabled 'to appear before the parties as chosen by me to assist in forming a Ministry'.

3. He explains that the conciliatory attitude of the Caste Hindus is largely due to the fact that at the moment they are expecting him to be asked to form a Ministry and do not wish to be left out in the cold; but that if the impression gets abroad (apparently it has not so far) that he will not be asked to form a Ministry unless and until he can produce definite evidence of Caste Hindu support, the Caste Hindus, so far from closing with him, will merely put up their price and hang back. The result, he argues, would be either a continuance of Section 93 which, in his view, would be wholly unconstitutional in face of his firm offer of a Ministry with a stable majority of 72, whatever its composition, or an ultimate drifting back to a Ministry of the type which has just gone out which would be neither fully representative nor stable, as the Muslim League and Europeans would have nothing to do with it.

4. Given a request from me 'to assist in forming a stable Ministry as broad based as possible', Nazimuddin expresses himself as enurely hopeful of getting in the Hindu Mahasabha and Bose Group wholesale. The Congress and Krishak Projahs, he admits, must be written off as both irreconcilable and unacceptable. His negotiations with S.P. Mookerjee have reached the stage of examination by the League of a programme of policy prepared by Mookerjee which appears to be in the main acceptable to the League. Mookerjee was, he says, most reasonable in agreeing to drop such unacceptable items as release of political prisoners and inclusion of himself and/or Huq in the Cabinet.

5. Apparently the Caste Hindus have for the moment frankly abandoned the idea of insisting on another Huq Ministry. In this connection I feel I should explain Huq's widely published claim to have over 109 supporters. The list of 109 names was compiled at the

instance of Mookerjee immediately after Huq's announcement of his resignation and purported only to be a list of persons who at that moment were Huq's supporters, the avowed object being to discredit my action in 'forcing' Huq's resignation. Mookerjee himself admitted frankly to Nazimuddin that there was no question that the presence of a person's name in the list bound that person not to support a Ministry under Nazimuddin; and both the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan and the Maharaja of Cossimbazar voluntarily explained to me with some concern that though they had signed as supporters of Huq they would very much prefer Ministry which did not contain Huq. The same applies to the periodic resolutions of Progressive Coalitionists affirming their support of a Huq Ministry. Many subscribing to such resolution would support a Nazimuddin Ministry.

6. I feel that there is considerable force in what Nazimuddin urges. He mentioned the example yesterday of a Pressman who on hearing that he had been conferring with S.P. Mookerjee asked him whether he might then take it that Nazimuddin 'had been commissioned by His Excellency to form a Ministry'. Nazimuddin said that he might not so take it, where on he was asked what exactly his standing was. Nazimuddin had no very explicit answer to give. A little more of this, he contends, and nobody will take him seriously. This point of view is set out in an article from yesterday's *Star of India* (admittedly a Muslim League organ) of which I append a copy² to this letter.

7. I appreciate the difficult situation produced by the avowed reason for Huq's exit-the formation of a broad-based Ministry; and that the formation of a new Ministry not containing the leading Caste Hindus (some of them would join any Ministry) would be the occasion for an attack on the good faith of His Majesty's Government and more immediately on mine. But I do feel that no such considerations could possibly justify a return to a Huq regime on the fantastic lines of that which we have just escaped. The demands of the war, of internal security and of decent government are all against it as indicated by the attitude of the European Group to such a proposition. Nor can I feel that constitutional and political considerations outweigh the definite fact that the Caste Hindus are in effect pro-Congress and therefore disloyal and I feel that in any statement of the position to the Secretary of State this point should be very clearly brought out.

8. I also appreciate the possibility that the Caste Hindus may be leading Nazimuddin 'up the garden path', their objective being to lead me on to get him to form a Ministry containing no representative Caste Hindu element so that they can question my alleged motives in 'forcing out' the Huq Ministry.

9. My own inclination is to authorize Nazimuddin forthwith in terms of the formula desired by him i.e. to ask him 'to assist in forming a stable Ministry as broad-based as possible'. I am sufficiently impressed by Nazimuddin's arguments as to the danger of delay to suggest that you should send me your views on this by telegram if possible.

10. There remains the question of the conditions, if any, to be imposed on such an authorization as regards the stability or representative character of the Ministry to be formed. As regards *stability*, there is no difficulty. Nazimuddin fully concedes and the terms of his authorization could set out, that if he failed to collect a stable Ministry to my satisfaction he would not be permitted to proceed further.

11. But Nazimuddin strongly contests the propriety, and indeed the constitutional legality, of attaching to his authorization an absolute requirement that he should secure the support of the Caste Hindus (though he is working to secure it). He claims bluntly that in view of the figures (set out in paragraph 2 above) which he has produced and which show an absolute

majority of 72 in a House of 228 the continuance of Section 93 is already irregular and that he has the right to be called on now to form a Ministry without qualifications as to its composition. I cannot help feeling that constitutionally he may be right and that we are not entitled however embarrassing the results may be politically or tactically, to insist on a Ministry of a *composition* to suit our requirements. I would be grateful to know your views on this also.

Yours sincerely

J.A. Herbert

[90 (2)-G.G.-42]

1. Doc. 8.
2. Not printed.

10: Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy (Telegram)

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2336]

11th April 1943.

Immediate. Private & Personal. No. 52. Your private and personal telegram No. 946-S. of 11th April¹ has crossed my letter to you of yesterday² which answers a number of your points. I am posting to you tonight by air mail copies of complete correspondence between Nazimuddin and myself.³ No public statement has been made regarding my invitation to him to take soundings, formula which I read to ministers before their resignation (which you have seen and which made my intention so to invite Nazimuddin clear) has quite improperly been given wide publicity (by?) one or two Nazimuddin has so far proceeded with his soundings on the basis that my desires were well known. He has not made public my letter to him of 1st April.

2. You will see from Nazimuddin's letter of 8th April⁴ that his programme includes full support of our effort and promotion of communal harmony and I am asking him to produce if possible a more detailed and formal programme, though this may be difficult before he further sounds other parties.

3. My letter of yesterday indicates my complete agreement with you that we cannot stay in section 93 if a stable ministry is forthcoming and that I might properly authorize Nazimuddin to go ahead now. I contemplate addressing him on the following lines:

Begins. Thank you for your reports on the possibility of forming a ministry on the lines indicated in my letter to you of 1st April. I am now writing to ask you for your assistance in forming a stable ministry devoted to the furtherance of war effort and as broadly based and representative of as many parties as possible.

Ends.

I would be glad of your views on this formula. Nazimuddin realises that if his results do not satisfy me he will not be sworn-in and I feel that it would embarrass him to include any

reference to this in the formula. I would further be glad to be assured that you definitely agree to my addressing him forthwith in this sense.

4. All-India Radio are incorrect⁵: I have not seen Huq since he came to see me on 31st March as reported in my telegram of that date. He was quite friendly then and fishing for a job. He has continued to try to see Williams at his house apparently with the idea of retaining some connection even indirectly with Government House and job hunting though he meanwhile continued to attack me by public statement. He has however been silent for the last few days.

5. The possibility of Huq's return as Chief Minister does not for reasons given in my letter of yesterday seem likely to arise but I feel I should point out that any reluctance I might have to getting him back would be based not on the mere fact of his resignations, but on the conduct of himself and his colleagues both before and after his resignation. Evidence is now coming in of very grave misdemeanor by Huq while in office.

6. I agree however entirely that if Nazimuddin fail I must cordially intimate my intention to see who else can take on the task of forming suitable ministry.

[90-20)-G.G.-12]

1. Doc. 13.
2. Doc. 9.
3. Doc. 11.
4. Enclosure to Doc. 11.
5. This refers to Viceroy's telegraphic query on 11 April (Doc. 12).

11: Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2336]

Govt. House Calcutta
April 11th 1943.

Dear Linlithgow

As explained in my private and personal telegram of today¹ I am sending herewith copies of the recent correspondence. between Nazimuddin and myself.

Your sincerely

J.A. Herbert

[90(2)-G.G.-42]

[*Enclosure 1*]

33 Theatre Road Calcutta
April 5th 1943.

Dear Sir John,

I would like to keep you informed of the progress I have made since I wrote to you. Today by the grace of God I am in a position to claim the support of 24 Schedule Caste members

and practically 90 per cent. of the Muslim M.L.As. 4 members belonging to Barisal joined the Muslim League Parliamentary Party and they have informed Mr Fazlul Huq that they are doing so and their statements will be published in the newspaper either tomorrow or day after. Disintegration or rout of the Progressive Muslim Party is complete, the scattered remnants are surrendering unconditionally while some are trying to form Independent Groups such as the ones reported in the papers by Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and Yousuf Mirza but in both these cases neither numbers nor names were mentioned which shows that they have not more than 4 or 5 men with them. Possibly the same lot is claimed by both. I am now confident that *Insha-Allah* 90 Muslims will be supporting my Ministry. Even now I can claim a majority of at least 40 without the Caste Hindu Parties.

I have not yet personally approached any Caste Hindu Party but negotiations with some members of my party are proceeding and so far the reports that I have received are extremely favourable. I now claim from Your Excellency a suitable letter which will enable me to make a statement in public and take up negotiations with the Caste Hindu Parties.

Yours sincerely,

K. Nazimuddin.

To

His Excellency Sir J.A. Herbert G.G.I.F.,

[Enclosure 2]

33 Theatre Road Calcutta

April 8th 1943.

Dear Sir John,

In my last letter I mentioned to you that discussions have been going on between members of my party and the members of the Caste Hindu groups. As a result of the progress made I went and saw Mr Santosh Kumar Basu with Mr Shahabuddin and Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ali, Messrs P.N. Banerjee, B.P. Pain, T.C. Goswami, N.N. Chakravarty and Atul Kumar were also present. After a friendly discussion it was decided to call a party meeting of Bose Group today. They may ask me to address the meeting. I have every reason to hope that *Insha Allah* the Bose Group will join the Ministry. As I have met Mr Basu it has become necessary to meet other Caste Hindu Leaders. Accordingly I am seeing them on Friday. I have already stated in my last letter the nature of my majority as at present. Muslims-85, Scheduled Caste-24, Europeans-25 Anglo-Indians at least 2 unattached-4.

The Cabinet will not only fully support War efforts but will conduct vigorous propaganda throughout the Province by means of tours and speeches by the members of the Government and Parliamentary Secretaries.

The development and maintenance of communal harmony will be in the forefront of our programme. Here again Cabinet will rely more on action than pious wishes.

I am contemplating a Cabinet of 13 consisting of 6 Muslims, 3 Caste Hindus 3 Scheduled Caste and a Muslim Chief Minister.

In view of the above, I claim the right to appear before the parties as chosen by Your Excellency to assist you in forming a Ministry. As far as I know, communiques are usually issued in some such language. I believe this does not mean that I am appointed as Chief Minister.

The delay in sending a suitable letter to me is likely to be misunderstood and may seriously

handicap me in my efforts. I feel that I ought to be given a fair and reasonable chance to form a Ministry as envisaged by Your Excellency.

Yours sincerely,
K. Nazimuddin.

[Enclosure 3]

All India Muslim League Parliamentary Board Of Bengal Central Office Calcutta.

33. Theatre Road Calcutta.
April 2nd 1943.

Your Excellency.

I am in receipt of your Excellency's letter of yesterday's date. At the present time I am in a position to fulfil the conditions laid down in the Instruments of Instructions which require that Your Excellency should be satisfied that I can form a stable Ministry. I therefore can claim with justice that Your Excellency should entrust me with the task of assisting you to form a Ministry.

Today the strength of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the Assembly is 70 and I have been assured by 15 other Muslim members of the Assembly that they will immediately join the party when Your Excellency formally commissions me. There are 14 Scheduled Caste members of the Assembly who have already offered their support to me, and 4 more have promised to support me on my being commissioned. Over and above those I have got the definite support of 25 European members, 2 Anglo-Indians and 3 unattached members. This brings the total to 133 in a house of 228. In this enumeration I have not taken into account the members of the Bose group or the Nationalist Party a large number of whom I am confident will agree to work with me when I am in a position to offer them seats in the Ministry. Further when they will see for themselves that I can form a stable Ministry even without their help, I am more than confident that they will not deny their co-operation. Everybody recognizes the existence of an emergency, and the desirability of as much co-operation as possible between the various groups in the larger interest of the Province. Indeed from conversations that are taking place between certain members of my party and members of other parties I feel hopeful that even the Congress Party is prepared to offer responsive co-operation. As far as the Nationalist Party is concerned a section is bound to come over to me and has already expressed its willingness to support me. I may mention persons like the Maharaja of Burdwan, the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, Mr Tarak Nath Mukherji and others of their group. There is no doubt that the Maharaja of Burdwan has signed a document supporting Mr Fazlul Huq but he has explained to a member of my party that this does not mean that he will not support me in the formation of a new Ministry and that his signature was obtained on the distinct understanding that it only meant that he was signing in accordance with what they had been doing so long namely, that he was supporting the Government party of which Mr Fazlul Huq was the head. According to my information the Bose group has not made any decision that they will not co-operate with me and judging by the conversation that I had with their Minister before the resignation of Mr Fazlul Huq I think it will be possible to obtain their co-operation. They are at the present moment in this difficult position that after having worked with Mr Fazlul Huq all this time they cannot suddenly sever their connection from him until I can approach them with a definite offer which I cannot do unless I am formally commissioned by Your Excellency.

In view of the fact that I am definitely in a position to secure a stable Ministry and accordingly to assist Your Excellency in the formation of a stable Ministry I feel that I am entitled to be entrusted with the task in accordance with Your Excellency's Instruments of Instructions and the practice so far pursued in all Provinces in India.

Your sincerely.

K. Nazimuddin

To H.E. Sir John Herbert. G.C.I.E., Governor Bengal.

1. Doc. 10.

12

Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal (Telegram)

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2336]

(Repeated to Secretary of State.)

Telegram R. 11th April 1943.

Immediate. Private & Personal. No. 946-S Your report of the 7th April and your secret and personal letter of the same date.¹ Political situation. I understand from All-India Radio that you have given an interview to Huq, and would be grateful for telegraphic estimate of present position. I am clear that we cannot leave Bengal under Section 93 if in fact there exists in the legislature a working majority willing to support a Ministry and a person able to form a government. My own feeling is that at the point things have reached if you are satisfied that Nazimuddin has a better chance of forming a Ministry than anyone else and that he could produce a stable Ministry ready to support the war effort in all possible ways appropriate course would now be formally to invite him to form a Ministry. I have never regarded expedient of asking him merely to take soundings as really satisfactory. Given the fact however that you informed your Ministers when they resigned, that you were inviting Nazimuddin to investigate I think that he is entitled to be tested by a definite invitation to form a Ministry.

2. That carries with it the corollary that if Nazimuddin proves unable to give you a stable majority explicitly committed to give all support to the war effort,

- (a) it must be made clear to the public that he has been unable to form a Ministry, and
- (b) that thereafter you must see who else can do so. It goes without saying that it would not be possible in that event to exclude Huq from the list of possibles and if Huq proves to be able to form a Ministry and give undertakings as regards support for the war effort the mere fact that he recently resigned could not be held to be a justification for remaining in Section 93 rather than accepting a Ministry under Huq.

3. I should like to be kept in closest touch by telegram or telephone with your communications to Nazimuddin or to whomever else you invite to form a Ministry and with their replies and their estimates of the support they can command.

4. It would help me also to know precisely what has been said to the public about your invitation to Nazimuddin to take soundings. Has there been any correspondence with him? If so I should like copies of it.

5. I note from paragraph 9 of your letter of the 7th April that at this date no Caste Hindu had offered support of a Ministry intended to represent all parties, but that Nazimuddin was not without hope of bringing the Caste Hindus in. Given the importance of the Caste Hindu aspect I should welcome your personal appreciation of their present attitude.

[90(2)-G.G.-42]

1 Doc. 8.

13

The Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2336]

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
April 11th, 1943.

My Dear Herbert,

Many thanks for your fortnightly report of the 7th April¹ and for your secret and personal letter of the same date. The fortnightly report is occupied almost entirely for obvious reasons, with the resignation of your late Premier, and I propose to deal very briefly with it and with your secret and personal letter together.

2. On the broad issue I telegraphed to you last night that I must make it plain that we could not leave Bengal under the breakdown clauses if in fact there exists in the legislature a working majority willing to support a Ministry and a member able to form a Government; and I make clear I think that at the points things have reached Nazimuddin should be invited to form a Government. If he succeeds and gets a working majority and is prepared to give the appropriate assurances about the war well and good. If he fails and if Huq or any one else is able to produce the necessary majority and give the appropriate assurances, then it will of course be necessary to fall back upon them. It is only if we are quite unable to satisfy those conditions, in other words to form a Ministry with a working Majority behind it and of course one which will give the assurances about war effort which I have mentioned, that we can be justified in carrying on under Sections 93.

3. I am much obliged to you for the very full narrative and analysis in connection with Huq's resignation contained in your fortnightly report of the 7th April. I do not think I need enter into any very great detail on specific points. I still think that it was a mistake to put Huq in a position to suggest that his resignation was based on a letter the draft of which had been prepared in Government House. My own view is that he might have been left to draft his own letter of resignation if he wanted to resign; and secondly that it is dangerous that he should be in a position to represent that he resigned as the result of a lengthy interview with you and of

pressure from you, and that you had dissuaded him from going back to his supporters or his party on the subject when he had asked to be allowed to do so. Those are, however, minor points. My main general comment is that I feel that in dealing with a situation of this nature a Governor should consult me and that I ought not to be confronted with the resignation of a Provincial Premier in circumstance that rightly or wrongly, have been the subject of extremely acid and damaging public criticism, at five minutes notice. I feel very strongly that you ought not to have committed yourself in these ways without prior warning to, and consultation with the Governor General. Had you, as in my judgment you ought to have done, taken the Governor-General into your confidence and got your own plans clear before dispensing with Huq, we should all of us have been spared a great deal of trouble and anxiety.

4. I readily appreciate what you say in your secret and personal letter of the 7th April.¹ I note that you accept full responsibility. That of course goes without saying. What your letter I think overlooks is that this is not a matter solely for the Governor; it is quite immaterial, so far as the public or the constitutional position are concerned, how much responsibility an individual Governor is prepared to accept. What does matter is that he has a constitutional obligation to the Governor-General, and that it is equally the Governor's obligation to see that Governors discharge their constitutional obligations and that important decisions in the field of major policy are not handled or undertaken save in contact with and after consultation with the Governor-General. I remain much concerned at the handling of this case, and am far from easy as to the future; and I cannot but feel though I am as you know giving you all possible support, that different technique would not merely have been sound and desirable in itself but would have relieved yourself, myself² and possibly the Secretary of State of the necessity for dealing with an extremely involved and complicated position.

Yours sincerely,

Linlithgow.

1 & 2. Doc. 8.

14: Report on the Guerilla Training Group (extracts)

Jayakar Papers, File No. 611
[NAI]

Preface

Nothing can serve better as a Preface to this Report on the guerilla Training Camp than the speech of the Collector of Nasik, Mr J. Booth I.C.S. on the occasion of his performing the Opening Ceremony of the Camp, of 14th April 1943.

Dr B.S. Moonje

It is as follows: 'It has become a tradition in Nasik that the Collector should declare open the annual Summer Camp of the Bhonsle School. I feel much honoured that I am able to follow that tradition today'.

Now in the middle of world war, people are beginning to appreciate the vision and foresight of Dr Moonje and his collaborators in starting this school. When they did so, the world was at peace, and the fashion was to clamour for disarmament. In India especially a false sentiment had degraded the profession of arms below those of learning. People fell into the error of thinking their peaceful way of life secure without their having to make any effort. They thought and said that soldiers were unnecessary and extravagant.

This School is the visible memorial to the sound sense and persistent drive of those who were not deluded by such superficial and indeed ignorant ideas. You who attend this camp will live for these weeks close to one of the few fountains of the military spirit in these parts, and, knowing that the fate of our whole civilization depends on the strength of that spirit to resist militarist aggression, I hope you will appreciate it.

Report on the Guerilla Training Camp in the Bhonsle Military School, Ramabhoomi, Nasik

How did the Idea Occur?

WHEN a man is afflicted with hunger, his first anxiety is how to get food. Similarly when our father-land and holy-land was afflicted with threats of invasions both from the East by the Japanese and from the West by the Germans, the first thought that occurred to the Maratha was how to revive his old tradition, his father's and grand father's method of warfare, that is, the Guerilla Warfare, in which the Marathas from historic times are known to be at best.

A high Military Officer of the rank of a Colonel and Brigadier once wrote to Dr Moonje asking, 'How is your school progressing? I was interested to hear that you were running courses in Guerilla Tactics. Can you let me have any details of these courses? Who has planned them and on what lines are you training?' Thanking him in sincere gratefulness for his kindly enquiries, Dr Moonje wrote to him in reply, 'we are Marathas and the guerilla Training is in our blood. I have organised it on my own ideas'.

Soon news began to appear of Guerilla activities behind enemy lines in Russia and China. We read in the Papers,

(1) That on 20th of May 1941, His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, referring to the recent victories secured by Indian troops, specially the Marathas of the Ratnagiri district, quoted an instance of one Maratha youth who single-handed killed seven Italians from a batch of 14 that assaulted him and arrested the rest.

(2) That on the 6th of June 1941, Director of Information of Bombay said, in a Press-note, of Maratha Troops being responsible for the capture of the Governor of Italian Somaliland and several High Military officers during the campaign in East Africa. The Officer of the Maratha Unit writes, 'I sent an officer with 12 young Marathas and a detachment of the Navy and a Major of a local unit to a small island to get stores. They fired at two aides-de-camp who immediately stopped. They then bagged, as prisoners, the Governor of Italian Somaliland and one General, 2 colonels and 2 Majors, 2 A.D.C.s. and 7 women with large quantity of money and two high-up Fascist Officials'.

(3) That on 7th of August 1941, partisans, that is, Guerillas in Poland attacked group of German Officers and a German Cavalry Unit on a hill-side 8 miles from Dembitz in Poland. They killed about 200 men and officers and seized 180 horses and booty.

(4) That on 12th of August 1941, a Brigadier commanding a Brigade which had recently arrived in the Western Desert of Egypt where the 4th Indian Division had covered itself with glory last winter, offered a reward of a bottle of Champagne for the first German brought in,

either dead or alive. There was great determination and friendly rivalry for the honour of getting the first Boche.

The bottle was claimed within 48 hours and it was the Marathas who won it.

(5) That on 22nd august 1941, the German communique mentioned, among other things, annihilation and capture of parts of 17 Rifle-divisions, 5 Cavalry divisions and so on, on the Russian Front.

(6) That on 25th august 1941, there were reports of continued harassing raids by Soviet Cavalry into the German rear.

In a battle with Soviet cavalry units in the central sector of the Front, the German Official News Agency claims that 4,000 Russians were killed and 3,150 taken prisoners and in addition, 1,730 horses are said to have been captured.

A Russian Supplementary communique gave the following list of results of one months activity by one Guerilla detachment operating behind one sector of the North Western part of the German Front:

- (a) Destroyed: Lorries with ammunition and provision 100; Armoured cars 16; Tanks 11, Motor cycles 35, Aeroplanes 3; Fuel Tanks 4; Fuel Drums 4; Derailed Trains with troops, ammunition and supplies 4.
- (b) Killed: Officers 16, Privates more than 4,000.
- (c) A daring raid by Soviet Cavalry Regiment has thrown Nazi troops out of the town of 'E' in the South-Eastern Sector of the Front and captured the Divisional Headquarters.
- (d) The Germans left the bodies of some 700 officers and men in the streets. About 50 machine guns, 40 lorries and 700 bicycles were captured in the town.

(7) That on 1st September 1941, Marshal Budennyi had a brilliant thrust into the German columns in the sodden country of the Ukraine with his regiments of famous Cossack Horsemen.

(8) That on 8th September 1941, a raid by a Cossack Cavalry behind the German lines destroyed 2 German battalions and supplying columns and successfully eluded tanks and aeroplanes which were sent to capture them.

Making their way through marshes and dense forests, the Cossacks reached the German rear. In their first engagement, they completely annihilated the 3rd battalion of the 430th German Regiment and later on they destroyed the 2nd German battalion and captured 3 guns, 4 mine-throwers and many machine guns, trucks, stores of clothing, provisions and wireless apparatus. They also captured a copy of a special German Order demanding their rounding up.

Acting on these reports, the Anglo-Indian Papers particularly began to exhort the Indians frequently to follow in the footsteps of the civil population of Russia and China in the fight they have organised against the invaders of their country.

In the 3rd week of March 1942, General Molesworth, Deputy Chief of the General staff, gave a most interesting and inspiring speech at the Delhi Rotary Club on '*Retrospect and Prospect*'. He said amongst many other things. 'Then came 20 years of peace (after the last World War) and Governments and Politicians forgot about the Army and placed butter before Guns.' In India Mahatma Gandhi began to regale us with visions of Swaraj on the model of the heavenly Kingdom of Love and Non-Violence, requiring No Police and No Army for our defence from evil-doers'. The one plea, however of the General to the Indians was to 'delay and destroy the invaders. The whole speech dealt with the realities of the situation in respect of the invasion of India from the practical point of view. Having described the then situation

as 'gloomy', General Molesworth said. 'Everybody in India is asking what are we going to do to keep the Japanese out'. He then came down to consider what concrete acts of defence people should expect from the present Army, Navy and Airforce of India, should there be an actual invasion of India. He believes that the Army 'shall hold vital places which it is necessary to hold in order to make India safe but we cannot hold every one', in the enormous battle front of this vast country, having a sea-coast front of more than 3000 miles and land front of more than one thousand miles on the East and on the Northwest, and then he asks a very pertinent question — 'What is to be done for the rest of India where we are unable to put troops, or Air or Naval force?' His answer is that the civil population should come to the aid of the Army by giving the invader a great deal of trouble. He says that this must be done by the civil people like you. The army cannot do it. The people can work in bands and give trouble and delay and destroy the invasion. 'He further says, as if by prescience or instinct — 'It may be there is no proper lead from the top and no proper leadership down below.' But he says, 'still I feel that the Japanese invasion can be beaten if we educate the people on the lines of: "They shall not pass". Psychologically it can only be done by the intelligentsia, working definitely shoulder to shoulder to work up the peasant'. This is exactly the point that I have been stressing frequently of late. Technically it is known as the Guerilla Warfare though General Molesworth does not use the phrase.

We of the civil population are ready and anxious to do our bit for our country. Leaving aside what other political parties and organisations may have to say in the matter, I know, as I have been saying of the late, that my organisation, the Hindu Mahasabha and the country generally are willing and ready to respond to the call of the defence of India. But if we are to 'give trouble, and delay and destroy the invasion', will not the invader try to kill and annihilate and wipe us out, unarmed as we shall be? Because General Molesworth says — 'we cannot arm all'.

But why should not the Government be able to arm all? Have not the Chinese and the Russians armed their people? Is not England conscripting all eligible men and women for war purposes? Is not Australia and New Zealand doing the same? Are not the Chinese actually defying the Japanese blockade, working for self-sufficiency in respect of most of the ordinary weapons of warfare, such as rifles, hand-grenades, machine guns, trench mortars and even 75 millimetre Field Guns, which have been for years the principal weapons of the Chinese Forces? And what more does a Guerilla require than a rifle, a revolver, a sword, a knife, hand-grenades, a horse and a motor cycle? A machine gun will be a luxury. Why should not the Government of India be self-sufficient at their amenities? I trust the government can manufacture these ordinary weapons in sufficient quantities. The Government must attain self-sufficiency at least so far these weapons are concerned. No one will be prepared to listen to any excuse for their inability.

I suggest that a force of one million men for the Guerilla army be raised, being distributed all over India at the average rate of one lac of men for each Province.

Correspondence with the Government

In response to these reports and exhortations, the Maratha mind was thrilled and his heart frolicked into his mouth. He felt inspired and began to dream of how his fathers and grand-fathers had fought their Guerilla battles under the guidance and patronage of their own rulers of the time. When the question stared me in the face as to whom I should approach for similar guidance and patronage, I could think of no one else other than His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, who I had first met and talked to in London as the President

of the Joint Parliamentary Committee before he was appointed the Viceroy. At that time I had told His Excellency my views of the fundamentals of Indian Politics and also of the Defence of India. the first letter I wrote to him on the subject was dated 11th March 1942. In this letter among other matters, I wrote as follows:

'Now under the dark and tragic shadow of war rapidly involving India in its bloody butchery, I make a concrete suggestion and it is that a beginning should be made for raising bands of trained Guerillas. I believe, from my personal experience, that a guerilla can be trained by intensive training within 3 to 6 months to ride a horse, a motor cycle and to shoot straight at the invaders. Training camps can be organised all over the country and advantage could be taken of such institutions as the Bhonsala Military School, Nasik, which is already working on somewhat similar lines for the purpose.

'The Government should provide a horse, a motor cycle, a service rifle, a service revolver, a sword and a knife with ammunitions free of charge; besides it should also provide non-serviceable rifles for purely drill-training.

'If the Government were to encourage and help with some little funds and other materials, it would not be impossible to raise and train within the next six months, a decent Guerilla force of some thousands for shooting down invaders as a second line of defence to the Government armies.

'I am hopeful that, if the Government would encourage the idea, non-official agencies, if so desired, could be organised for the purpose.

'As I have already placed my services at the disposal of your Excellency for any kind of war purpose just at the commencement of the war, I do so again for the above mentioned purpose'.

I followed this up by formulating a proposal of organizing Guerilla bands in India and forwarded it to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Sir Archibald Wavell, on 30th March 1942. It was as follows.

My Proposal

'The War is knocking at our doors and bids fair soon to engulf us in its bloody butchery.

'We are exhorted to work for the war as the Russian and the Chinese are working for their own countries. Mere exhortations will not do we need no exhortations. We are prepared to do our bit for our own country. But, situated as we are at the present moment, the defence of India as against the organised armies of the invaders must entirely be the responsibility of the government. In so far as this aspect of the problem is concerned, we can do no more than to look up to the government and pray God to grant it victory.

'But still there is a definite sphere of work we can be useful and terribly useful too. We can organise bands of Guerillas all over the country, if the Government would encourage and help us with its control and guidance, weapons and funds. The conscience of the people has been roused to the fearful prospect of the terrible savagery of warfare if it should be allowed to engulf the country. The youths have enthusiasm and spirit to shoot the invaders and to lay their lives for the defence of Motherland. They will work under the orders of and in cooperation with the organised armies of the Government, in association with their leaders.

'I believe from my personal experience that a Guerilla can be trained by intensive training within 3 to 6 months to ride a horse, a motor cycle and to shoot straight. Training Camps can be organised all over the country and advantage could be taken of such institutions as the Bhonsala Military School, Nasik which is working on somewhat similar lines for the purpose.

'The Government should provide a horse, a motor bicycle, a service rifle, hand grenades, a service revolver, a sword and a knife, with ammunitions free of charge; besides it should also provide non-serviceable rifles for purely drill-training.

'This idea is very popular with the people. Besides the statesman which is carrying on propaganda for the arming of Indians, Lord Strabolgi also, speaking in the House of Lords, has made a strong appeal for the same, saying, 'The mark of a freeman today is the right to bear arms in the defence of his own country. The Japanese military successes are due to the fact that they are like swarms of ants. The best way to defeat the swarms of ants is by another swarm of ants. And a swarm of armed Indians would be prepared to do to them what the Chinese masses have done. 'Thus there can be no more authoritative support for my proposal'.

'I am constantly moving among the people from one end of India to the other and I am aware that if the Government were to make an call in the real business-like spirit, there will be a overwhelming response.

'At any rate in the Maharashtra, Guerilla warfare is in its blood. It is the genius of Maharashtra for which it has undying name in the history of India just as the Rajputs and Sikhs have for fighting in their own ways.'

In support of this proposal of mine, the news published in the '*Hindustan Times*' of Delhi on 10th of April 1942 came very handy. It said, 'Col. R. Ralston, the Canadian Defence Minister, announced on Wednesday that a Guerilla Army would be formed to deal with the Japanese parachutists in the event of raids on the Pacific coasts . . . Col. Ralston also announced that a Battle Training School would be established in Western Canada to instruct commando and Anti-parachutists Units.'

Such bands of Guerilla or Home-Guards are being formed in Canada, America, Russia, China, England and other countries. It is thus clear that every country which anticipates raids and invasions is preparing and training the civil population for complementing the defence of their country by their organised armies by training their civil population for military co-operation with them.

Helplessness of the People

Having been weaned away from war-mentality and war-exercises practically during the last 150 years of British Rule in India and particularly having been deprived of the possession and use of arms through the rigorous working of the Arms Act, people feel funky and absolutely helpless in the face of the immediate prospect of invasion. But though any danger, they require guidance and encouragement. The sense of helplessness, however, is so keen and general that even those who run, can mark it on the faces of the people in the street.

One Mr L. Stock, writes in the Statesmen of 14th of April 1942, describing the helplessness of civil population. He says: 'It struck me on the occasion of Calcutta's first air raid alarm, and I dare say it did others, how entirely helpless the majority of the civil population of a large city are in the matter of self-defence in the event of an enemy airman, who undoubtedly would be armed, bailing out and landing in some well-populated area of the city. As experience in Malaya and Burma shows, it is difficult to obtain Japanese prisoners owing to the fact that when they find themselves cornered they invariably commit suicide by one means or another.

'Well, one can fully realise the extent of damage and loss of life any one such airman would bring about, before using the last bullet on himself, were he to find that there was not the slightest retaliation from the people. The possession of arms by a few civilians who have spent years in being trained in their care and efficient use, will not only infuse a certain degree

of citizenship and a sense of preservation in women and children and in those men unschooled in the use of arms if they see in their midst at least one armed individual at the time of taking shelter during an air raid.'

'Having seen such convincing proofs of the helplessness of people, the feeling that naturally rises uppermost in our minds is that it is the duty of the Government to provide against it. We ourselves feel that the surest way to provide against it, is to establish Guerilla Training Centres and to encourage the Civil population to join them in large number.

Effective Work of Indian Guerillas

Besides the reports of excellent work that is being done by Guerillas in Russia and China, we have evidence of similar effectiveness of Indian Guerillas also in India. In the '*Times of India*' on 25th of August 1942, an Indian Army Observer writes, 'Century old weapons and strategy are being used with deadly effect against the Japanese by organised Guerilla bands now operating from Assam Burma border . . . such as dao, kukri, long shafted spear, sling and particularly bow and arrow . . . and so ceaselessly by night and day, the Guerillas watch and wait and at the critical moment strike swiftly and certainly'. If such is the efficiency that is shown by the Indian Guerillas, though they are untrained and ill-equipped, that is, without rifles and revolvers, are we not justified in expecting really marvellous work from well-trained and well-equipped Guerillas?

Supply of Service and Non-serviceable Rifles

In respect of the training as suggested in my proposal, I, however, learn that General Heartley, some time Commander in Chief in India, had the frankness to admit on the floor of the Council of State that the Indian Government has not got enough number of rifles to provide even to the newly recruited Armies and therefore they cannot provide rifles for the arming or for the training of the Guerillas. It is a great pity but why should the Government, with the Army Department of its own, be so miserably short of a most elementary weapon like the ordinary service rifle. Considering however that India was not prepared beforehand to meet practically at a moment's notice, such an enormously heavy call on Indian industries for weapons and equipments required to meet the very near threat of invasion to India, I made a concrete suggestion in my letter dated 27th May 1942 to His Excellency the Viceroy as follows.

'My constructive suggestion is that the Government should issue licences to the various mechanical workshops doing business in the province to manufacture rifles and revolvers for the Guerillas. . . . These rifles and revolvers, thus manufactured, may not be as efficient as service weapon but any way they will be efficient to shoot the invaders and parachutists straight in their face.

I further emphasized in the same letter that 'It is not proposed that the general mass of civil population be permitted to possess rifles indiscriminately'. In this connection my suggestion was that an irregular guerilla Army of one million men should be recruited at the average rate of one lac of men from each province, and to 'begin with, the recruitment may be started in the sea-coast towns and other places which are really exposed to attack at any moment'.

In this connection I quoted in the letter from the speech of Mr Churchill, the Prime Minister of England, as published in the papers on 13th May 1942, on the occasion of his inspection of the Palace Westminster in the company of Home Guards, at the House of Commons. He said, 'We now have the best part of a million and three quarters Home Guards trained to the

use of arms. If in 1940 the enemy had raided suddenly in large numbers from the sky in different parts of the country, they would have met little clusters of men mostly only armed with shot guns.'

Basing my questions on this speech. I respectfully asked His Excellency, 'If in England within a period of hardly one year, more than a million of Home Guards have been trained to the use of arms and shot guns have been replaced by rifles, why should not a similar experiment be tried in India? If for the defence of a small island country like that of England, having a population of hardly 5 crores, a million and three quarters of Home Guards have to be trained to the use of arms, how many million Home Guards will be required for a vast country like that of India, having a population about 8 times that of England?'

By a simple rule of three, I must say that I conveyed the idea that 'The Government of India must be prepared to train not less than 15 million people to the use of arms and they must have enough stock of rifles, revolvers, swords, knives and hand-grenades for this Guerilla force.' But perusing the immensity of the problem suddenly forced on the hands of the Government previously quite unprepared for the task, I took care to mention in the same letter. 'But I am here suggesting the recruitment of only one million Guerilla Army', in the place of the 15 million men which ought to be really recruited and trained.

Acknowledging this letter of mine promptly on the 1st of June 1942, His Excellency's Private Secretary was pleased to write to me that His Excellency asks him to thank me for my letter of 27th May and to say that he has read it with much interest and he is grateful to me for it.

[Omitted: Moonje's detailed account of various letters to the Government and the acknowledgements received – Ed.]

Request for Supply of Rifles and Ammunition to the School

Thus it will be seen how I was prompted to start Elementary Guerilla Training classes in my School, in order to be helpful to the Government, if so required at any time. With this object in view I wrote to the Defence Department, Government of India, on 11th of April 1942 requesting for supply of rifles, and got a reply dated 20th April 1942 saying 'As regards your first request (for non-serviceable rifles), I am to inform you that there are no unserviceable rifles at present available for issue to your school.' Let it be mentioned here that my demand was for only 100 non-serviceable rifles for drill purposes in my School. The reply further said – 'Such rifles as become unserviceable are utilized for preparing muskets for Police or are broken up for using the spare parts for manufacturing new rifles. As regards the supply of serviceable rifles and ammunitions, there is no hope whatsoever for many months to come of providing these, as all such rifles and communications are required for arming the regular forces.'

For trying the experiment of Guerilla Training in my School, I needed also a large number of live cartridges for Target practice and also blank cartridges. But such cartridges were not available in market. I then wrote to the Defence Department of the Government of India requesting for cartridges. Government was pleased to sanction on payment a supply of 2000 cartridges for the experiment of 1942 and again of 5000 cartridges for the Guerilla training Camp of 1943. My grateful thanks are due to the Government for their generosity and goodwill towards the school.

Besides, to rouse the enthusiasm of the boys and to give a realistic touch in the carrying out of the Exercises of the Guerilla Battle Practice, we also needed Blank cartridges. But unfortunately they were not available.

With this experience behind me, I, however, decided to start the experiment in my school, as an humblest possible beginning in the line to meet the long-felt necessity in the country. For the first time in 1942, a class for Guerilla Training was established in the School for a course of Training for two months and a half, that is, for the months of April, May and upto 15th June. Our experience was very hopeful and encouraging, though there was not much time for propaganda, mere advertisement in the papers brought in students from all parts of India to join the class even from such out of the way parts as Karachi in the extreme west, Cochin and Travancore in the extreme South, and Assam in the extreme East. Their number on the roll was 56. They found the training quite novel and exhilarating. The School being residential, every student, at the rate of Rs 40 per month, had to pay Rs 100 for the courses of two and a half months training.

Guerilla Training Camp of 1943

Being encouraged by the response of 1942, an appeal was issued by Dr Moonje towards the middle of March 1943 which was published in all the leading papers throughout India and was also sent to all the Universities, Colleges and some prominent Schools all over the country. The call was not unheeded. Several people made enquiries and 72 students actually joined the class.

This year's experiment was planned on a more ambitious and larger scale. the camp was opened for 3 month's course residential, each boy, at the rate of Rs 40 per month, had to pay Rs 120. for his training of three months, all inclusive. It was conceived for serious and hard intensive training and not for whiling away the time of the summer holidays in pleasure and games in the pleasant climate even in summer for which Nasik is known. The first months' course of training was intended to give a grounding to the boys in the fundamentals of the Guerilla Training, that is, P.T., Jumping; Running Drill, Riding, rifle practice, the second month was intended for giving a completing touch to the training received in first month, and particularly to horse riding without reins or without stirrups, hurdle jumping, rifle practice on fixed and movable targets from the distances of from 25 to 200 yards, shooting at small sized rubber-balloons freely fluttering in the air and rifle practice while riding cantering horses and the third month was intended for actual practice in Guerilla raids, that is, Guerilla Battle Practice.

We knew that this course of training would fire up the mental and physical patience of many boys who may have come for mere pleasure and for the novelty of the idea. But we stuck to our original conception.

Courses of Preliminary Guerilla Training

The training includes Exercises in Physical Training Running exercises, Boxing, Military Drill, rifle practice, horse riding and riding without stirrups and reins, hurdle jumping, rifle shooting while riding, P.T. exercises on horse back, swimming and exercises in Guerilla battle practice.

Besides, Indian Arts of self-defence such as lathi, gadka, sword, knife etc., were also taught.

Exercise in Guerilla Battle Practice

The following exercises were devised in Guerilla-battle practice:

- (1) Swimming in the river with equipment on and with rifles held aloft. In this exercise, boys jumped from the high bund of the river Godavari in Anandvalli village, about 25 feet high, into deep water below, and afterwards attacked an unsuspecting party of the enemy resting on the bank.

- (2) Guerillas shooting at the unsuspecting enemy marching along a footpath after climbing up and concealing themselves in trees along the path.
- (3) Hill climbing and attacking the enemy on the top of the hill from all sides.
- (4) Attack by Guerillas concealed in the bushes along a village road on the enemy's transport and trying to blow up a bridge ahead.
- (4) Guerilla attack and bayonet fighting singly in a dense forest.
- (6) Guerillas concealed in bushes attacked the unsuspecting enemy on its march.
- (7) Chasing up of a Guerilla party by an enemy-unit.

Daily Routine of Training

By actual experience it is found that this course could be tolerably completed within 3 months by intensive work at the rate of 6 to 8 hours a day. During the period of this training, the daily routine was as follows:

6.30 a.m.	Reveille
7.30 to 7.40 a.m.	Prayer
7.40 to 8.40 a.m.	P.T. and running exercises
8.30 to 9.00 a.m.	Break-fast
10.00 to 10.45 a.m.	Drill.

Two batches each of 10, used to go for riding every morning between these hours.

11.00 to 12.00 noon	Swimming
12.30 to 3.00 p.m.	Meals and rest
3.00 to 4.00 p.m.	Lectures and explanations of military training and exercises.
4.15 to 7.15 p.m.	Lathi, spear, sword, shooting, boxing signalling etc., in various batches.
8.00 to 8.10 p.m.	Prayer
9.00 to p.m.	Meals
10.00 p.m.	Lights off.

N.B. (1) There are 15 horses in the School stable but often not more than 12 horses were serviceable. Every Ramadandee could go through on an average not [less?] than 40 rides on horses in the course of 72 working days out of 90 days of 3 months, excluding 18 days of weekly holidays of half-day for Saturdays and full-day for Sundays.

(2) It was found that, within 2 months' time, the Ramadandees were able to handle the rifles correctly, to take correct aim, to ride horses and do P.T. and rifle practice exercises on horse-back while cantering without the help of stirrups and reins with a rifle in hand. With this much preparation in 2 months, Ramadandees were given, in the third months, actual exercise in Guerilla Battle Practice.

Donations

In response to the appeal made privately by Dr Moonje to some of his friends and acquaintances, Shriman Seth Lakshmipet Singhania of Cawnpore gave a donation of Rs 2,500 and the Trustees of Sir Ratan Tata, Bombay gave Rs 1,000. The School offer their grateful thanks for the interest they have shown in its experiment of the Guerilla Training camp.

Out of these donations seven free-ships, seven half-free-ships and seven one quarter free

ships were given. In each of these 3 categories of free ships, 3 were reserved for depressed classes, 2 for Marathas, Rajputs and others and 2 for Brahmins, Prabhus and Kayasthas.

Applications for these free-ships were invited through newspapers. A committee consisting of Diwan Bahadur Vandekar, Sjt. Bhausahib Patenkar, Mr Rankhambe, Mr M.J. Dikshit and Mr Gangurde was formed for selection of boys for these free-ships. Dr Moonje acted as an Advisor to the Committee.

Curiosity and Interest of the Government

The Government, it seems, also watched this activity very keenly and '*The Far Eastern Bureau - The British Ministry Of Information, Delhi*' sent their official photographer to take photographs of the interesting exercises devised by the School of Guerilla Training. We only wish they would have taken moving pictures of the various activities.

15 Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2226]

From H.E. Sir Bertrand Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of the Punjab.

Govt. House, Lahore,
April 17th, 1943.

[Private & Personal].
No. 444.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Gandhi's fast has receded ingloriously into the background so far as this Province is concerned and minor attempts to work up enthusiasm for Congress manoeuvres have met with no success. I agree entirely with everything that Your Excellency has said on this subject in your private and personal letter of March the 19th. There is no doubt that your firm handling of the situation has had the effect of markedly depressing the level of Congress shares and correspondingly strengthening those of Government. There have been no unfavourable service reactions in the Punjab as far as I am aware, and no difficulties with Hindu officers of the I.C.S. have been brought to my notice.

2. The main threat to our political tranquillity comes from Jinnah and the Muslim League. Shaukat tells me that you were good enough to see him at Delhi just after his interview with Jinnah, and he is most grateful for the encouragement you gave him. Jinnah appears, as you will have gathered, to have been extremely rough and overbearing in his dealings with Shaukat whom he advised to return to the Army and give up the idea of a Muslim League ticket for the Punjab Assembly, which he could only hope to secure by means of cajolery and underground activities. Jinnah said that Shaukat's appointment as a Minister was an insult to democracy. He seems to have made one curious assertion and that was that according to his information the Governor had been anxious to refer this matter to the Muslim League, but

that Khizar and his friends had objected. This balloon was obviously intended to draw Shaukat's fire, but Shaukat, so he tells me, was discreet enough to refrain from comment. Shaukat was not favourably impressed by Jinnah's tirade. He has decided now to stand for the constituency in his own district, Attock, vacated by his kinsman Nawab Muzaffar Khan on appointment to the Provincial Public Services Commission. Shaukat has accordingly applied, in accordance with the terms of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact, for a Muslim League ticket for the constituency concerned. I doubt whether he has been wise in the decision, as the Khattar faction have many enemies in Attock and an election there is likely to be a costly and uncertain affair; he would have been more prudent in my opinion to have tried for a safer seat which could have been placed at his disposal. Jinnah would seem to have aroused his fighting spirit. The next question is whether the Muslim League Working committee, to whom Shaukat has sent in his application, will give him the ticket for which he has asked. This committee, which has taken the place of the Parliamentary Board mentioned in the Sikander-Jinnah Pact, consists of the Nawab of Mamdot as President of the Provincial Muslim League and twenty others—largely men of no importance—whom he has nominated. Most people seem to think that Shaukat will secure his ticket from this strangely constituted body. If he does so, an appeal against the decision will, it appears, lie to Jinnah. The prevalent belief is that Jinnah would not go to the length of turning down a decision of the Committee in favour of Shaukat, but should Jinnah take this step, it looks as though an open rupture would be unavoidable. Sir Chhotu Ram is convinced that in this case not more than about a dozen Muslim members would desert the Unionist Party and the position would still remain secure. Khizar is not so sanguine as to the result of a battle with Jinnah unless the point of difference can be narrowed down to a War issue. There is no doubt that the 'Pakistan' slogan is gaining in volume, and I fear that there are a fair number of politicians in the Province who would sell the Unionist fort for their own personal advantage. One of the difficulties, as I have mentioned in my last letter, is the loose wording of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact;¹ the more I study this document the less I like it. Unfortunately it is easier for Jinnah to twist the Pact to suit his own convenience than for the Unionist Party; it contains no satisfactory enunciation of the doctrine that the Central Muslim League authorities are expected to refrain from interference in Punjab politics.

3. The Akalis have been somewhat quieter of late. I have had a long talk with Master Tara Singh, who complained that the Sikander-Baldev Singh agreement was not being honoured in the matter of extended facilities for the use of *Jhatka* meat. I told him that action was being taken in this direction in various Government institutions, but that if he pressed for an open pronouncement on the question, he would rouse a counter agitation on the part of Muslims for greater liberty in the matter of beef and would thus defeat any prospect of success. He did not dispute the truth of this, but his main anxiety is to keep himself and his friends in the lime-light and he is also nervous lest some of the Sikh detenus may reproach him for his lack of initiative when they emerge from jails in which *Jhatka* facilities have not been forthcoming. I also told Master Tara Singh that the Kapurthala campaign was bringing him no credit and that if he went to the length of organizing a morcha the Punjab Government would undoubtedly take firm action. The Kapurthala affair has now been compromised and I hope that it will not break out again; the Maharaja of Kapurthala has not by any means been discrete in all his actions, particularly in paying a rather provocative visit to preside over the prize-giving ceremony at the Khalsa college Amritsar, when the trouble was at its height. He has been spoken to plainly about this both by the Resident and myself. Akali influence in Patiala has been severely shaken by the removal from office of the Home Minister, Raghbir

Singh, and the Inspector-General of Police, Gurdial Singh Dhillon; they are said to be on leave, but unlikely to return. Kirpal Singh Majithia is jubilant about these developments; he is making renewed overtures to the Maharaja of Patiala and says he hopes to build up resistance against the Akalis both in the states and in British India.

Yours sincerely,

B.J. Glancy.

See Ayesha Jalal. *The Sole Spokesman* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 39. Generally the understanding was that Sikander Hyat Khan was given a free hand as regards the Unionist Party in the Punjab. On all India matters he was to follow the Muslim League. Members of the Muslim League Party were allowed to form a party inside Punjab – Ed.

16 Review of an article in *Janayuddha* dt 7.4.43

Govt. of Bengal (Home) Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. SK 562/42
[Bengal State Archives]

Under the caption, 'Threat of Bombs Increasing', it condemned the secret circular of the A.R.P. authorities for not enlisting the persons who were politically connected. specially the Communists, as A.R.P. wardens. It demanded for the enlistment of the A.R.P. volunteers from among the public as the Bengal was declared a 'red area'. It reminded the Government that the A.R.P. was meant for the public and not for the authorities who wanted the whole managements in their hands and demanded for the formation of a Committee with the distinguished citizens and workers, who would supervise the A.R.P. works.

In the editorial column under the heading *Sanmmilita mantritwer Baniad Garo*¹ it urged for the formation of ministry in Bengal with the union of the Congress, League and Hindu Mahasaba. The Ministry would be too strong to be dissolved for want of few votes, nor would it be possible for the Governor dissolve it with the plea of no-confidence.

1. Lay the foundation for a coalition ministry.



17 Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2336]

Govt. House, Calcutta,
April 19th, 1943.

Dear Linlithgow,

This is my report for the first half of April. I enclose the Home Department report¹ for that period.

2. Political - Nearly the whole of my last report was devoted to the political situation, which has not yet resolved itself. For reasons shown in correspondence between ourselves, I was unable to call on Nazimuddin until the 13th April to assist me in forming a stable Ministry prepared to support the war effort. Since then Nazimuddin's chief endeavour has been directed to bring in 'representative' Caste Hindus, and has so far produced no definite results, though perhaps they were not to be expected within a week, but I hope to be able to telegraph details of his proposals in a day or two. Persons concerned to hamper Nazimuddin in his task are making great play with the refusal of the Muslim League to co-operate with Muslims who are not members of the League, thus excluding the Krishak Proja Party. But there are signs that individual members of that Party are leaving it to join the League and I feel it unlikely that the exclusion of a party of only about a dozen Muslims will of itself cause a breakdown of negotiations.

3. The latest news is that eight of the Bose Group (whose effective strength excluding prisoners is 27) have submitted their resignations, but the result is not yet known-they have not definitely thrown in their lot with Nazimuddin as yet, but Nazimuddin regards this as an encouraging start.

4. The attitude of the European Group, is, I think, significant. Departing from their traditional policy of giving every Ministry a fair chance and only opposing it when it misbehaves, they have made it clear that they will have nothing to do with, and will oppose, any new Ministry under Huq, as they have been disgusted with the misgovernment and corruption which they associate with his leadership and with him personally. This in my view makes it indispensable for a stable Ministry to be formed under Nazimuddin, as the only alternative-a Ministry under Huq-would, apart from its intrinsic disadvantages, be necessarily unstable when faced by the now largely increased Muslim League party and the European Group with possibly some Scheduled caste elements, and remaining in Section 93 is what we are all seeking to avoid.

5. My I.B. officers are meanwhile becoming concerned lest Nazimuddin in his efforts to do a deal with Caste Hindus may give undertakings about the release of political prisoners and law and order generally. I am convinced that we cannot afford to weaken on these points: law and order was maintained last autumn in spite of the Bose Group and only because we had secured the potential leaders before they were able to organise. I fully realise that in the peculiar circumstances of Huq's resignation it is particularly desirable from the political aspect

and from the point of view of expediency to include as many representative Caste Hindus as possible. But bitter experience of the last Ministry has shown how some Congress minded Ministers definitely weakened the war effort, the maintenance of law and order, and the morale of the Services, which was surprisingly well maintained under extremely trying conditions. My senior officers are at the moment far more concerned about trouble of this kind than about the possibility of communal disturbances; and there is a general feeling that something is brewing as Bengal is unnaturally quiet.

6. The long and short of it is that under present military conditions law and order must be maintained. We should, I believe, be better off with a Ministry under Nazimuddin supported by loyal Caste and Scheduled Caste Hindus, but without 'representative' Hindus whose loyalty is suspect, than without a Ministry at all. Nevertheless, I am bound to say that my appreciation of public opinion is that it is not perturbed at Section 93, and is very far from being represented by the vocal Press which works mainly for disgruntled political parties or by the type of politician who telephones to Delhi or telegraphs to Whitehall. I have already heard of several men of substantial position and sober outlook who are glad that there is a truce to Ministerial jobbery and profit-making.

[Linlithgow's Comment in margin of document (Ed.): *I have already made it plain to the G. that we cannot continue in Sec. 93 if a majority of the legislature is prepared to support a Ministry. L.*]

7. Incidentally Huq recently addressed to me a tirade reproaching me with bad faith in now favouring a Ministry restricted to the Muslim League and the European Group and threatening, in default of a satisfactory reply from myself to publish his letter as also his two letters promising resignation, a letter in reply from me, his resignation and my acceptance of it (of which you have copies). His ultimatum was to expire the same day! It being obvious that Huq could and would publish, whatever my wishes, my Secretary replied simply that the only comment which I had to offer was that I accepted neither Huq's arguments nor his inferences. On this, Huq informed me that he would not publish 'for the present', but promptly put it about that I have 'assured' him that I 'adhere' to my previous 'decision' to have a stable and 'representative' Ministry. I suppose that by now one should not be surprised at any 'quick ones' from that quarter.

8. Food Supplies — As the result of the great help afforded by your Government, prices are falling in Calcutta although still very slowly for rice. But the general flow of trade is still slack. We have addressed your Government officially on the desirability of breaking down provincial barriers in East India in order to re-establish the normal channels of supply. Although it may be desirable to lower prices in Bengal first, I cannot help feeling that this must be the ultimate solution. Now that the Army have relaxed, and in some cases cancelled, the boat denial policy in rice-growing districts, we may expect a gradual improvement in East Bengal. Meanwhile, Tyson is doing great work in the revitalized Publicity Department, which is co-ordinating the National War Front, War committee and Government propaganda and rallying general opinion. But in Hindu West Bengal difficulties may arise owing to political activity. This, I hope, can be successfully countered by increased co-operation from Muslim East Bengal and Assam, now under a Muslim League Ministry, which can be expected to help out Nazimuddin.

9. The Calcutta situation is, however, aggravated by certain political machinations. Lewis has given me to understand that he is not happy about Parlakimedi's almost continuous absences and about information received by him that Parlakimedi has now taken a house in

Calcutta. I frankly admit that I am myself disturbed at the goings-on between Orissa and Bengal. For some time the permits to move rice from Orissa to Calcutta have been hawked around at about 70 per cent profit. A short time ago the Orissa Government in effect complained that as rice from that Province was being sold in Calcutta at great profit to Bengal, Orissa merchants were unwilling to trade unless Orissa had a slice of the profits. (We have meanwhile made it clear that we desire neither to profit nor to lose on the aggregate transactions.) Still more recently Parlakimedi visited Ayyar, who has now taken over from Pinnell as Director, Supplies, to request him to allow a large consignment of Orissa rice to be added to the total being imported under permit. When this visit was followed by one from Fazlul Huq requesting that rice being held by a concern called 'National Industries' might be given a permit, and news came that S.P. Mukherjee and others are interested, it has become obvious that 'national Industries' is a racket designed to bring one lakh of maunds of rice on to the Calcutta market at a profit of about Rs 10 per maund at a time when Orissa claims to be running dry!

10. This and similar information leads me to the conclusion that although there may be a slight general shortage and sometimes an acute scarcity due to maldistribution, there are unseen influences at work seeking to produce a serious situation designed to lead to wholesale disorders. The publications recently issued by your Government show that Congress was directly concerned in the autumn disorders, which if more successful might have led to a complete dislocation of the war effort. I cannot help feeling that the same sinister influences now seek to create famine conditions which will lead to disorders in which Muslims would come into conflict with the forces of law and to wholesale rioting which may cause a breakdown of the lines of communications supporting the Eastern Army.

11. Jail Accommodation. My Home Department have been in correspondence with yours on the subject of accommodating our political prisoners in some other Province. Your Government is naturally primarily concerned with defence security requirements, i.e. with the removal from operational areas of prisoners who, if they escaped, could be of particular assistance to the enemy. We have welcomed suggestions for the accommodation of such prisoners outside Bengal: we assess their numbers at about 1,000 and with the most ruthless pruning cannot reduce this figure below 500. But we feel that Bengal deserves special consideration in this matter while we fully recognise that jail accommodation presents great difficulties at present in most Provinces. Bengal is of great importance from the operational point of view apart from the possibility of its actually being the scene of operations. We feel that the Military will fully endorse the proposition that the outside influences exerted by these prisoners (which so long as they are detained in their own Province, cannot unfortunately be altogether eliminated) is a grave source of danger to communications. The fact that Bengal adjoins the war zone makes rapid construction of additional accommodation almost impossible-materials and labour are monopolized for war requirements. Further, the existing congestion in our jails is becoming aggravated by convictions for dacoity looting and other crimes consequent upon our food shortage. I feel that there is a particularly strong case for the Central Government to relieve us of the bulk of these really dangerous prisoners, as was done in the old Deoli days. Details can be discussed officially, but I earnestly ask your assistance in putting forward the broad outline of our request for relief.

12. Requisitioning-requisitioning on behalf of the Central Government-mainly for defence purposes-has been causing difficulties here. There has been a tendency to eliminate consultation with the Provincial Civil Authorities with results that cannot be satisfactory to any party

and I recently arranged a conference to consider the best means of approaching this question. A great measure of agreement was reached at the conference and official proposals are going forward. The trouble has been that it has not always been appreciated how far civilian personnel (and the amenities necessary to its efficiency) and civil activities are actually essential to the war effort, so that there has been a tendency to sacrifice them to the more immediately obvious service requirements. This, I hope is now in process of being cleared up.

Yours sincerely,

J.A. Herbert

1. Not printed. [40 (30) – G.G.-43.].

18 Government of Bengal to Viceroy (Telegram)

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

Telegram R., 20th April 1943.

Most Immediate. Private & Personal. No. 57. Nazimuddin has now reported regarding his proposed Ministry. His figures for Legislative Assembly are Muslims minimum 85, optimum 95, Schedule Caste minimum 17, optimum 22, Hindus minimum 9, optimum 12, Europeans 25, unattached 5, total supporting Nazimuddin Ministry minimum 141, giving majority of 52 in House of effective strength of 230, all voting and optimum total of 159 giving similar majority of 88. He assures me and I am satisfied that his minimum figures are conservative.

2. Nazimuddin claims that his position in Upper House is quite secure: 40 for Ministry and 22 against in House of 62.

3. He proposes Ministry of 13 consisting of 7 Muslims, 3 Caste Hindus, 3 Schedule Castes. He also proposes one Parliamentary Secretary for each Minister.

4. Names of Minister proposed are Muslims: Nazimuddin, Suhrawardy, Musharaf Hussain, Tamizuddin Khan, Muazzamuddin Hussain, Sababuddin and Jelaluddin Ahmed. Schedule caste: Pulin Behari Mullick, Prem Hari Barman and Jogendra Mandal, Caste Hindus: Tulsi Chandra Goswami, Barada Prosanna Pain and one Minister representing the zamindars. (He hopes to get Burdwan for this. Failing Burdwan, Tarak Nath Mukherji). I presume you do not at this stage require names of Parliamentary Secretaries or details of proposed portfolios.

5. I confess some disappointment at quantity and quality of Caste Hindu support, due to Mukherji's wreck tactics. Support of members of Bose's group (six in Legislative Assembly) who have seceded from group is conditional on two seats in Cabinet for Goswami and Pain. Both Goswami and Pain are of dubious personal morals but have been prominent in political and public life and Goswami at least while erratic may retain part of his former brilliance. The other seven in this group are either non-entities or somewhat disreputable. The accession of Burdwan and Cossimbazar for which Nazimuddin hopes before Ministry is constituted would considerably improve the Caste Hindu facade.

6. Constitutionally I feel we have to treat Caste Hindus as so many votes and, subject to your views, that with figures he has shown Nazimuddin can claim a stable majority which entitles him to be put in office. Nazimuddin is extremely anxious for a quick decision urging that delay in present flux of politics will almost certainly cause back sliding. I feel there is force in this, and subject to your approval, I would like to revoke Section 93 Proclamation and swear in the new cabinet if possible before Good Friday, 23rd, otherwise on 24th or 26th. I had intended to leave for Darjeeling tomorrow but am staying here to see this through. If all goes according to plan I would hold a cabinet meeting on 27th opening working day and leave for Darjeeling soon after for a week during which I doubt need for my presence while Ministers are settling down to work.

[90 (2) - G.G.42].

19: Official Notings (dt 22.4.1943-28.4.1943) Arms to Muslims and not to Hindus (extracts)

File No. 44/29/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

As I mentioned to Additional Secretary I received a visit this afternoon from the Hon'ble Mr Gazdar, Home Minister of Sind. The Hon'ble Minister had asked for an interview with H.M. but as H.M. was indisposed he gave me an outline of the matters which he wished to discuss. These were:

[*Omitted*: a para on the question of releasing detenus on parole]

(2) *Administration of the Arms Act*

Mr Gazdar suggested rather coyly that he was in favour of issuing arms to Muslims but not to Hindus as the former had preserved their weapons whereas the Hindus had allowed them to get into the hands of dacoits. I asked the Minister if he were prepared to face the reactions to such discrimination whereupon he suggested a conference between the Provincial Government's representative and the Central Government on the whole subject. Presumably his intention was to secure the backing of the Government of India for his proposal. He also referred to certain proposals made by Mr Lambrick presumably in regard to martial law area and said that the Provincial Government did not altogether agree with the recommendations which they had not yet forwarded. The Minister was not sure however whether a copy had been forwarded through the Martial Law Administrator to the War Department. At the conclusion of our talk I told Mr Gazdar that I would make a note of what he had said.

Mr Gazdar informed me that he would be here till the 26th instant staying at Keeling Road.

Conran Smith
Signed
22-4-43

Additional Secretary

As Regards Para-2 there was a lot of correspondence in the past about Control of arms in Sind but I am not sure whether there has been any recent official correspondence on the subject. I don't think we could officially agree to the policy that the Gazdar seems to suggest.

Extracts may be made on the two points pursued separately.

Signed
R.C. Tottenham
28/4.

20 Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No.

To H.E. Sir John Herbert G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal

Viceroy's Camp, Dehra Dun
April 24, 1943.

My dear Herbert,

Many thanks for your Fortnightly Report of the 19th¹ April. We have been in close consultation about arrangements for resolving the political deadlock, and as I write I await a formal announcement of the appointment of a Ministry under Nazimuddin. I am not too easy about the Caste Hindu side of this business, but I think that we can take risks. As for what you say in paragraph 6 of your letter about public opinion not being perturbed at the existence of section 93 if the majority in the Legislature is prepared to support a Ministry.

2. I am sending you separately copy of a lengthy letter which I have had from Huq. I have not yet answered it, and will cause merely a formal acknowledgement to be sent, It will not surprise me if he publishes it now that Nazimuddin has formed a Ministry. I have a series of representations incidentally both from Huq himself, and from the Caste Hindus and their friends (including Lord Sinha) by telegram.

3. I have read with care what you say in paragraphs 8 to 10 of your letter about the Food situation, and I shall be writing to you separately about that. I am aware also of your difficulties about jail accommodation-difficulties unfortunately shared in a high degree by other provinces, but I will have another word with Home Department about this.

4. Many thanks for your comments about requisitioning. I had a word on this subject with Hendry when he was up here last week, and he was put in touch with the Department.

Yours sincerely,
Linlithgow.

1. Doc. 17.



21: Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

May 7th 1943

Dear Linlithgow,

This is my report for the second half of April I enclose the Home Department report¹ for that period

2. *Political* – The new Ministry made an encouraging showing at the two Cabinet meetings so far held in evincing desire to get to work, especially on the food problem, to which I refer later – a refreshing change.

3. In your letter of the 1st May² you suggested that the best hope of countering opposition to the present Ministry might lie in impartial administration by them coupled as opportunity offers, with indications of magnanimity to their political opponents. I have made no secret of my apprehension that appeasement of this kind might take the obvious trend towards releases of political suspects.

[Linlithgow's Marginal Note : no one suggests that magnanimity need take this form or any other form. But there are many other ways. – Ed.]

My C.I.D. share these apprehensions and point out that the large measure of quiet which Bengal has for some years past enjoyed is mainly to be attributed – indeed intercepted Congress documents frankly admit it – to our having locked up potential agitators. My D.I.G. who has already advocated the release of unimportant persons goes so far as to say that the concerting with the military of elaborate schemes for policing railways and otherwise catering for the security of the lines of communication is just so much waste of time if we contemplate releasing political suspects whose detention has been responsible for the success of security measures so far.

4. Nazimuddin has discussed this subject with me. His view (for which I think there is much to be said) is that so long as Bengal has a strong anti-Japanese Ministry which he claims the present Ministry to be and so long as the war news continue to be good, a certain degree of leniency can be shown in this matter of release of political suspects. On the other hand if the war news ceases to be good, he would advocate a policy of complete non-appeasement.

5. As I mentioned in my telegram of the 23rd April, Nazimuddin has been invited by Sarat Bose to pay him a visit. He is anxious to go as he expects that Sarat Bose may order the majority of his party to support Goswami and Pain and thus neutralize much of the influence of S.P. Mookerjee. I am not myself very certain as to the desirability of the visit. In particular I wish I had some indication of the prospects of a Congress Muslim League agreement which must necessarily affect our policy in Bengal and indeed all over India.

6. There are indications that Huq's protestations are losing their news value: the danger, I feel lies in his threatened campaign to mobilize the opinion of the masses on the question of food and other matters. There is, indeed a feeling in the Ministry that he should not be

allowed to pursue his publicity campaign. As against this, it is suggested that he may fail to secure an audience or even be ridiculed in the mofussil and that his Calcutta audience consist in the main of Hindus collected by Mookerjee.

7. You will have received my telegram of the 1st May on the subject of your granting Huq an interview. I must admit that the prospect of legal action against him is somewhat remote as so far the evidence of his activities in connection with rice has not proved very tangible. Lewis may be right in conjecturing that Parlakimedi's connection with Huq was quite innocent on the former's part: but the same is almost certainly not true of Huq's share in this and other transactions. Huq however, appeared in this affair as an attorney so that, if blame can be fixed, his principals, and not he are likely to get it.

8. Food Supplies – I must confess that the third paragraph of your letter of the 1st May has caused me considerable anxiety. I am aware that Suhrawardy is not everybody's 'cup of tea' and that indeed his past record is not universally approved. However, we must give him a chance and as you say, make the best of him. He has undeniable ability and drive, is at the moment working tirelessly and is inflexible in his determination to check hoarding and bring out food stocks.

[Linlithgow's Marginal Note: We will certainly oblige where a criticisms can be useful – Ed.]

9. But I am more concerned at your not having felt entirely happy with the handling of Bengal's food policy in the past. I fully realise that there may have been many imperfections in this sphere, but I would be grateful if you would let me know which you have in mind, in order that I may be at pains to remove them and prevent their recurrence. Above all, it is my most anxious desire that in this matter my Province should be of real assistance-certainly not a hindrance-to the Central Government and it will clear the air of misunderstanding if I can be told where we have gone wrong.

10. I feel more strongly on this point because of the very great consideration and help which we have received from your Government in this matter of food supplies. I understand that new proposals to meet our difficulties in this respect are at this moment pending; so I will not attempt any detailed discussion of the subject. But I would in particular like to record my very deep appreciation of the assistance and advice which my officers have received from Braund and Vigor.

Yours sincerely.

J.A. Herbert.

1. Not printed.

2. Not printed.



22 Commissioner of Delhi to the Secretary, Home Dept. GOI

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Subject: Report of 'discipline marchers' of Muslim National Guards in Delhi on the occasion of the Muslim League session in April, 43.

Serial No. 2

Confidential

No. 465-5-B.

From

A.P. Askwith, Chief Commr., Delhi.

To

The Secretary to Government of India,
Home Department, New Delhi

Delhi, dt 10-5-43

Sir,

I have the honour to reply to Mr Vishnu Sahay's express letter No. 28/2/43 – Poll (I) dt. the 28th April 1943,¹ regarding certain references in the newspaper *Dawn* to parading by volunteers in connection with the recent Muslim League session in Delhi.

The dress worn by the Muslim League volunteers in no way resembled military or police uniform – one officer who saw them observes that they looked more as if they had been borrowed from musical comedy – and there can be no question of the GOI notification on that subject (No. 74/3/40 – Political-D of the 5th August 1940) having been contravened. As regards the other notification of the same date, No. 74/3/40 – Political – I, it is not possible to be quite so categorical. There are three occasions to be considered.

(I) On the evening of the 22nd April the so-called Sind National Guards, the best organised of the volunteer detachments which were brought to Delhi for the session (the detachment included a bugle band) having arrived in Delhi during the course of the day, paraded on the land outside the Ajmere Gate which had been placed at the disposal of the Conference Committee, and gave a salute to Mr Yousaf Haroon, M.L.A. – the person described in *Dawn* as the Salar-i-Azam of the All India Muslim Guards.

(II) Detachments of volunteers from twenty towns in various parts of India (the detachments being mostly between ten and fifty strong took part in the procession through the city on the afternoon of the 25th April.

(III) On the 24th April there was another parade in the presence of Mr Yousaf Haroon on the land outside the Ajmere Gate in which all or most of the outside volunteer contingents took part. The band from Sind was again prominent.

So far as Occasion (II) is concerned, I doubt whether a court would hold that the participation of the volunteers in the procession constitute a breach of the Central Government Notification. The Volunteers on this occasion did not perform any drill or evolutions; they

simply walked along more or less in step, carrying (a few of them) flags on sticks. Doubtless any kind of marching, being a 'movement' can be brought within the scope of the notification but on the other side it could be argued that any procession must involve marching and movement and it is doubtful whether a court would convict for mere participation in a licensed procession such as this was. On the other hand, on occasion (I) and Occasion (III) drill was certainly carried out and though this took place on a site which (the Leaguers would probably argue) was not a public place that does not make any difference for the purpose of the notification. On these two occasions I should say that there was an infringement of the notification against drilling but at the same time I think that the local officers were certainly right, in the circumstances, in overlooking it.

3. On future occasions of the same kind, when an application is made for a license for a procession or for permission to use Govt. land for a conference, I am giving instructions that an inquiry should be made from the applicants whether there is any intention of using volunteers; and it will be made a condition of the license or permit that nothing in the nature of drill shall take place.

4. If the GOI think fit an inquiry might be made from the Govt. of Sind regarding the band which accompanied the detachment of volunteers from Karachi. This band was fairly well trained, able to counter-march and if it is a regular Muslim League band (and not an ordinary bazaar band hired or borrowed for the occasion), it would seem that the notification against drilling is not strictly enforced in that province. The detachments from Ahmedabad and Peshawar also had bands but I understand that these were not so well trained as the Sind one.

Signed Askwith
Chief Commr., Delhi.

1. Not printed.

23 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from N.W.F.P. for the first half of May 1943

File No. 18/5/43 – Home Poll (I) -
[NAI]

2. *Political.* . . .

Since the return of the Muslim League delegates from Delhi, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan has been busy in canvassing support for a Muslim League 'coalition' Government, and on the 15th May he was informed that H.E. the Governor would welcome his assistance in forming a Ministry with a view to revoking the proclamation under section 93, Govt. of India Act. The names of the Ministers have not yet been announced. R.B. Mehr Chand Khanna, the Hindu Maha Sabha Leader, who has recently returned to Peshawar from America announced on the 10th May that he would have nothing to do with the proposed new Ministry. . . .

Appendix I

(a) . . . Referring to the Presidential address delivered by Mr Jinnah at the annual session of the Muslim League the '*Khyber Mail*' writes 'By far the greatest event was Mr Jinnah's cordial

invitation to Mr Gandhi to bury the hatchet and come to an understanding with Muslim India. The cold reception which this sporting gesture has been given by the Hindu Press augurs ill for sanguine expectations for the future of the land'. But the '*Frontier Advocate*' and the '*Sarhadi Sikh Samachar*' on their part urge Mr Jinnah to take the initiative and see or address Mr Gandhi in jail in connection with the communal settlement.

24 Iftikhar Hussain Khan to Jinnah

S. Qaim Hussain Jafri (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders* (1977), p. 222

Jalalabad-West,
Dist. Ferozepore,
D/19.5.1943.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your must have read my statement and the criticism levelled against it by the Urdu press under the instructions of my friend Amjad Ali. I am very anxious to know your view about it for my future guidance.

You know that lately Sir Chhotu Ram has been taking too much liberty and his frequent out-bursts were having a very bad effect on the morale of our workers. It was this consideration that compelled me to make statement in order to shut his mouth at least for some time. Besides I believe in always moving a step forward whenever there is an opportunity. We have now reached a stage where nobody has the guts to say anything against the League. I have purposely tried to involve the Muslim Ministers knowing that none of them will have the courage to say 'no'. We must assert ourselves because we know that the masses are with us.

Kindly write to me at the above address.

Yours sincerely,

Signed Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan.

1) Quaid-i-Azam Paper Cell.
File No. 372, p. 9.



25. Extract from 'Enquiry into Mr M.A. Ispahani's transactions as Buying Agent for the Bengal Govt.' – His collusion with Muslim League Government

Nanavati Papers – List of Literature, Item No. 2.b.2
[NAI]

Section IV. Sale of Stocks to Government on 20.5.43.

16. Mr McInnes the Foodgrains Purchasing Officer at the time, has said that Ispahani had previous information before the introduction of free trade was published on the 18th May and went to the neighbouring Provinces and 'purchased all the rice stocks'. The question was put to Mr Ispahani and he said that he received the information for the first time along with the other merchants on the 18th of May and was requested by the Bengal Govt. on the 20th May to undertake the agency and this he accepted and 'voluntarily offered completely to stop dealing in foodgrains on our own account and whatever food grains that was outside Bengal and in Bengal I surrendered to the Government at cost. I accordingly handed over to them about 235,000 maunds of foodgrains which we had procured outside Bengal by the 20th of May at an average cost price of Rs 14.12.9.' Mr Ispahani was asked. 'Did you buy anything between the 18th and 20th of May?'. His reply was 'Yes. All this was purchased between the 18th and 20th of May outside, or may be between the 18th and the 21st. Our Bengal stocks were about 10,000 maunds'.

17. This statement is inconsistent with a letter written by Mr Ispahani to Mr Suhrawardy on the 17th of May 1943, which begins as follows; 'With reference to my conversation with you regarding the Government scheme for purchasing rice and paddy in the districts of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, excepting Surma Valley Eastern State excepting Basti Patna etc., I give below my tentative proposals.' Mr Suhrawardy when he was asked about the suggestion that Messrs. Ispahani started buying in Orissa before the free trade was announced said that 'I do not think it is correct'. He was then asked whether Mr Ispahani knew that the free trade was to come and his reply was 'I do not think that anybody knew about it'. He was then informed of the letter written to him by Mr Ispahani on the 17th May and asked whether he had consulted Ispahani of the possibility of his being an agent. The reply (whose terms are not in all respects clear) indicated that he had been consulting various prominent merchants about the selection of a suitable agency for making purchases outside the Province in the event of such purchases becoming possible, that it was possible from this and in view of press speculation at the time for traders to make an intelligent anticipation of coming events and that there was no actual leakage of official proceedings.

18. The Department of Civil Supplies have furnished the Commission with a statement showing the details of the stock which Messrs. Ispahani Ltd., offered for sale to the Government of Bengal on 20.5.43; the date on which the agency was settled. An abstract of this statement is as follows:

Stock in Maunds (Rice)

<i>Province (or State)</i>	<i>Quantity offered for sale on 20.5.43</i>	<i>Quantity delivered upto 20.8.44</i>	<i>Value of stock</i>	<i>Average price per maund</i>
Bengal	10,755	10,755	3,21,459	29-13-0
Bihar	47,000	12,619	8,64,359	20-8-0
Orissa	1,25,310	23,921	18,74,188	14-15-0
Eastern Sts	32,500	32,500	5,03,000	15-8-0
C.P	1,09,000	Nil	13,76,750	12-10-0
Total	3,24,565	79,795	49,39,756	15-8-0
Total exclusive of C.P. purchases	2,15,565	79,795	35,63,006	16-8-0

Stock in Maunds (Paddy)

<i>Province (of State)</i>	<i>Quantity offered for sale on 20.5.43</i>	<i>Quantity delivered upto 20.8.44</i>	<i>Value of stock</i>	<i>Average price per maund</i>
Orissa	15,500	Nil	1,46,700	9-6-0

Out of the total stock offered for sale all the rice stocks of C.P., all the paddy stocks in Orissa, and most of the stocks offered for Bihar and Orissa remain undelivered, owing to disputes with the Provincial Governments concerned about the stocks. All the stocks offered except C.P. rice were paid for by Bengal Government on 24.5.43 on the basis of purchase advises. No payment was made in respect of C.P. rice until February 1944, when a sum of 4 lakhs was paid on account and the balance is still under settlement.

26

Government of India to All Provinces

File No. P(S)/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India
Home Department

Secret

Express Letter

From
Home, New Delhi.

To
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners
(excepting Chief Commissioners Delhi & Panth-Piploda)

No. 28/2/43 – Poll (I), New Delhi the 26th May 1943

We have noticed an increasing tendency on the part of Political Parties to employ at their

meetings and sessions uniformed 'volunteers' who sometimes indulge in parades and drill of a military nature. One such occasion was the session of the All-India Moslem League recently held in Delhi. Although the employment of these uniformed volunteers may not infringe the Government of India notification No. 74/3/40 – Political-II of the 5th August 1940, and as the military drill and parades performed may constitute only a slight infringement of the provisions of notification 74/3/40 – Political-I of 5th August 1940, there is the danger that a too easy tolerance of these practices may lead to their developing into activities which constitute a serious breach of the terms of these notifications. We consider therefore, that when applications are made by political bodies for permission to hold processions or meetings, an enquiry should be made from the applicants whether there is any intention of using 'volunteers'.

It should then be made a condition of any licence or permit granted that nothing in the nature of military drill or parades should take place.

Signed
R. Tottenham
Addl. Secy. to the Government of India.

27 Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal

Linlithgow Collection
[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

To H.E. Sir John Herbert, G.C.I.E. Governor of Bengal.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
May 27th, 1943.

My dear Herbert,

You will like to know how things went between Nazimuddin and myself. I had a long and friendly talk with him yesterday afternoon, and I understand that he will today see Maxwell and possibly others.

2. He seemed to me to be in pretty good heart but expressed himself as uneasy on the political side with which I deal first in this account of our conversation. He fully realized, he said the importance of Caste Hindu representation in his Cabinet. He had been able to secure a certain amount of support of that order limited possibly but still valuable; but those caste Hindus who had joined him naturally were likely to find themselves (and were already beginning to find themselves) under very strong pressure from Shyama Prasad Mukerjee and his friends. It was of the greatest importance in these circumstances in the interest of keeping the Caste Hindu support that something should be done which would appeal to Hindu sentiment. He developed this suggestion first as regards the release of political prisoners; secondly as regards contact with Sarat Bose.

3. As regards political prisoners Nazimuddin said that he felt that given his regard, the resolution which he had in the past shown over many years in dealing with terrorists &c., and his sincere anxiety to run no risks whatever (since any risks taken would be risks to the Muslim

community as well as to Government) a certain degree of confidence might be extended to him if he suggested the release of certain political prisoners. He had not in mind in anyway terrorists. All that he would like to do would be to let a certain number of the detenus go on the clear understanding that if they gave any trouble whatever they would be picked up without delay. There was no longer any question of a mass movement since Gandhi was down and out as a result of Government's handling of him. Terrorism was no longer really, he thought an active problem – at any rate so long as the present circumstances continued to exist. Eastern Bengal was full of troops. There was a 100 percent. Muslim support for his, Nazimuddin's Government and Muslim opinion in Bengal was not neutral as it had been in 1930 but active in support of his colleagues and himself. What he wanted in these circumstances was to be able to release gradually those who had not been in the terrorist organisation but who had been placed under detention as Congressmen. There would be no question releasing members of the Anushilan, B.V.G. or *Jugantur*.

4. He then turned to the question of Sarat Bose employing very much the same arguments that it was necessary to do something to strengthen the hands of his Caste Hindu colleagues and to encourage Caste Hindu feeling. He felt that his group would be greatly strengthened if it were the case that his Ministry had the support of Sarat Bose who had been in communication with him about an interview. Nazimuddin in reply had raised no hopes but had told Sarat Bose that if the war situation improved it might be possible for him to come back to Bengal. What he was really anxious was to secure Bose's group and their support and with that in view he would like to have a talk with him.

5. I said that these were very important matters and that of course they were in the first instance for the Governor though I accepted the point which Nazimuddin had made to me that so far as Sarat Bose at any rate was concerned the Centre were directly interested. Had he considered the position of the Japanese in Arakan and the risk in such circumstances of allowing subversive activities to revive in that part of the world? He said that he admitted the force of that criticism and that he thought I would admit that so far as there was any danger, that he as Chief Minister of Bengal had more immediate reason for alarm about it than even I! He was not unduly perturbed if there should be any Japanese advance or the like. He would readily take immediate steps to pick up again any one whom he thought it unwise to leave at large, e.g., if the Japanese found themselves at Cox's Bazaar. I said that his argument seemed to turn upon the difference between Cox's Bazaar and Bathedaung. I must warn him that his market up here will be very bad on this point. On the position generally which he had put to me I was of course fully aware of the value and importance to him of Caste Hindu support and Caste Hindu Ministers and that I recognized entirely that the presence in his Cabinet of Caste Hindu Ministers calmed the nervous uneasiness of the Caste Hindu community. He interrupted to say that he did hope that I would be able to help him. I said that I would give full weight to all that he had stated but that I could make no promise of any sort and that a variety of considerations had to be taken into account with all these matters.

6. I will comment further when I come to know how his conversation with Maxwell has gone as regards Sarat Bose and the release of prisoners. I must say that at this stage I am not at all attracted by the idea of contact between Sarat Bose and Nazimuddin, and I think that we may have to tighten up the arrangements as regards interviews or other contacts with Sarat Bose. You will like to know incidentally that Laithwaite has just had a letter from Fazlul Huq indicating that he suspects that Nazimuddin's visit to Delhi may be in connection with his desire to see Sarat Bose; that it would be grossly unfair were Sarat Bose to hear only one side

of the case; and that were Nazimuddin to be granted an interview it would be essential that he, Fazlul Huq, should also be given the opportunity to put his case to Sarat Bose! As for the release of prisoners I have made my view quite clear to you in my earlier correspondence and to that view I hold. But whether, consistently with what I have said before it would be possible to find some small number of people whose release could be contemplated without any anxiety being caused to your security people and the police, I do not know, you are alone able to judge that. If some small token release of such a character that it would not produce any unfortunate reactions either on the political situation or on the Services &c could be contemplated, I do not suppose any of us would see any strong objection to it. But I am sure that we must not prejudice the main issue or take any risks that matter-the situation is far too uneasy for that, though like yourself I am naturally anxious to give Nazimuddin such help as we properly can.

7. I do not think that I need trouble you greatly over the other matters that passed between us. He took me through the food position and expressed himself as well satisfied with free trade which he thought the right solution, though the position was complicated by the fact that other Provinces were not now co-operating and that Civil servants in other Provinces were not prepared to let the grain move.

8. On the matter of A.R.P. he urged that Bengal and Assam should be treated specially on the ground that they were in the front line and in effect at war and that they were bearing the full weight of battle and were likely to do so for a long time to come. It was not fair that those Provinces should have to continue to bear heavy expenditure in connection with A.R.P. at a time when other Provinces more fortunately placed were escaping it and there was a clear case for some contribution from the Centre.

9. Finally he came back to the matter of the strain on man-power and told me that he wanted about six good men for Bengal. The test he would apply would be those who had been the longest at the Centre and who would not suffer over much financially. I told him to talk to Maxwell about that: but I suspect that we would find it pretty hard to satisfy his criteria consistently with getting anybody who would be of real value to him.

10. I think it would probably have relieved Nazimuddin's mind to have had this talk: and I need not say that our conversation was very friendly and that I did my best to encourage and to help me.

Yours sincerely

Linlithgow.

(296-G.G.-43).



28. Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal

Linlithgow Collection
[NAI - Acc. No. 2336]

To H.E. Sir John Herbert G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal.

The Viceroy's House New Delhi
May 28th 1943.

My dear Herbert,

I have now discussed with Maxwell our conversations with Nazimuddin.¹ They were followed by a letter from Nazimuddin to Maxwell in which he mentions that he had not drawn Maxwell's attention to the fact that his Caste Hindu colleagues belonged to the Sarat Bose Party in the Bengal Assembly; that it was against a majority decision of that Party that they had joined his Cabinet; and that their position with the Party and the Hindu public would be 'almost untenable' if they were prevented from seeing Mr Bose and discussing with him the position of the Party *vis-a-vis* of the Cabinet. To this Maxwell is replying with my entire approval that it is not in accordance with the policy under which Sarat Bose is detained that he should be allowed to take any part in Bengal politics and that indeed no security prisoners are allowed to have political discussions at their interviews. Maxwell explained to Nazimuddin that if any relaxation were made in this principle it would be easy for Bose or any other security prisoner to carry on his political activities while under detention and the purpose of the segregation would be defeated; and he added that if it was understood that the interviews to which security prisoners were entitled under the rules were not to be used for political purposes Nazimuddin's Hindu colleagues would be able to disclaim responsibility for their failure to see him. A point which incidentally Nazimuddin seems to overlook is that he might find himself awkwardly placed were Fazlul Huq, who has already written to ask that he and his friends should be allowed to see Sarat Bose if Nazimuddin and his friends are allowed to see him were to press that request in the event of special concession being made to Nazimuddin.

2. I gather from other sources that Nazimuddin was somewhat disturbed by our decision on the Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence and rather inclined to take the line in private conversation that the Muslim League Ministries might have to come out in support of Jinnah. If the Press account of the statement which Jinnah is alleged to have made today to Reuter is correct the Qaid-Azam has shown his usual skill, and our apprehensions of an open battle with the Muslim League over this issue are not likely to be realized.

Yours Sincerely,

Linlithgow

1. Doc. 27 above.



29

Intercepted letter to Com. Bhawani Sen

Govt. of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P. (Sp. Br.) File No. SR-506/43-IV-Part V
[Bengal state Archives]

Government of Bengal
Office of the Dept. Commissioner of Police
Special Branch

Index and Carded	(with dates)
Very secret	Special Branch/I., C.I.D.
Bombay	3rd June, 1943
	R/No. 24518
Seal	Dated 7-6-43
	Special Branch Calcutta

Interception Report

(The secrecy of the interception may kindly be safeguarded)

1. Post office of Interception: Girgaum Bombay 4.
2. Date of Censorship: 1-6-43
3. Sender's name & address: Bengal Committee of the Communist Party of India, Calcutta
4. Post mark and date: Illegible
5. Date of letter: 29-5-43
6. Language of letter: English (typewritten)
7. Addressee's name & address: Com-Bhowani Sen, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road Bombay-4
8. Whether withheld or delivered: Delivered
9. If delivered, copy kept or not: Copy kept
10. Name of Censoring Officer: V.K. Malik, Sub-Inspector of Police, Special Branch (I), C.I.D., Bombay

Special Circular

Calcutta 28-5-1943

On Gandhiji's Letter to Jinnah Saheb

Government of India has announced that it has withheld the letter that Gandhiji wrote to Jinnah Saheb expressing the desire to meet him. This is VERY IMPORTANT development and we must not lose sight of its full significance.

What does this incident indicate?

1. That the situation is ripe for Congress-League Unity. Both Jinnah Saheb's speech at the Moslem League session at Delhi in April expressing anxiety for Congress-League Unity and

Gandhiji's letter to Jinnah Saheb clearly brings out that the leadership of these two key national organisations have come to realise that the Congress League Unity is the need of the hour. This latest development clearly showed that Gandhiji today understand the urgency of Congress-League Unity and is desperately trying for it even from behind prison-bars.

2. That the British Imperialism is now on its last legs. This refusal to deliver Gandhiji's letter to Jinnah Saheb is NOT a sign of its strength but of its weakness. It clearly shows that after having alienated the entire people including all parties, sections and classes of the people, it stands COMPLETELY ISOLATED today: and that is EXACTLY why it is PHYSICALLY blocking the way to Congress League Unity.

3. That the game of British Imperialism to disrupt Indian people's unity and deny National Government to India stands unmasked before the entire United Nation. It clearly shows that at a moment when every people and Government is trying its utmost to build up the maximum unity of the peoples nationally and internationally, British Imperialism is actively obstructing the building of national unity in India, and thereby keeping India's 400 millions away from the final war-efforts of the United Nations. This policy of British Imperialism therefore only helps the Fascists and nobody else. There is no doubt that this would strengthen the people's movement in Britain, America China and elsewhere for National Government for India.

Launch an intensive campaign for Gandhi-Jinnah meeting and Gandhiji's release. Explain the incident to the ranks and throw the whole Party into action immediately.

1. APPROACH THE CONGRESS PATRIOT and say?

Gandhiji is desperately trying for unity even from behind the bars. It is our task to forge that unity that Gandhiji is anxious to have: in Gandhiji's name you have GOT to unite with the League. Achieve this unity by accepting the just demands of the Moslems-recognize the right of self-determination.

There is likely to be an onset of demoralisation among the Congress patriots that nothing could be done, that unity could not be had even if we want it. This demoralisation may be fanned by the Fifth Column which see its own doom in national unity. We have to fight this demoralisation by pointing out to him that this refusal is a sign of imperialism's weakness and not its strength: that if we sit idle it helps Imperialism and not the people. The Fifth Column may try to prove the patriot in this state of desperation. We have to point out that the way to fight Imperialism today more than ever before is by uniting with the League, and not by acts of sabotage.

2. APPROACH THE LEAGUE PATRIOT and say:

What Jinnah Saheb wanted of Gandhiji at Delhi has now come. Gandhiji has responded to Jinnah Saheb: that means he is keen on League-Congress Unity. And it is Imperialism ALONE which is preventing that unity, because it is as much opposed to Muslim independence as to Indian independence as a whole. But it is FOR YOU to act for his release, for ONLY by getting him free could the Congress-League Unity be achieved and so to secure your own just demand for recognition for self-determination you must unite with the Congress for Gandhiji's release. The whole country is looking upto the League and the League MUST ACT.

Here too there is likely to be demoralisation at this drastic stand of the Government and the Fifth Column may try to take advantage of it but we have to hammer it among the leaguers that the strength of the Government is only apparent and the real strength lies in the people if they unite.

Concretely, therefore, we must ACT AT ONCE.

1. Intensify explanatory campaign in BOTH the Congress and the League circles.
2. Hold JOINT meetings and *baithak* with the Congress and the League patriots and pass resolutions demanding Gandhi-Jinnah meeting asking Jinnah Saheb to take the lead that the entire nation looks upto him for. Send copies of the Resolutions to the press, to Jinnah Saheb and to the Party office and to the Government.
3. Issue handbills and statements signed jointly by Congress and League leaders. See that they are drafted in such a way as to be acceptable to both.
4. Start a terrific signature drive for Gandhiji's release for Gandhi-Jinnah meeting for recognition of selfdetermination, for Congress League Unity.
5. Bring the Congress and the League patriots right into our Food campaign. **UNITY THROUGH FOOD.**
6. The Fifth Column is likely to take advantage of the prevailing frustration of the people to spread desperation and demoralisation. Fight desperation by pointing out that the way to fight Imperialism is through unity which Imperialism has clearly shown to be afraid of most. Fight demoralisation by pointing out that this only shows the weakness of Imperialism and not its strength.
7. In all our talks and speeches we MUST¹ (*sic*) take a patronizing attitude (we-told-you-so attitude), but tell them that all along we had confidence in our brother patriots of the Congress and the League that we know that they would and MUST unite that our united strength can blow up all imperialist obstacles and defend the country from Fascist aggressors.

The League patriots may raise the question that Gandhiji has not yet clearly accepted the Muslims demand for right of self-determination. Tell them that, it is a matter which will be settled through Gandhi-Jinnah talk. So league patriots must now ACT for Gandhi-Jinnah meeting. By doing so the League patriots will make their demand for the right of self-determination an irresistible one.

The Congress patriots may say 'Congress has done its own job. Gandhi has done what he could do from behind the prison bars. We have nothing more to do. Now it is Jinnah's and League's turn to act.' Tell them that what Gandhiji WANTS from behind the prison bars (Congress-League unity) the Congress patriots outside will have to ACHIEVE. NOT to act for what Gandhiji wants (Congress-League unity) amounts to surrendering to Imperialism. So Congress patriots outside must now come forward to build Congress-League unity by accepting the right of self determination and thus smash Imperialism's game.

A GREAT STEP FORWARD has been taken in the direction of National Unity. THERE IS NO TIME TO LOSE.

P.C.

Post Script

Jinnah Saheb has issued a statement in which he has expressed suspicion that Gandhiji's letter was meant to embroil the League against British Government. This statement might mislead some and demoralize many. But it does NOT actually alter our analysis, rather it enforces upon us the need for more INTENSIVE unity drive. We have to convince the Congress patriots that their task of dispelling Muslim suspicion by recognizing their just demand becomes all the more — imperative. At the same time convince the League patriots that their just demand could only be met in Gandhi-Jinnah interview and not by leaving Gandhiji in prison. Only if they ACT can they THEMSELVES make their own demand IRRESISTIBLE, within

our own ranks, fight all – demoralisation and explain that there is no short-cut to national unity and that every inch of ground has to be fought and won.

Com Bhowani Sen

29-5-43

We have already sent you two letters. Food situation in Calcutta is going from bad to worse. Price shows no signs of decreasing. Small skirmishes are daily occurring in one or two Qs. Goonda elements are trying to create golmal in Qs. In one Q, one of our comrades had to exchange blows with some Goonda elements. It also seems that some force is acting from behind the screen to create a sort of riot in the Food Qs and thus discredit the Ministry. Our volunteers are of course facing the situation bravely, and because of their work no serious golmal has yet taken place.

We are receiving regular correspondences from the Dists and are replying to them promptly. No news of any special importance from any Dist.

We have circulated one special circular on Gandhiji's letter to Mr Jinnah. Enclosed a copy.² Go thru it and point out if we have made any mistake.

We have got a fuller statement of the Presidium of the ECCI³ (from *The Hindu*) on CI's disbandment. Bengali version of it is being published in the next issue of JY.⁴

We are receiving no news from you. This is, of course surprising. We learn from Bibhuti Guha's letter to Tushar that Lahiri has sent a wire to us on Comintern issue. But it has not yet reached us.

Sending herewith 4. copies of latest P.C.PL.

LAL SALAMS

1 [To make sense the sentence should have had 'not' after 'Must' but the text available to us reads as given above – Ed.].

2. Refers to the earlier part of this document. (Ed.)

3. Executive Committee of the Communist International.

4 *Janayuddha*.

30 Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2227]

From B. Glancy, Governor of the Punjab

D.O. No. 451

'Barnes Court', Simla,
May 29th, 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

[Omitted: Paragraphs on war, economic situation, crops – Ed.]

The Muslim League has done nothing sensational during the last month by way of bringing

further pressure on the Punjab Ministry. But the 'Pakistan' slogan is gaining momentum and there is a general feeling of uneasiness abroad. There has been a considerable amount of discussion in the Press as to whether Jinnah was justified in suggesting that the Punjab Cabinet is a League Ministry. The Nawab of Mamdot (the Provincial Muslim League Leader) has sought to improve the occasion by a Press statement that the Sikander-Jinnah Pact has come to an end, the implication being that more active interference by the Muslim League in Punjab politics is to be expected. As the Punjab Premier announced recently in Delhi that he adhered to the Sikander-Jinnah pact, and this announcement drew no criticism from Jinnah, the justification for the Nawab's statement is not apparent. He gives out, I am told, that he wrote to the Press entirely on his own initiative but it seems very doubtful whether this is the truth. The withholding of Gandhi's letter to Jinnah has not caused any great sensation in the Punjab, nor in view of Jinnah's statement, is this to be expected. Papers like the *Tribune* have naturally done their best to incite Jinnah to regard Government's action as an insult and a direct challenge; they must be disappointed by the results which have attended these manoeuvres up to date. Shaukat, as Your Excellency will have seen, has just been declared successful in the Attock election. He won by a little over 3,000 votes which coincides almost exactly with his anticipations. It is almost certain that there will be an election-petition.

The Khaksars have been making themselves gradually more prominent of late. Though they have not gone to the same length in the Punjab as in certain other Provinces In the matter of parading with *belchas*, they have persisted in wearing badges and appearing in something which closely approaches uniform. It seems clear enough that the Allama has no intention of abiding by his undertaking and that definite action will have to be taken. We are addressing the Government of India on the subject.

The Akali party has been giving us a certain amount of trouble. Master Tara Singh is feeling uneasy and insecure. He has written to the Premier saying that the Sikander-Baldevh Singh pact has not been observed as it should have been and that he contemplates repudiating it altogether. His main grievance relates to jhatka meat though he knows well that facilities in this matter are being extended. The Premier has given Master Tara Singh a soft answer and I much doubt whether the Master Ji has any serious intention of denouncing the Pact. But the Akalis continue to bring pressure to bear on Baldev Singh, which he finds it at times difficult to resist; the result is the obtrusion of communal considerations in matters in which they should be left in the background. -

The Police have achieved further notable success in rounding up dacoits. We are anxious to secure the arrest of a notorious offender called Birju Singh, who conducts his operations largely from Rajputana and we have written to the political authorities and asked for their co-operation.

Yours sincerely

B.J. Glancy

P.S. — I enclose the provincial Fortnightly Report for the first half of May.¹

¹ Not printed.



31: Extracts from *Janayuddha* (31.5.43)

Govt. of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P., File No. SK/562/42
[Bengal State Archives]

In an article under the Caption *Nutan Mantritva Sambandhe Communist Partir Bijnapati* (statement of the communist Party on the function of the New Ministry), it seems the main reason for the failure of the ministry was that it had not the support of the public and all parties. If the Nazimuddin Ministry fails to earn the same, it will meet the same fate. If Sir Nazimuddin succeeds to do what he had promised to do at the time of his taking up the office inspite of the hindrances by the bureaucracy then he is sure to earn the confidence of the Hindus and the Muslims. It appeals to the public not to increase the Communal enmity on the question of the Ministry but to try to unite the Congress and the Muslim League for the defence of the country's freedom of the people. . . .

32 Governor of United Provinces to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection
[NAI - Acc. No 2239]

From H.E. Sir Maurice Hallett, G.C.I.E. K.C.S.I.,
Governor of the United Provinces.

June 3rd 1943.

[Secret.]
No. U.P.-194.

Some information has come to my knowledge which I think it desirable to pass on to you in continuation of my telegram No. G./335 of May 31st¹ about reactions to the withholding of Gandhi's letter to Jinnah. I had also referred to the position in my last fortnightly.

2. The report that Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-zaman was bitterly critical was obviously wrong, for Mudie has recently had an interview with the Chaudhri and has sent me the following note:

We first talked about the withholding by the Government of India of the letter of Mr Gandhi to Mr Jinnah and Mr Jinnah's statement. I asked Khaliq-uz-zaman whether the latter surprised him. He said not. That the League was not to be embroiled with the British Government was the agreement at the discussions at the last meeting of the Working Committee. He did not think that Jinnah would ever come to an agreement with the Congress to which the British Government were not also a party. Khaliq did not agree with the attitude taken up by Lari in an article in the *Leader*.

3. A somewhat similar report comes from my C.I.D. who tell me that though Muslim League supporters at first feared that this was an affront their leader, they were cautioned by

the Chaudhri Sahib to reserve opinion pending Jinnah's reception of the Government action. The report goes on.

In an interview with a friend today he (Ch. Kahliq-uz-zaman) expressed his joy at Mr Jinnah's reply which he said was welcomed by the League. With Muslim League Ministries now in several Provinces the League felt itself in a strong position. He considered that their relations with the British Government were good and response over the Pakistan issue was encouraging. This being so it was most undesirable at this juncture to enter into conflict with the British Government particularly over an issue of gain to the Congress when Mr Gandhi's letter was itself so vague and un consequential.

4. There is little doubt in my view that these two corroborative reports represent the correct state of affairs. Jinnah and the League are obviously happy over securing the Muslim League Ministries and do not want to fall out with Government. After all Jinnah did regard Gandhi's fast as an attack on the Muslims than on Government and his recent statement shows that he still hates him.

5. I think it right to include a further extract from Mudie's note of this interview:

He said that one thing that rankled with Jinnah and was apt now and again to make him bitter was the exclusion of the League from the central administration when there were a certain number of League Ministries in the Provinces. I gathered that the present Muslim members of the Viceroy's Council would probably be acceptable as League representatives except Sir Sultan Ahmed. The Viceroy's telegram to condole Sir Sikander's death apparently still rankles and Jinnah appears to think that the Viceroy will not send for him before he goes which also rather rankles. Khaliq thought something might be done if the new Viceroy, when he arrives, sends for Jinnah as the representative of the party which controls a number of provincial administrations

There is probably also a good deal of truth in this; Jinnah like all Indians is all out for prestige. It will enhance his position as against Gandhi.

6. The final paragraph of Mudie's note is also interesting. It is as follows:

Khaliq then talked about the anti-League propaganda which is going on in America. He has spoken about this to Mr Mathews, American journalist who was recently in Lucknow and had mentioned the matter to me before. There is still, I gather, danger that the League might express their resentment about this propaganda openly. Kahliq also told me that he had intended to go to London about next April.

I do not know much about anti-League propaganda in the U.S.A. I should have thought that it was more pro-Congress propaganda. Twynam in a recent letter referred to a very misleading article of an American journalist (I think Fischer) and I saw a recent article by Mrs Gunther which was very bad.

Yours sincerely

M.G. Hallett.

1. Not printed.



33 Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2226]

From H.E. Sir Bertrand Glancy K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of the Punjab.

'Barnes Court', Simla

June 8th 1943.

[Personal]

No. 453.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Will Your Excellency kindly refer to your personal letter of May the 29th,¹ 1943, about Khaksar activities? I mentioned this matter briefly in my private and personal letter of the 29th of May,² which crossed the letter now under reply. My views are entirely in accordance with those which you have expressed. It is true that in the Punjab Khaksar recrudescence has been comparatively mild and that so far the Allama's most objectionable form of action is to allow his followers to wear circular red badges; a very-clear warning has been given him that his practice is violation of his undertaking and that serious consequences are likely to ensue if it persists. But in some other Provinces judging by report received, the Khaksars have gone considerably further and in certain places they have not hesitated to parade with *Belchas*. We have written officially to the Government of India on the 29th of May urging that Mashriqi should be told that the observation of all conditions laid down by the Government of India must be enforced by a fixed date in all Provinces throughout India and that the penalty for non-observance in any Province would be the imposition of an all-India ban'.

The Allama has in my opinion shown quite clearly that he has no inclination whatsoever to abide by his promises and he is now trying to manoeuvre himself and his followers into their old position. He has, it would appear, shown no desire to lean up against the Muslim League; in fact, he has lost ground with certain Muslim elements by his tendency to admit Hindus and Sikhs into the Khaksar fold. But it is quite possible that he may reorientate his position should it suit him to do so, in which case it may be considerably more difficult to avoid trouble in dealing with the movement later on. The effect on other communities of allowing this dangerous organisation to regather its strength is also a matter that deserves very serious consideration. I am strongly in favour of firm action without further delay.

Yours sincerely

B.J. Glancy.

(32-G.G.-42)

1. Not printed
2. Doc. 30.

34 Governor of Sind to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2233]

From H.E. Sir Hugh Dow K.C.S.I., C.I.E. Governor of Sind.

D.O. No. 195-F.R.

June 18th, 1943.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

This letter contains my comments on the official fortnightly report for the first half of June.

2. Mr Jinnah appears to have no public engagements here but is making himself thoroughly familiar with local political feeling, and is making his influence felt in Muslim League circles. I have myself had a long and friendly discussion with him almost entirely devoted to matters of local interest. I think he is doing a good deal to deflate Khan Bahadur Khuhro, of whom he clearly has no very high opinion. The decision which he has enforced that no member of the Ministry should be an office-bearer of the Provincial Muslim League is recognised as being aimed at Khuhro who since the death of Sir Abdullah Haroon has been acting President, and has not scrupled to use his position to put pressure on his more moderate colleagues in the Ministry. Jinnah appears to recognise that Khuhro's restlessness and unscrupulousness is the principal danger to the solidarity of the Ministry, which Jinnah certainly does not want to see go out. Jinnah has also established friendly relations with my Hindu Ministers who are trying to persuade him that hopes of 'settlement' with the Mahasabha are at any rate brighter than those of one with Congress.

3. Apart from politics Khan Bahadur Khuhro's main preoccupation, as one of the biggest zamindars in the richest agricultural tract of Sind is how to keep the rates in the impending new Settlements down to the lowest possible figure. He has tried wangling the timetable so as to make the final publication of the new rates before 31st July impossible, but that has been defeated. The session of the Legislative Assembly has now been called for 24th June and the settlement proposals are to be considered between the 7th and 9th July. I have thought it advisable to tell Khuhro clearly that the imposition of adequate rates in the Barrage area is a matter in which I consider my special responsibility to be involved and also of the stage at which if necessary I propose to exercise it. The rates which are to be put to the Legislative Assembly will have to be discussed and decided in Cabinet. I have told him that I shall not overrule my Ministry then but shall make it quite clear if I disagree with the rates they propose. But it will be for the Ministry to bring their own proposals before the Legislative Assembly, and it will be open to them if they choose to remind the Assembly that I have a special responsibility and am not committed to the rates they propose. Thereafter it will be for the Cabinet to reconsider the proposals in the light of any recommendations or modifications which the Assembly have made and to give their final advice to me. It is at that stage that I shall if necessary, make such changes as my special responsibility may indicate to be necessary.

4. As far as I can foresee the position it is only Khuhro and Gokaldas that are likely to press for considerable lowering of rates. But Khuhro will see to it that the Premier has the

life nearly badgered out of him by constant deputations of zamindars and M.L. As., and he may quite likely give way for the sake of peace and quietness. But I do not think there is likely to be any question of the Ministry resigning if I do not finally accept their proposals: Khuhro may try to bring them to this point but I do not think that even he will persist for he knows he is not popular with his colleagues and the result might be reconstituted Ministry from which he would be left out.

5. With sliding scales for cotton, rice and wheat and the continuance of the present high prices the increased revenue from the new settlement rates as now proposed will be in the neighbourhood of two crores of rupees per annum. If high prices continue for some years as they seem likely to do. Sind should be set on its legs financially and have adequate funds for a considerable expansion of 'nation-building' activities. Jinnah will probably realise the implications of this in view of Pakistan and may use his influence with the League organization accordingly.

6. (Paragraph 5 of the official report). I have told the Education Minister that I regard this constant glorification of violence by the staff of Hindu-managed schools as a serious matter and that I expect him to take action by withdrawing Government grants.

7. A few days ago I gave an interview to Rahim Bakhsh, eldest son of my late Premier Allah Bakhsh, thinking that he might perhaps have some light to show, or at least some theory to bring forward, on the subject of his father's murder. This proved not to be the case: he would only say that it must have been due to political enmity or to the Hurs, since his father had no private enemies. He complained bitterly of petty persecution by Khuhro in the matter of cancellation of leases which he holds from the Court of Wards, and of undue interference by him in the election in which his uncle K.B. Moula Bakhsh is a candidate for the vacancy caused by Allah Bakhsh's death. This is quite in keeping with Khuhro's a character and I shall do what I can, though I fear this will be but little effective, to restrain him. Rahim Bakhsh is a youngster of 23 years, almost ludicrously like his father in appearance and says he does not propose to go in for politics. Incidentally, he said he would like to have back the title of Khan Banadur which his father had resigned.

8. *Price Control.* — The raising of the price of paddy by Rs 1-8 a maund was a bit of sharp practice for which Khuhro and Gokaldas were mainly responsible, though there was some justification for bringing rice prices to a figure less discrepant with those fixed for wheat. But Khuhro and other large zamindars were known to have kept back large stocks of their own rice in anticipation of this coup and both he and Gokaldas are believed to have also bought up stocks in anticipation. The smaller zamindars on the other hand are upset because they have already sold to the Hindu traders; in Jacobabad alone it is reported that 10 lakhs of maunds are being held by Baniyas who will now reap the whole benefit of this increased price

Yours sincerely,

H. Dow.



35

Communists' circular

Government of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P., File No. 506/1943 part V
[Bengal State Archives]

Provincial Political Letter No. 14/43. Translation From Bengali

For P.M.'s – only
21st June 1943.

League Ministry and Our Duties as Regards Its Activities

Many comrades have no clear conception about what should be our attitude regarding the League Ministry and its activities. For this reason every comrade must understand the whole thing very thoroughly on the basis of last two month's experience.

What was the condition just before the formation of the League Ministry? Then the food crisis was becoming acute and the Huq Ministry was becoming particularly unpopular to the public as it made no efforts to solve the food crisis. Taking advantage of this the bureaucracy dissolved the Ministry quickly and tried to weaken people's unity by trying to intensify inter-party strifes. On the other hand, unity was developing through the food movement among the people in general, and among the Congress and Muslim League sympathizers. But the leadership of both the organisations – Congress and League, are not eager to solve the food crisis and through it the national crisis by the path of unity. They are interested only in party strifes inside the Assembly and scrambling for power. That is, both are encouraging disruption.

Method of Ministry Formation Increases Nothing but Disruption

Then we raised the slogan-we want a united Ministry, because a Congress League understanding for food, ARP, civil liberties dearness allowance etc., and only coalition ministry of all parties on the basis of a universally accepted programme can have the power and the possibility to meet the needs of the people. But neither the League leadership, nor the Congress leadership agreed to this. The united Ministry could give shape to that unity which is already developing among Congress and League sympathizers and different sections of the people on the issue of food. By not giving up their party interest the Congress leadership became a barrier to this unity. Instead of forming all-party ministry, the League leadership by forming only a party ministry really supported the disruptive policy of the ministry. As a result of forming the Ministry in this way, nothing but disruption did increase between the Congress and League sympathizers. Even the unity for solving the food crisis that was bringing the Congress and the League closer towards each other was at least temporarily hampered. Thus to support in that fashion the formation of the Ministry by the League is to support this disruptive quarrel. For this we have not supported that. At the same time we cannot either support Dr Shyamaprasad, Huq and such others who are trying to raise this factional opposition against the League Ministry for party interest or for securing political power.

This keeps us politically independent. We remain in the same advantageous position as before in our efforts to forge Congress-League understanding.

Our Positive Policy Regarding the Ministry

Like other parties our policy is not negative. Amidst these scrambling for Ministry our policy was well-defined and positive. We know that the League is at least the mass organisation of a particular type of people. It has a mass basis and is responsible to its own sympathizers for presenting a workable scheme for food, political rights etc. We know that there is a possibility of it going over to the bureaucracy and taking the path of disruption. But we also know that if we can unite and activate the League sympathizers and the entire people on the basis of the League's own scheme, this weakness of the Ministry will go. The more the mass mobilization, the less the leanings of the Ministry towards the bureaucracy, and the greater will be the possibility of League-Congress understanding and through it of the united Ministry. This is why our positive line of work is.

- (1) to unite all the people for the fulfillment of this scheme; to cooperate unconditionally with the Ministry on every concrete work in people's interest; and to fight against the weakness of the Ministry for bureaucracy;
- (2) to make efforts to carry forward this growing unity for a United Ministry.

Good Results of this Policy

We have got some good results of this policy. First the Congress remained neutral and did not join the opposition in their factional struggles after the formation of the Ministry. Secondly, the weakness of the League Ministry has gone to some extent and they have started certain concrete work in people's interest. For example: civil liberties for meetings etc. have increased to a certain extent, a few under restriction and in prison have been released, arrangements for people's co-operation with the Government on the issue of food have increased, two ordinances somewhat defective to increase the output of crop have been passed, campaign against the hoarders has been started, there is a possibility of a control in the house-rent, the anti-hoarding drive has been made applicable against the Government officers also and it is heard that in one or two cases the Ministry has stood even against the bureaucratic opposition on the issue of food. (See Alochana of 16th June issue of *Janayuddha*).

Negligence in Exposing the True Character of the Factional Opposition

But we made one mistake in the beginning. We did not clearly expose before the people the true character of the factional opposition of Huq-Shymaprosad against the present Ministry. Taking advantage of the latter movement, none but the hoarders and the black-marketeers are trying to cover their anti-social policy under the garb of a political struggle. (That is, the hoarders can now take the plea that they are hiding rice not to deprive their countrymen, but to save rice from the Ministry which wants disruption, is communal and depends on bureaucracy). But at the beginning we did not propagandize so loudly as to such a result of the movement. Because we had no clear idea about the true character of this factional oppositionists. We understood in a general way that squabbles for petty party interests is destroying unity – and from this aspect we criticised all the Congress, League, Shyamaprosad etc. That is right. But at the same time we did not understand that anti-League prejudice of Huq-Shyamaprosad etc. is the biggest barrier against unity. That is why, we could not expose the true character of their movement with the emphasis and force it required. And as a legacy of it we could not support the little amount of that this Ministry has done in public interest with the force it deserves and as against the campaign of Huq-Shyamaprosad.

Its Bad Results

This has strengthened the forces of inter-party strifes.

For example, (1) we have lost the initiative in food movement temporarily. Huq-Shyamaprosad and Nalini Sarkar today are getting the opportunity of raising a hue and cry as the protector of the people's food. But their real quarrel is for ministerial power and their movement is providing the hoarders and the black marketeers with the opportunity of posing as a sadhu. (2) Their shouting is bringing bewilderment even among Congress ranks, they are gradually leaning towards this oppositionists. (3) As a result of all these, demoralisation is spreading among the League ranks and among the general public for united mobilizations for food.

What should be Done Now

Of course we could find out this mistake in three or four weeks. Now all the comrades must understand this and must advance with greater force along our well defined plan of action. We must well remember our Party line and implement it in practice so that we can get back our initiative, activate the League circles and can draw the Congress and League closer. It is:

(1) Very quickly and in large numbers people must be united and moved behind the League programme and specially its promises as regards food as efforts must be made to get the programme quickly fulfilled. In this unity and mobilization special efforts must be made to draw in the Muslim masses.

(2) If the Ministry shows any weakness in protecting people's interest bold but constructive criticism must be made. Simultaneously people must be made conscious of every work of the Ministry which goes in favour of the people's interest and all the people must be activated for full co-operation with the Ministry in this kind of work. Sympathizers of Congress, Hindu Mahasabha etc. should at least be locally drawn in for this co-operation.

(3) The factional oppositional movement of Huq-Shyamaprosad etc., must be exposed without any hesitation.

(4) Continuous efforts must be made to bring about an understanding between both the Congress and the League circles. At least arrangements should be made so that an understanding can be reached between the Congress and the League over the solution of the immediate problems e.g. Grow-More-Food, civil liberties, civil defence, dearness allowance, etc.

To increase quota means to increase thousand-fold the sense of political responsibility of the Party comrades

Political implication of solving the crisis: judging the possibilities of the district, certain districts have increased their quota. This sort of Bolshevik competition and zeal for work is surely praiseworthy. As an example let us take the case of Jessore. . . . Every work has to be checked up without the slightest mistake. Every district-organizer and cell secretary must work unceasingly-they must improve their political knowledge and method of work through day to day work. Only then will it be possible to fulfil this Bolshevik vow.

Membership Increasing but Not the Sale of Literature

Without the increase in the sale of Bengali literature how can the membership increase?

Remove immediately the deplorable condition of the sale of the Party Literature;

The condition of the sale of the Marxist classics and political pamphlets in Bengali which has been published by the Party or from the National Book Agency is very serious. Very few books are printed more than 1,000 copies. Yet they are not fully sold even in six months. In order to remove this condition, the quota in thousand was given to every district (P.L. 7/43)

so that no book is left unsold in Calcutta and so that every district can sell in a very short time according to capacity. But after certain books and pamphlets were sent according to this quota, it was found that the districts accepted the quota but formally; really speaking, they had no desire to sell the books quickly and pay off the price as soon as they receive the books. This will be evident if we look up the dues and its realization from every district for the last three months. More than half of the total price of the books sent to districts from 7th April to 2nd June remains unrealized. In three months 11 Districts paid nothing (though total dues from them amount to Rs 650, 2 Districts have paid less than half; three districts have paid nearly half; 9 districts have paid a little more than half, only one district (BIRBHUM) have paid in full (in fact they have paid a little more).

This shows that no efforts are made to sell the Bengali books when they reach the districts. Almost all of them remain unsold. No new order or any mention of the books is made of the books which have been sent once. This also confirms the conjecture that our Party units take no special interest or make any special effort to propagate our day to day politics and Marxism through our Bengali books and pamphlets. On the other hand, the sale of the Bengali party organ *Janayuddha* is not going up, instead it has become less than that in November-December. But the Party membership has gone up three times compared with November-December, the membership of the Kisan Sabha has gone up four times, the membership of the working class student and women's organisations has also gone up pretty high.

Serious Political Shortcomings

The deplorable condition of the sale of both the Party literature and the Party organ is due to the same cause. Both have happened at the same time and this shows clearly that this is no accident neither is it due to any small negligence. THIS DEPOSES THE DANGEROUS POLITICAL WEAKNESS OF THE PARTY COMRADES IN THEIR UNDERSTANDING AND PROPAGANDA OF PARTY POLITICS AND IF THIS GOES ON, IT MEANS THAT A VERY PRECARIOUS CONDITION IS COMING IN THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY.

What is that Weakness?

'Transform the Party into a mass Party' — the comrades have not at all understood the political significance of this slogan. They have thought that to fulfill the quota somehow by making members would do. And those who are cooperative do not like to make members under the plea that these new cadres are politically backward and therefore unfit for membership. To make only members on a manufacturing scale and not to make members because they seem to be backward — both arise from the same political weakness. Only when we are able to make every member conversant in our politics can they fulfill the duties of a real member: and most of those who are becoming or will become new members are peasants and workers who are very little educated (even at present this kind of membership is nearly 1500). The only way to make these almost illiterate members politically developed is to make them buy, read and understand BENGALI Party literature. Yet even in two months we cannot sell, even one thousand copies of Bengali pamphlets which means we feel our duty is finished by giving them membership only and make no efforts to educate them. As a result we are making for the future blow-up of the party because unless they are politically developed they will be swept by bourgeois politics in any big political crisis — the mass basis of the Party will be the cause of its destruction. Those who do not want to make members because these new cadres are politically backward are of the same stock as those who want to make members on a

manufacturing scale as regards the sale of Party literature. If we cannot develop these ten or twelve thousand half – literate militants by making them read our literature, are we to remove their backwardness by magic? Yet one thousand copies of a book cannot be sold even in six months among ten or twelve thousand militants. That is they do not want to make militants into members, expand the Party.

Want of Money?

Over and above half-literates we have about 3000 literate members, and ten to twelve thousand literate militants. If we could rouse political interest and consciousness among them, we could have sold 1000 Bengali booklets only among them within a month. We have not got that consciousness – that is why they are not sold. As a result they remain politically backward fall a prey to deviational weakness in every moment of crisis, and are unable to carry out politics among the masses. Many give the plea of want of money. First, want of money is not as much as it is declared; in this war market money is not so dear as is commodities; and when the Party literature is sold at a much cheaper price than bazaar books, it is not very difficult to buy them or have them bought. Secondly, in spite of want of money the membership of the Party, Kisan, workers' students' women's organisation is increasing by leaps and bounds, the amount of subscription and donation to the Party is steadily increasing. But we do not understand that this rise has to be politically organised and consolidated and for that propagation of political literature through Party's own language is the only way out. We enlist membership of Party and mass organisation through cheap agitation and excitement, but do not consolidate our politics among them. Later we take the plea of want of money and want to cover our political weakness.

How Small the Sale even with so much Dues

(Through the National Book Agency)

<i>Name of the Book</i>	<i>Date of publication</i>	<i>Recd for Sale</i>	<i>Sale upto 17th June</i>
JY report	9-4-43	412	375
Student Report	9-4-43	500	409
M. Women front report	9-4-43	500	475
T.U. Report	12-4-43	500	487
Kisan Report	12-4-43	456	426
Food Crisis	12-4-43	1100	1100
Ministerial Crisis	12-4-43	1200	983
After Fasting	3-4-43	725	
Joshi's speech (Training course)	5-4-43	475	
Prov. Conf. report	3-4-43	256	177
Kishore Bir (Kishore heroes)	3-4-43	1018	644
Aguner Ful (Flower of Fire)	May	1100	435
Dona Torr	May	1100	725
Nagpur Session	May	488	404

Over and this from the Janayuddha office of Ministerial Crisis and 1400 copies of *After Fasting* have been sent for sale.

36: Intercepted letter addressed to Editor *People's War* dt 22.6.43

Government of Bengal, Office of the D.C.P., File No. 506/43 part V
[Bengal State Archives]

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

Very Secret

In reply please quote No. 7168/3

Intelligence Report

(The secrecy of the interception may kindly be safeguarded)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Post Office of Interception: | Girgaum, Bombay |
| 2. Date of Censorship: | 28-6-43 |
| 3. Sender's name & address: | D.C., C.P.I., 249-D, Bow Bazar St., Calcutta |
| 4. Post mark & date: | Calcutta 24-5-43 |
| 5. Date of letter: | 22-6-43 |
| 6. Language of letter: | English (Typewritten) |
| 7. Addressee's name & address: | Editor, People's War 190/B, Khetwadi Main Rd.
Bombay 4. |
| 8. Whether withheld or delivered: | Delivered |
| 9. If delivered, copy kept or not: | Copy kept |
| 10. Name of Censoring officer: | G. Gomes, Sub-Inspector of Police Special Branch (I),
C.I.D., Bombay |

Dear Comrade

We are sending below a statement signed by some Muslims of Tollygange locality.

Hope you will see that the statement gets publicity.

Lal Salams,

Signed Illegible
For Cal D.C.¹

'The grave danger our country faces today externally from foreign aggression and internally from acute food crisis can only be averted through Congress League Unity. Gandhiji's letter to Mr Jinnah opens way for it, but Governments refusal to forward the letter to him shows that govt. stands in the way, of unity. In the interest of Muslim Masses it is the patriotic duty of Quadi. Azam Jinnah to demand the letter from Govt. which will bring the opportunity of Gandhi - Jinnah meeting for 'Congress League' unity.

It is also the duty of the Congress patriots to help Mr Jinnah for the release of Gandhiji and thereby activize Congress-League Unity on the basis of recognition of Self-determination

of Muslim masses and baffle Govt.'s move in bringing disruption between the Hindoos & Muslims of India'.

Signed Md. Yunwar Shah (Secy. Tolly Gunge Muslim League)

Md. B. Sha, Vice President, (Secy. Tolly Gunge Muslim League)

Md. Allikhan, Treasurer (Secy. Tolly Gunge Muslim League)

Mirza Aziz Ahmed, Vice President, Tolly gunge, Muslim League

Md. Umar Jt. Secy. Tollygunge Muslim League

M. Obedul Huq Tollygunge, Muslim League

Md. Sidedic Aour, Tollygunge Muslim League

Qutubuddin Ahmed. Tollygunge Muslim League

Very Secret

No. 7368/B

Special Branch (I), C.I.D.

Bombay 29th 1943

Copy forwarded with compliments to:

They Dy. Commissioner of Police, Special Branch, Calcutta.

1. Calcutta District Committee.

37 Viceroy to Secretary of State for India dt 22-26.6.1943 (extracts)

Transfer of Power – Vol. IV, Doc. 18

(21) You will receive by this bag copy of a letter from Herbert, dated the 16th June, in which he raises the ticklish question of whether it would be in order to refuse to accept a man as Chief Minister on the ground that he did not command the Governor's confidence. I am not too happy about the way things are going in Bengal at the moment. Nazimuddin has been endeavouring to secure permission for his Hindu Ministers to contact Sarat Bose, a permission which we have not after consideration here, been able to give. The food position (though Bengal have done an admirable drive against hoarding and have managed to draw out quite a substantial quantity of grain) is not one which the ordinary government much enjoys handling. In other words the ice is a bit thin under Herbert so far as the Nazimuddin Government is concerned and that being so, he naturally has to try to consider what alternatives are likely to present themselves if Nazimuddin throws his hand in. It is at this point that he of course begins to realise how expensive his handling of events at the end of March and the fall of Fazlul Huq may prove to be, and his letter of 16th June makes it very clear to me that the chickens show signs of coming home early to roost. Herbert is in fact fighting for his own life though he does not seem to understand that is so. I have asked the Reforms Office to go into the general point, and I am considering their advice. But I am not anxious as you will understand, to commit myself before I must. My own present feeling, subject to further consideration, is quite clearly that if either Fazlul Huq or even Shyma Prasad Mookerjee can satisfy the Government first that they command a stable majority, and secondly that they are prepared to give full support to the war effort that no question could arise of his refusing to

invite one or other of them to assist him in forming a Ministry. Fazlul Huq is a curious person and it is just conceivable that despite the difficulties that rose between him and the Governor last March they might be able to pull on together for a while in such an event. But the situation would clearly be a very unsatisfactory one. Nor do I at all welcome the idea of going into Section 93, if we can avoid it, though here again that is a possibility that we may have to face.

38 'Communist Survey' – July–Oct. 1943 (extracts)

File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Relations with Muslim League

11. The Party's relations with the Muslim League were discussed at considerable length in the Central Committee and agreement was reached on the desirability of increasing the Party's Muslim membership (which is less than 5 per cent) and of encouraging communists to join the League ostensibly to enable the Party to bring Congress and the Muslim League together and to stimulate an alleged 'anti-imperialist awakening' in the Muslim masses as well as to foster a 'progressive democratic trend' which the communists profess to discern in Jinnah's leadership. As a first step in this direction, the Urdu edition of the '*People's War*' is to be specially written in future for the consumption of the Muslim 'patriots', instead of being a mere replica of the English edition.

12. This urge for closer relations with the Muslim League is the logical, if somewhat belated, outcome of the unity campaign now over a year old. But the move must not be interpreted as a virtual abandonment of Congress by the Communist Party. A contrary indication is indeed, afforded by the recent Bombay municipal elections where the local committee pledged its unconditional support to the Congress candidates against Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha candidates, on the ground that it was the Party's conviction 'that the Congress was and continued to be the most important anti-Fascist organisation of the people of India' and that in according support to the Congress candidates the Communist Party to India was aiding the Movement for the release of the national leaders. Nor can the move be interpreted as merely a camouflage designed to convince sceptics of the Party's sincerity in espousing the cause of unity. It may be that the communists have been encouraged by condescending messages from minor Muslims leaders which appear in '*People's War*' from time to time and by Jinnah's patronizing mention of P.C. Joshi as a 'Hindu leader' in a speech at Karachi last June and that they believe that the Muslim League may be induced to accord the Party a more formal recognition which should put up their stock immensely. Whatever their motives, it is clear that the communist leaders are neglecting no opportunity, however slight, of enhancing their Party's popularity and prestige. In particular, they seem anxious to create a useful following in the Muslim proletariat ready to follow their lead in purely industrial disputes no matter what communal or political controversies may sway the country as a whole.

39

Viceroy to the Governor of Bengal

Transfer of Power – Vol. IV, Doc. 26

The Marquess of Linlithgow to Sir J. Herbert (Bengal)

MSS EUR. F. 125/43

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, 2 July 1943

My dear Herbert,

Many thanks for your letter of 16th June¹ in which you discuss certain contingencies, I do not propose to go into the position in any very great detail and I should prefer to consider any situation as and when it starts to emerge. I am sure that you will give me the earliest possible notice of developments and keep me fully posted as to them, and as to the circumstances, so that I may be in a position to take a decision at short notice should that be necessary.

2. The answer to your specific question must of course to some extent depend on the circumstances at the time. But the margin is a very close one, and I fear that there is little consolation that I can give you. If the desiderata set out in the Instrument of Instructions are satisfied, and the Governor is satisfied that a particular individual has a stable majority, and in addition that he is prepared to support the war effort, I should not regard a Governor as having any option as to inviting him to assist in forming a Ministry. It might perfectly well be that after the Ministry has been formed, the Chief Minister may act in such a manner as to justify the Governor, with the previous approval of the Governor General and the Secretary of State—a previous approval which would only be given with the fullest knowledge of all the relevant factors and with full preliminary opportunity to consider them—to dismiss him. But such circumstances would be very rare indeed, and if they did occur a quite cast-iron case would necessarily have to be made out to satisfy the Governor-General, the Secretary of State and the Cabinet in the first instance, and thereafter public opinion both here and at home. The cases to which you refer do not really help. For your own information the issue was raised in connection with the dismissal of Allah Bakhsh, but his dismissal would not have been regarded as by itself permanently debarring him from office at some later stage, though of course were there to have been any question of his being invited to assist the Governor in forming a Ministry, the Governor would have had to be satisfied as to the stability of his majority, &c., in accordance with the terms of the Instrument of Instructions, and also, as long as the war continued, as to his readiness to support the war effort. The same was very much the case with the instance which you quote of Reid. In that case there was no stable majority especially in connection with matters affecting the war effort.

3. I fear, therefore, that should your present Ministry fall (and I quite understand your reluctance to see further changes so long as your present Ministry retains a stable majority and is prepared to co-operate fully over the war effort) you would not be justified in my judgment in refusing to send for the individual whom, to use the wording of your Instrument of Instructions, you regarded as in your judgment 'Most likely to command a stable majority in the Legislature', &c. must be for you to decide whether Huq, Mukerji, or any other potential Chief Minister who may appear to be emerging, in the first place has the stable majority required by the Instrument of Instructions, and in the second, is, if invited to assist you in

forming a Ministry, prepared to give the fullest support to war effort. It is impossible for any one but the governor himself to reach a clear conclusion on those matters. But as you know I shall expect, in the event of a change of Ministry or the like, to receive the fullest and most detailed intimation on both points, so that I could if necessary consult the Secretary of State before any decision of any sort was taken. And I should regard it as equally essential that I should be kept in the closest touch, by telegram if necessary, with all developments that may be likely to lead up to a constitutional Ministerial crisis in the Province. I felt, as you will forgive me for reminding you, at a serious disadvantage-a disadvantage to which the Secretary of State was also alive-in the case of the breakdown last March, and it would certainly be necessary that I should be kept much more fully informed and much more betimes, were any corresponding Ministerial difficulties to be likely to emerge in the future. But I know that you are fully alive to that, and mention the point here merely to place it formally on record.

4. I am sorry not to give you a more encouraging reply; but you and I have been aware since last March that the possibility of difficulties of this order might have to be faced.

Yours sincerely,

Linlithgow

1. Not printed.

40 Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2226]

From H.E. Sir Bertrand Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of the Punjab.

'Barnes Court', Simla,
July 6th, 1945.

[Private & Personal.]

No. 457

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

[Omitted: 3 paras - Ed.]

2. There is a considerable amount of uneasiness in political circles about the intentions of the Muslim League. The nawab of Mamdot, the head of the Provincial Muslim League, has been down to Karachi to interview Jinnah. He has not given out what was the result of the meeting, but he has paid a visit to Simla and tried without success to induce the Premier to issue another statement making obeisance to the Qaid-i-azam. The newspapers are full of all manner of reports, including a story that Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan has ambitions to conspire with Mamdot to win the Premiership for himself. I have no reason to suppose that this rumour is in anyway well-founded. The orthodox members of the Unionist Party are tired of Mamdot's manoeuvres, and there is some chance of his being replaced by a more trust worthy successor

when the Provincial Muslim League election takes place in the autumn; this idea, which it was intended to keep secret, has leaked out in the Press. Mamdot is certainly a nuisance; he is very far from being bright, but there is no doubt that he is mischievous and ambitious. I doubt, however, whether there will be any serious chance of his being replaced, should Jinnah see fit to take an active interest in the provincial election. Jinnah's henchmen are reported to be still trying to acquire a house for him in Lahore.

3. A good deal of unrest and uncertainty prevails in Akali circles. Master Tara Singh has met with opposition from various quarters and Giani Kartar Singh has ceased to be Secretary to the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. The Akali campaign against Kapurthala continues in rather a desultory way. I have been in touch with the Resident about this and hope that the Maharaja will take a firmer and more consistent line in future.

Yours sincerely,

B.J. Glancy.

41

Viceroy to Governor of Punjab

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2226]

To H.E. Sir Bertrand Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of the Punjab.

The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
July 16th 1943.

[Confidential]

My dear Glancy,

In my last letter to you I touched on Muslim League affairs, but Major Shaukat Hyat Khan's recent visit has reminded me of an intention to write to you at rather greater length about Punjab politics and to ask for your views.

2. I have been watching with great interest and not without anxiety the political changes that began with Sikander's death. Sikander's consistent policy, I presume, was to make his Government not a Muslim Government but a 'Punjabi' Government offering fair treatment to the minorities. The Assembly was split not on communal lines but on lines of economic interest. The pact with the Akali Sikhs was in accord with Sikander's general policy. To an outside observer the most obvious change resulting from Sikander's death has of course been the increased pressure of the League on the Ministry. You have more than once commented on this and it looks as though Khizar, for the present at any rate, lacks the political ability and experience to stand up effectively against Jinnah.

3. Now I come to a more doubtful thesis on which I am very anxious to have the benefit of your views. I have from time to time in the light of press comment or casual remarks in interviews inclined to identify a feeling that under the stress of the League's growing influence in the Punjab the Muslim members of the Ministry and their hangers-on have been tempted

to show themselves more Muslim than the League itself, this of course by way of a counter-attraction to the League. In fact, that the non-communal policy of Sikander is being rapidly abandoned by Khizar and that the government is tending to become Muslim rather than 'Punjabi'. I realise of course that on occasions Sikander himself must have shown a preference for Muslims, but he does seem to have tried his best to compromise on communal issues and the tendency, if I am right in identifying it, which I have mentioned would not be in anyway a surprising result of his removal from the scene.

4. If I am right in what I have said, and I trust you will correct me if I have been overdrawing the picture, it is clear that the alliance between the Muslim Ministers on the one side and the non-Muslims on the other is far from secure. And I suppose that with the break-up of this alliance and the initiation of purely communal politics in the Assembly the risk that Punjab affairs would be reduced to the level of those of Sind or Bengal with no chance of stable Government cannot be overlooked.

5. If there is anything in this, the issue is obviously one of great importance from the all-India stand point, and we must naturally consider whether there is anything that you or I can properly and wisely do to prevent a breakdown. I am not too clear as to how matters stood in Sikander's life-time as between him and the governor of the Province in the matter of the exercise of special responsibilities, &c. I have always been under the impression that Emersion, Craik and thereafter yourself have been very anxious to take Sikander with you even where special responsibilities were involved, but that naturally is the case with any Governor and in no way relieve the Governor concerned of the full responsibility that rests on him to exercise his special responsibility where circumstances necessitate that, whether his Premier likes it or not, and at whatsoever cost in terms of the retention of a particular Government. What I should like to know is whether in fact there has in the past been in the Punjab either in your own time or at an earlier stage any blurring of the dividing line between matters in relation to which you and your predecessors acted on advice and those which you had to decide in your individual judgment or discretion. I have certainly never had any suggestion that I can off hand remember in reports either from you or from your predecessors that was the case or I should have been bound to take notice of it. But in the situation we are now considering I would be glad of your formal confirmation.

But, that issue apart, I recognized the value in the past of an experienced Premier of high standing such as Sikander who had himself acted as Governor and who appreciated the responsibilities that fall upon the Governor and the latter's obligation to keep the balance and safeguard the minorities and the services. In present circumstances we are faced with stronger communal pressure and a Premier who, though I am sure he is well-meaning I would judge to be not of Sikander's calibre, and in all probability (so far as I can form judgment from your reports) to be in a weaker position in the Province. If that is the case it is more necessary than ever before that there should be no shadow of misunderstanding on the part of any interests or section or on the part of Ministers as to the Governor's special responsibilities or his intentions to discharge those special responsibilities, whatever may be the reaction on the ministerial position, a view with which I am certain that you will yourself entirely agree.

6. I have little information how the minorities in the Punjab are reacting to the present situation but there have been reports of nervousness among the Sikhs, and obviously the mere word 'Pakistan' must be enough to alarm all non-Muslims in the Province. Possibly also the non-Muslim Indian members of the Services may be anxious and indeed it would be surprising

if they were not. If there is anything in that the importance of the special responsibilities and of general appreciation of their existence and of the Governor's readiness to intervene if necessary becomes of course greater than ever, and I can conceive circumstances in which the substantial guarantee provided by the exercise of the special responsibilities might well tend to prolong the life of stable Government and prevent a sudden collapse.

Yours sincerely,

I Inlithgow

42 Sahajanand Saraswati to Indulal Yagnik

Indulal Yagnik Papers – File No. 23 (MS)
[NMML]

The All India Kisan Sabha

Shri Sitaram Ashram
P.O. & Tel. Bihta
E.I.R., Patna.

The 18.7.1943

Dear Indulalji,

Your letter of the 11th. I am sorry, I cannot agree with your interpretations of the Nagpur resolution. When that resolution says clearly to 'establish immediately national Govt at the Centre, responsible to the legislature and the people of India' and when it further says that 'only such national Govts effectively functioning at the centre and in the provinces' who can say that such a Govt., is possible under the present constitution? Unless there is some change in the constitution, no such Govts are possible either in the provinces or at the centre. They can not be responsible to the legislature and the Indian people under the present constitution and hence they cannot function effectively. And do you think that after the Congress-League agreement this present constitution will remain intact and will not be modified to suit the aim of the national Govt.?

And even if I accept your view point for argument's sake that was possible before Cripps and not after him. The very basis of breakdown with him shows clearly that no Congress coalition Govt is possible under the present constitution and unless the full power is transferred to the people. So why drag our Nagpore resolution in the mire of these sham coalition ministers?

One thing regarding your attitude towards the Sabha. It pains very much to find you in such a mood all on a sudden. If one adopts such moods very often and suddenly no organised work is ever possible. There are bound to be difficulties and obstacles everywhere and one must face them resolutely and courageously and certainly must not give in. So I cannot understand your mood of such a terrible depression and your feeling of alienation. Please

think over the matter in cooler moments and you will find that what I am writing is right. So don't be depressed so much and lose spirit.

Sincerely yours,

S.S. Saraswati.

43 Governor of Sind to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2233]

From H.E. Sir Hugh Dow, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Governor of Sind,

Government House, Karachi,
July 19th, 1943.

The agitation against the book *Satyartha Prakash*, which is referred to in paragraph 6 of the official report¹ appears to have been mainly worked up by fanatical Hindus from outside the Province, who hoped that my Muslim Ministers might be provoked to act foolishly in the matter and so cause an all-India agitation which would compel the Hindu Mahasabha to disown the Sind Hindu Ministers. I had no difficulty in persuading the Premier and Gazdar to drop the matter and to issue a press note disclaiming their intention to interfere.

Yours sincerely,

H. Dow.

[40(11)-G.G.-43.]

1. Not printed.

44: Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy

Linlithlow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2227]

(Confidential)

No. 460

Simla
July 20, 1943

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Will your Excellency kindly refer to your confidential letter of July the 16th,¹ 1943 about suggestions that have been made to the effect that the Punjab Government is now inclined

to give preferential treatment to Muslims at the expense of members of other communities? In my opinion there is no justification whatsoever for any such insinuation, or so far as I am aware, is there any ground for holding that the Governor, however much he may try to carry the Premier and the Ministry with him, has tended to shirk his special responsibilities in regard to the protection of minorities. It is of course true that there are attempts on the part of the Muslim League to exercise increased pressure on the Ministry and that Khizar is in some respects in a weaker position than his predecessor. But for this, as Your Excellency is aware, Sikander is very largely to blame, as the surrenders which he made, sometimes unnecessarily, to Jinnah have left his successor an unpleasant heritage. It is also true that comments in the Press from time to time seek to give the impression that a particular community is being treated with unfairness or injustice; Hindu, Sikh and Muslim newspapers all like to indulge in this habit, however, flimsy the excuse. I do not know whether Your excellency's interviewers have made any specific allegations, but should this be the case, I will of course be glad to supply any information that may be required. My own experience leads me to the view, which I have reason to believe is shared by senior European officers in the Punjab, that Khizar has shown no kind of communal partiality in regard to appointments. I think in fact that he is singularly free from communal bias. Perhaps it is worth while mentioning one instance, the only occasion on which, so far as I remember, I have had any serious difficulty in regard to an undue preference shown by the Ministry for a Muslim candidate. This instance occurred in Sikander's time towards the end of last year. A very senior appointment in the Irrigation Branch was about to fall vacant and Chhotu Ram in sending up the file to Sikander suggested that they should both talk over the matter in the usual way with the Governor. Sikander, however, chose, strangely enough, to content himself with a discussion with Chhotu, and the result was that the papers came to me with a note saying they had come to the conclusion that the appointment should go to a certain Muslim officer. There was no doubt that this particular officer was unfitted for the post and I had to have a serious talk with Sikander on the subject. The question had not finally been decided by the time Sikander died. When Khizar took over, there was no further difficulty; both he and Chhotu Ram agreed readily to the appointment of a European officer, who was obviously the right man for the post. I am not suggesting that Sikander was communally-minded, but I fear that his better judgment was at times overborne by pressure from outside.

As to the nervousness caused among Sikhs and other minority communities by the 'Pakistan' slogan, I fear there is no doubt that a certain degree of uneasiness does exist both in non-official and official quarters. We have been very considerably embarrassed of late by certain untoward remarks made by Shaukat Hyat Khan in regard to 'Pakistan' and the Muslim League in the course of his recent tour; he has now been recalled to Simla and taken very sternly to task by Khizar, and he is now publishing an explanation in the Press which, though I am afraid it does not ring convincingly, may go some way towards counteracting the mischief that he has done.

I am sending you an appreciation of the various members of the Ministry in which I have touched on this unpleasant incident.

Yours sincerely,

B.J. Glancy

Appreciation of various Ministers by the Governor of Punjab

Secret

'Barnes Court', Simla,
July 21st, 1943

Lieut-Colonel Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana: He has now worked as Premier for about six months and he has had an extremely difficult row to hoe. The untimely death of his predecessor, Sir Sikander, and the reconstruction of the cabinet naturally caused considerable dislocation and gave rise to not a little disappointment and heartburning among certain members of the Unionist Party who aspired to a post in the Ministry. In Muslim circles, both inside and outside the Punjab, the slogan of Pakistan has been gradually gaining ground: Jinnah is more anxious than ever to dominate the politics of the Punjab and is constantly on the watch for a chance to disrupt the Unionist Ministry: a fair number of Muslim Unionists are ready from personal motives to enrol themselves under Jinnah's banner and give trouble to the Premier. Khizr has been blamed in other quarters because he attended the Muslim League meeting at Delhi and made his bow to the Qaid-i-Azam. But he went no further than his predecessor in his professions and all that he conceded in effect was his adherence to the 'Sikander/Jinnah pact', a document which, in spite of its deplorable looseness, appears to have been designed to prevent Jinnah from active interference in provincial politics, while acknowledging the supremacy of the League in all-India affairs. It is not apparent that Khizr could have done less than this unless he was prepared to challenge the Qaid-i-Azam to open conflict. Khizr's considered view is that he might successfully do battle with Jinnah if he could choose his own battle-ground, for instance the War Effort, or if Jinnah should make a patently false move, but that it would be unwise at present to provoke a clash without very good reason: the danger of Jinnah's professing to unfurl the green flag of Islamic is obvious and it is very doubtful how many of the Unionist Muslims would have the hardihood to resist the pressure of this manoeuvre. One of Khizr's main difficulties of course is the absence of any convincing battle cry with which to rally his followers. He has no inclination to imitate Congress tactics and clamour for the independence of India, nor to abase himself to Jinnah and cry aloud for Pakistan. The pro-zamindar campaign of the Unionist Party with its concomitant agrarian legislation has for the present more or less exhausted itself: this is not on all accounts to be deplored, but whatever cohesive effect it has exercised on the majority of the Party has been gradually evaporating. The War Effort and the interests of Punjabi soldiers still help to provide the machine with a certain amount of fuel, but, as danger from the enemy has receded, this factor has become less potent than before.

There is no denying that Khizr lacks the experience and political agility of his predecessor, but he is in many respects a firmer character. He has a most attractive personality and he is very pleasant to work with. He is shrewd, even-tempered and blessed with a sense of humour. Though he is at heart an aristocrat and something of a reactionary, he keeps his prejudices in the background and is in my opinion essentially fair-minded. He has shown no-signs of communal bias. His application to business is apt to flag at times, but this is largely due to his health which is not all that one could desire.

Sir Chhotu Ram: There is little to add to what has already been recorded. He is unquestionably a man of great ability and he has continued to work devotedly for the

advancement of the agricultural classes. He has controlled effectively the departments in his charge. He has little, if any, regard for his feelings of others, and in his public speeches, which on normal occasions take the form of vernacular harangues lasting for several hours, he is frequently indiscreet and gratuitously offensive. This is unfortunately an inherent defect in his composition, and though there appeared at one time to be some hope that he could endeavour to cultivate a greater degree of self-control, his recent performances have belied this expectations. He has lately incurred widespread and well-justified criticism, because the advice which he has given to cultivators has been calculated to make them discontented with the high prices now prevailing and to withhold their grain from the market. He has undertaken to abstain from tendering such advice in future, and it is to be hoped that he will do so. There is this much to be said in explanation of his conduct that when it was authoritatively announced by the Central Government last year that the basic maximum price for wheat would remain at Rs 5 until the new harvest was ready, Sir Chotu advised cultivators to sell in accordance with this declaration. When conditions became unhappily complicated, eventually leading to the abolition of controlled prices, Sir Chhotu came in for considerable criticism for those who had reason to regret their acceptance of his advice.

Sir Chhotu Ram is naturally in favour of the survival of the Unionist Party. When Sir Sikander died last Dec. he was not misled by any personal ambition into seeking the Premiership for himself. He has loyally supported the leader of the Ministry.

Sir Manohar Lal: He continues to prove a highly successful Finance Minister, . . . his tendency is to avoid all unnecessary controversy, retire from the scene of action when storms are threatening. Of late this tendency has been less marked. Since the new Premier has assumed office he has made a habit of consulting Sir Manohar informally on frequent occasions, and the Finance Minister shows signs of becoming less diffident in the expression of his views.

Mian Abdul Haye: There is nothing new to say about this Minister. He is intelligent enough, but his administration of his departments is erratic and inspires no great degree of confidence.

He has little political backing. He has been loyal and helpful in supporting his Premier against assaults from without: if the Unionist Party were to collapse, there would be no serious chance of his finding a seat in another Ministry.

Sardar Baldev Singh: He has a fair measure of natural sagacity combined with the experience of a successful businessman. But it cannot be said that he has yet found his feet as a Minister. Though not a professed Akali himself, he owes his seat on the Cabinet to the support of the Akali party and he is seldom able to stand up against the dictation of Master Tara Singh and his henchmen, even when he knows that their injunctions are ill-advised. In consequence he is in effect the most communally-minded of all the Ministers; he allows communal considerations to obtrude themselves when no kind of regard should be paid to them, and, when challenged, he has no hesitation in saying that he will find it hard to defend himself from personal criticism if he pursues a different line of action. It is to be hoped that he will develop a greater sense of independence.

Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan: He owes his present position to the fact that he is the son of the late Premier. But has done nothing so far to justify his choice. Though he was roughly treated by Jinnah he appears now to have concluded that complete subservience to Jinnah gives him the best chance of a successful career. His speeches in the course of his recent tour have caused grave embarrassment to the Premier and given rise to much uneasiness in the minds of Minority Communities. Perhaps it is too early to judge him. There are some who explain his conduct by the fact that he is both the nephew and the son-in-law of Mr Maqbul

Mohammed, a political acrobat who is perhaps more universally distrusted than any other of his kidney in the North of India.

Signed B.J. Glancy,
Governor of Punjab.

1. Doc. 41.

45 Extracts from the minutes of the ninth meeting of the Central Command War Planning Board held on the 21st July 1943

Govt. of C.P. Berar Pol & Mil. Department, File No. 207
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

Item 7

Political-Military Organisations

In recent months within the area of Central command there has been a considerable increase in the activities of the Khaksars and the R.S.S. Sangh. The former have come to notice mainly in the Punjab and the United Provinces, and the latter in the Central Provinces and Berar and the United Provinces. From the nature of their activities it would appear that these organisations could be used as frameworks for 'Private' armies, the personnel of which could be found now from the sects concerned, or, when peace comes, from demobilized soldier. As such they are a potential danger to the peace of the country and, therefore, an additional liability for the slender military Forces allocated to internal defence. These are more likely to be reduced than increased in the future.

Discussion

Mr Binney said that the Khaksars constituted an all India problem, though mainly concentrated in the Punjab, and that this was a matter for the Central Government. We did not regard the R.S.S. Sangh as a quasi-military, but as a purely communal organization and the Government of the Central Provinces did not regard its present activities with anxiety.

Mr Thom said that in the United Provinces the orders to Magistrates had been reiterated regarding the action to be taken under the Defence of India Rules to prevent quasi-military parades or the wearing of uniforms.

It was agreed that in view of the action being taken by the Government of India, who had recently issued a policy letter on the subject, no action was necessary at present. It was also noted that the Provincial Governments are keeping the activities of these organisations under close supervision.

46

Governor of Bengal to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection
[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

From H.E. Sir John Herbert, G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal.

Govt. House Calcutta,
July 21st, 1943.

Dear Linlithgow,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th July¹ regarding copies of correspondence with Fazlul Huq. Abell had already mentioned this to Williams on the telephone and I had arranged for copies to be got ready.

2. The copies in question cover correspondence connected with Huq's recent 'statement' in the Legislature. (As regards other letters from time to time received from Huq, apart from copies which may have been sent to you ad hoc it would not be feasible to send copies of the whole of this voluminous and variegated correspondence.)

3. The copies sent have been lettered and serially numbered for convenience of reference Group A comprises the correspondence with Huq regarding release of the other letters which are comprised in Group B. and have been placed in chronological order and serially numbered as Huq's list in Serial No. A (3) observes no logical sequence.

4. I take this opportunity, as stated in my last fortnightly report, to comment on this correspondence:

Group A – Serial No. (4) – I comment separately on the nature of the letter, withdrawn by Huq, referred to in Williams' letter, which reached Huq just before he made his statement. Huq characteristically made the best of a bad job by stating in the Legislature that he had just heard from the Governor's Secretary that His Excellency objected to the publication of one of the letters, which he did not therefore propose to read out 'out of deference to His Excellency's wishes'!

Group B – Serial No. (1) – This contains several main accusations with which I deal in turn.

(I) Interference with the removal of rice – The policy was a decision of the full Cabinet and I referred to the necessity of removing from certain areas surplus foodstuffs and all means of transport in my Address to the Assembly on the 2nd April 1942. Hence the policy was no secret.

Huq was annoyed because the Department was unable to obtain any Agent to carry out the task except a nominee of Ispahani who is politically opposed to Huq. The matter was brought to Cabinet on the 16th April 1942, when the Secretary explained the position in a note. In Cabinet and in private conversation with the Minister-in charge and with the Chief Minister, I expressed the view that as long as the surplus was moved expeditiously and stored safely, it could be no concern of mine what Agent was appointed. Subsequently, a number of Ministerial nominees were appointed as Agents in most cases producing lamentable results. The change-over created confusion and delay and most of the nominees had insufficient experience to do the job properly.

(II) *No consultation as to denial of boats* – The policy to remove boats from certain areas was a decision taken in full Cabinet. To ensure that Ministers should realise the implications and accept responsibility, I arranged the following procedure:

- (a) The Army Commander met certain Ministers and explained that we would have to consider denial of surplus foodstuffs and transport pointing out that such steps would do far more to prevent the Japanese invasion than the raising of thousands of volunteers who could not be armed.
- (b) The Civil Liaison Officer was informed by Corps H.Q. that it was intended to deny boats upto a certain line: but asked that these demands should be modified.
- (c) The Corps Commander met the full Cabinet on the 24th April 1942, and explained his requirements.
- (d) After the Corps Commander had left the room, the Cabinet decided to remove boats from the area described by him, which was a modification of the previous demand.
- (e) At my suggestion Cabinet met on the 25th April 1942, to approve the actual terms of the orders to be issued. As these included conditions of compensation, I felt that the Ministry should be responsible.
- (f) Orders as approved by full Cabinet were issued.

(III) *Appointment of more Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries* – F. Huq on several occasions made such a request in vague terms. On each and every occasion, I pointed out to him that the initiative lay with him and that it was upto him to submit to me a list of nominees. (I gathered that he was reluctant to tie himself down to particular individuals realising that those not appointed might turn against him). Although I continued to press him for lists, actually no list was submitted until the 14th March 1943. As soon as I received these proposals (two Hindus and two Muslims), I sent for the gentlemen named (within 24 hours). Apparently, it was Huq's practice to broadcast promises, hinting that were it not for the Governor, so and so (the man to whom he was at the moment speaking) would be a Minister or Parliamentary Secretary. By this means he managed to keep waverers on his side. In fact he let it be understood that the initiative in making appointments lay with me, not with him. When I interviewed the four gentlemen named, it was clear that they had not appreciated that the proposals emanated from the Chief Minister and not the Governor: Huq had merely told each of them that I wanted to see him (not mentioning the subject). As on other occasions, at his next interview he explained that he had written his last letter in a fit of temper and did not mean what he had written. These instances sufficiently indicate one's difficulties and the shifts to which Huq regularly resorted.

(IV) *Shortage of Muslims in Calcutta A.R.P. Service*² I expressed my sympathy with Huq, although I was bound to point out that the fault lay with the Muslims for not coming forward to join earlier. Experience has shown that A.R.P. Services normally are at the same ratio as the population of a particular area: as Calcutta is predominantly Hindu it is not surprising that the A.R.P. Services should represent the communal ratio in the area. This applies particularly to the higher paid posts in which intelligent and well-educated men are required.

Serial No. (2) – This is the letter subsequently withdrawn by Huq. So there is no need to controvert his statements which are mainly false. In short, the Dacca Nawab, partly perhaps because he was a complete nit-wit, was prepared to back his Department blind, and really himself required my backing against his colleagues, The orders which annoyed Huq consisted

in a direction issued by me with the enthusiastic approval of the Nawab that while away for a week on tour I should be at once notified of any interference with the Department.

Huq withdrew his letter with apologies in the presence of my Secretary, mainly because his jibe at my absence from Calcutta came poorly from a person who had managed to dodge all the air-raids!

Serial No. (4) – Was occasioned by Huq promising on the floor of the Assembly an enquiry into ‘official excesses’ in Midnapore. It was obvious that no Chief Minister should so trench on my special responsibilities without previous reference to me.

Serial No. (5) – Is Huq’s rejoinder blandly explaining that his promise was only that the Ministry would advise me to have an enquiry. He would be quite pleased to get up in the Assembly later and say that I had overruled them! Actually, at a later interview he explained to me that he had no intention of having any sort of enquiry outside the scope of the Criminal Procedure Code. He was, in fact, quite prepared to swindle the Legislature.

Serial Nos (6)–(9) – You have already seen these. In his statement his written promises to resign were glossed over and the Nationalist papers which published other letter omitted these.

Serial No. (10) – I think that you had a copy of this from Huq himself. It calls for no special comment now. Huq actually came to see me about that time and enlivened the interview by telling me that he had faithfully kept his resignation secret even from his youngest wife who when she heard of it was so angry that she refused to give him any breakfast.

5. One passage in Huq’s ‘statement’ requires some explanation. He stated that as soon as he had signed his resignation, the Governor turned to his Secretary and said ‘Don’t forget to telephone to the Leader of the European Group. Huq professed to be unable to understand the significance of this, though doubtless it was sinister. The fact is that Huq on signing his resignation asked me to see what could be done to prevent a motion of no-confidence from being moved the next day as he did not wish to appear to be running away from a defeat, and himself suggested that a hint to Hendry would suffice. In fact as he left the room after resigning his last two remarks were a request to Williams not to forget to ring up Hendry and a plea – to me not to forget the ‘old man’ if there were any jobs going!

6. Huq’s technique in correspondence, by letter, telegram or telephone was almost unvarying. The correspondence was rarely for the purpose indicated on the face of it – it was to be seen or heard by some one at the time of despatch or to be quoted at some later date. He quite commonly, after writing a ‘rude’ letter, would ring up the Secretary of the day and ask him to ‘tell His Excellency not to worry about it. I will explain everything when I see him. But there is clearly little profit in further dilating on his curious practices.

Yours sincerely

J.A. Herbert.

[90(2)–G.G.–42]

88–2 Jhautala Road, Calcutta.
July 1st, 1943.

[Enclosure] A (1)

Dear Sir John.

I propose to make a statement on the 5th July provided the Speaker gives me leave to do so on my resignation. In that statement I shall have to quote from the correspondence that has

passed between you and me from time to time. On a previous occasion I wanted to release some of these correspondence. and you were pleased not to raise any objection. I am, however, giving you notice beforehand as to my intention to refer to the correspondence on this occasion, as I think it proper to do so.

Yours sincerely

A.K. Fazlul Huq.

To
Sir John Herbert, G.C.I.

[Enclosure 2/ A (2)]

Calcutta July 2nd, 1943.

D.O. No. 1094-S.

Dear Mr Huq.

His Excellency asks me to thank you for your letter of the 1st July. His Excellency has no objection in principle (and subject of course to the Hon. Speaker's decision on the procedure in the Chamber) to your quoting correspondence which has passed between His Excellency and yourself. His Excellency does, however, consider that it would be appropriate for you to give His Excellency an indication as to which parts of that correspondence (which over a period of years became voluminous) you have in mind in this connection.

Yours sincerely

A Dec. Williams.

To
Mr A.K. Fazlul Huq

88-2, Jhautala Road, Calcutta,
July 3rd, 1943.

[Enclosure 3] A (3)

My dear Williams,

Many thanks for your letter which I received yesterday. I propose to quote from or refer to the following correspondence:

- (1) Letter written by me to His Excellency on the 2nd August 1942.
- (2) Letter written by me to His Excellency on the 9th January 1943.
- (3) Letter written to me by His Excellency on the 15th February 1943, regarding enquiry into the Midnapore affairs.
- (4) Letter in reply to the above letter.
- (5) Letter written by me to His Excellency on the 29th March 1943 regarding the circumstances of my resignation.
- (6) Letters written by me to His Excellency on the 21st and 26th March 1943.
- (7) Letter purporting to my letter of resignation on the 28th March 1943.

Yours sincerely

A.K. Fazlul Huq

To
A. Dec. Williams Esq., C.I.E.

Calcutta July 5th, 1943.

[Enclosure 4.] A.(4)

Dear Mr Huq,

Will you please refer to your letter dated the 3rd July to His Excellency? His Excellency's consent to your giving publicity to correspondence between yourself and him does not extend to your letter of the 9th January 1943, regarding MacInnes and other supply matters which you withdrew with an expression of regret at an interview with His Excellency in my presence and which was returned to you with my d-o. letter No. 3196-G of the 27th January 1943.

Yours sincerely

A. Dec. Williams.

To
Mr A.K. Fazlul Huq.

Calcutta, August 2nd, 1942.

[Enclosure 5.] B (1)

Dear Sir John,

At a time when the implications of the Congress resolution have filled all our hearts with the deepest anxiety for the future of India, I feel unfortunately compelled to write this letter to Your Excellency. I wish I could avoid this correspondence. But circumstances have left me no other alternative, and it pains me much to have to say very bluntly that you have contributed not a little to the creation of the situation which has forced me to take this unpleasant step. You are the Governor of the Province and I am your Chief Minister and your principal adviser. Our mutual relations impose on both of us reciprocal duties and obligations, and I can never shirk the responsibility of intervening by means of friendly but frank, advice whenever I find you are treading the wrong path. If I allow things to drift, I will be failing in my duty to you and to the people of this province. I am convinced that the time has come when I must speak to you quite openly what I feel in order to avoid a constitutional crisis in Bengal. More than once have I sounded a note of caution and have told you that you have been following a policy which cannot but have the inevitable effect of practically suspending the constitution in Bengal, reducing it to a position similar to that of the Provinces governed under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. I have tried to convince you that, by listening to the advice of a few officials, you are acting as if your Ministers did not exist and that you were free to deal direct with Secretaries and other permanent officials. As the head of the Cabinet I cannot possibly allow this attitude on your part to go unchallenged. The present letter is no more than another and the last attempt to put matters right, and I sincerely hope that this letter will have the desired effect. I am writing with the stern resolve to assert myself as the Chief Minister. and I can assure you that if it leads to a constitutional struggle between you as the Governor and me as the Chief Minister, I will not shirk from doing my duty regardless of consequence.

Broadly speaking there are two classes of cases where I regret to have to say you have failed to act as a constitutional Governor. In the first category I will put that class of cases

wherein I have detected your personal interference in almost every matter of administrative detail, including even those where your interference is definitely excluded by the Government of India Act. A little reflection will convince you how unwelcome must be such an interference, and how bitterly Ministers must resent impediments in the way of the exercise of the very limited powers which they possess under the Act. As it is, the Act is bad enough and is no better than a clever subterfuge by which the permanent officials have got all the powers but no responsibility whereas the Ministers have all the responsibility and no powers. But the camouflage with which the Act abounds is so transparent that it is not difficult to detect that, beneath the pretentious device of Ministers functioning in a system of Provincial Autonomy, the real power is still vested in the permanent officials; the Ministers have been given a mockery of authority and the steel frame of the Imperial Services still remains intact, dominating the entire administration and casting sombre shadows over the activities of Ministers. Any interference with even this limited power of Ministers is therefore the worst of its kind, and I regret that your record in this respect has in no way been a negligible one. In the second category I would put those classes of cases in which you have, directly or indirectly, encouraged sections of permanent officials to flout the authority of Ministers, leading them to ignore Ministers altogether, and to deal directly with you as if the Ministers did not exist. Arising out of all this there is also one important factor not directly connected with the cases I have mentioned above but which has also contributed towards the creation of the situation which I sincerely deplore. I refer to your attitude in Cabinet meetings, where you monopolize all the discussions and practically force decisions on your Ministers, decisions which are in many cases the outcome of advice tendered to you by permanent officials belonging to Services whose traditions are fundamentally opposed to a genuine spirit of sympathy with the feelings and aspirations of the people.

I know these are very harsh words to use to a Governor but I want to be perfectly frank with you. I have decided to carry frankness to the extreme limit because it is my earnest desire to render you the utmost possible help in the difficult days that lie ahead of us. Whether you will accept my advice or not is a matter with which I have no concern. The choice must lie with you. It is a question of confidence and trust. British officials in India are now faced with a situation unparalleled in the history of any civilized country in modern times. Gigantic events are shaking Empires to their very foundations. Here in India we are faced with a crisis which may lead to the most momentous events affecting the destinies not merely of the people of this country but of millions of human beings all over the world. If ever statesmanship was indispensable in guiding the policy of rulers the present situation in India has need of that statesmanship in the fullest measure. I am therefore asking you to play the role of a true statesman and to realize that India today has attained a position in world politics where in the wishes of its people in matters of administration cannot be ignored with anything like impunity. Administrative measures must be suited to the genius and traditions of the people and not fashioned according to the whims and caprices of hardened bureaucrats to many of whom autocratic ideas are bound up with the very breath of their lives. It is to your own Ministers and not to this class of officers that you should turn for advice if you desire to avoid pitfalls which have always been responsible for administrative disasters.

Let me now come to facts. As regards your personal interference in total disregard of Ministerial responsibilities, I will briefly refer to only a few. There is first of all the case of your mandate to the Joint Secretary, Commerce and Labour Department, in April last in the matter of the rice removal policy. Here you acted as if the Government of India Act

in Bengal had been suspended and you were at the head of an administration under Section 93 of the Act. In a matter of such vital importance, affecting the question of the foodstuffs of the people you should have called an emergent meeting of the Cabinet and discussed with your Ministers the best means of carrying out the wishes of the military authorities and of the Central Government. But you did nothing of the kind. You did not even send for the Minister-in-charge of the Department, although he was readily available but you sent for the Joint Secretary instead. You gave him orders to take the work of removal at once, without caring to find out the exact position regarding the excess of rice and paddy in different areas and the best means of removal and the cheapest method of carrying out the scheme. The Joint Secretary says that when he was arranging to carry out your orders you grew impatient and gave him definite directions to arrange for the removal of excess rice from 3 districts within 24 hours. Even then you did not consult your Ministers because presumably you thought you could not trust them. The result has been a dismal failure so far as this particular policy is concerned. The Joint Secretary in his haste and hurry to oblige you, advanced twenty lakhs of rupees to a nominee of a friend to begin the work, without any terms having been settled, or without any arrangements having been made for the safety of public money solely for the purpose of showing that he had started carrying out your orders. When we came to know of all this at a late stage, we did what we could to retrieve the unfortunate position into which Government had been placed but even then we could not avert the disaster. At the present moment we are faced with a rice famine in Bengal mainly in consequence of an uncalled-for interference on your part and of hasty action on the part of the Joint Secretary. As regards the huge sums of money advanced indiscreetly under your orders by the Joint Secretary in the first instance, our legal advisers are extremely dubious if we can ever expect to receive the whole amount. The loss to Government is bound to be a considerable one, and the responsibility, of this needless waste of public money must be shared by you and your Joint Secretary.

Then I come to the boat removal policy. In this you have all along been acting under the advice and guidance of some permanent officials without taking your ministers into confidence. You have even ignored one who happens not merely to be your Chief Minister but also the Minister-in-charge of the Home Department. You seem to have been consulting the Military authorities in secret and discussing plans with the permanent officials; and when everything is almost settled and matters have gone beyond control you sometimes talk to us with a view to impart information as to what has been done or was being done. The most outstanding instance of blunder which has been committed by the permanent officials apparently with your knowledge and concurrence, has been the case of the prevention of boats from going out into the Bay of Bengal for the purpose of cultivation of the lands in the various islands lying at the mouth of the Delta. Some tardy recognition of the urgency of the situation was made when a limited number of boats was allowed to go out into the Bay, but it was then too late to mend matters. I will not go into details, nor is it necessary to do so. It is enough for me to emphasise that the whole scheme was planned in consultation with the military authorities and some permanent officials, without the knowledge nor merely of the Cabinet but even of the Home Minister.

I now come to the question of the formation of Home Guards. It is true that you have recently given a belated consent to our proposals regarding these organisations but the mischief of officialization of Home Guards had already been complete. Constitutionally you should have accepted our advice, but you did not with the result that the permanent officials have

practically officialized the whole concern. I do not know how far you will now be able to retrieve the mischief that has been done.

I will now say a few words about the manner in which you have all along resisted my efforts for the expansion of the Cabinet and the appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries. Whatever may be your powers under the Act it is evident that as the Chief Minister, I should have the final say in the matter of the composition of the Cabinet and in Parliamentary appointments and that except for the gravest of reasons you should not reject my advice in such matters. In England, it would be unthinkable that the Prime Minister's wishes about the Cabinet should be ignored. But your attitude has been one of definite disregard of my wishes in these respects. You seem to have taken up this attitude perhaps in the forlorn hope of getting Sir Nazimuddin and his group into the Cabinet. Eight months have now passed and your efforts to placate them have borne no fruit, but your reluctance to accept my advice has not been slow to produce the most bitter result in as much as it has hampered the administration of the various department of Government and also thrown a burden on our shoulders which it is physically impossible for us to bear.

During the last few days I have discovered that orders have been passed by Secretaries either on their own responsibility or with your approval explicit or implicit by totally ignoring the Ministers. For instance orders have been passed that the Government of India should be requested to send back to Bengal all officers lent to India by the Bengal Government; orders have been passed that the powers exercisable by the Provincial Government under Section 76 (B) of the Defence of India Act and Rules be delegated to local officers. I was not consulted in these cases although they affect vital matters of policy. Everyday some fact or other comes to light which reveals how orders had been passed in important matters without the cognizance of the Minister concerned. I strongly deprecate and resent this procedure. After all I and my Cabinet are responsible for whatever action is taken by Government and announced in your name. It is wholly unconstitutional and even unfair to saddle us with responsibility for matters of which we have had no knowledge and with which we have had no concern. Posts are created for officers without our knowledge and forced upon us for acceptance, under circumstance which leave us no alternative but to agree. I could multiply instances, but I purposely refrain from doing so as I feel that what I have said already is enough to justify my grievance.

I now come to the class of cases in which permanent officials have acted in defiance of Ministers by completely ignoring their authority. Let me begin with the case of the outrages alleged to have been committed on women at Sanoa in the district of Noakhali. There was a Deputy Collector at Feni who happened to be the Additional Sub-Divisional Officer the time, who had sent a telegram to the District Magistrate apprising him of what had occurred and asking for instructions how to proceed. This action on the part of the Deputy Collector was resented by some of the officials presumably because they thought that the telegram might be a very important piece of evidence against the guilty persons. This officer who had only tried to do his duty, was transferred from Feni by a telegram, at the bidding of the local officials by the Chief Secretary. And the Chief Secretary passed orders without consulting me who happened to be the Chief Minister and the Home Minister! I came to know of this transfer several days after it had taken place when I went to Feni to find out what the facts of the alleged outrage actually were. I have since seen the papers relating to this transfer. The telegram, of course, is not on the file, but there is a remark by a high official that the Deputy Collector had acted indiscreetly. We know what this means. The Deputy Collector was naturally

frightened and sought safety by applying for leave. This leave was refused, and the officer was summarily transferred to Serajganj, because high officials wanted to bundle him out of the Chittagong Division altogether.

May I in this connection remind you that when you came to know of my programme to visit Feni, you advised me not to go because you thought that my visit would embarrass the local officials. I explained to you that I had no intention of embarrassing anybody but that I considered it my duty to pay a visit to an area where the people seemed to be so much distressed. When I went there I found that practically all the officials of the Chittagong Division had gathered at Feni with a view to prevent my visit to the place of occurrence. The Commissioner of the Division plainly told me that he had received a telephonic message from your Secretary asking him to persuade me to abandon my visit. I did not go to the village because I did not want to quarrel with the officials, but met relations of most of the women said to have been outraged and the relations of their deceased husbands. I had also certain documents brought up to me which left no doubt in my mind as to what had happened. The reasons for the telegraphic transfer of the Deputy Collector and for the anxiety shown by you and the local officials to prevent my visit to the locality are abundantly clear. Even the Chief Minister had to be kept out of the way because he could not perhaps be trusted to fall into line with the official plans. Further comment is superfluous.

I now come to the events leading to the closing down of the Lady Brabourne College in Calcutta. You referred to this fact in the last Cabinet meeting and tried to defend the Secretaries, the Director of Public Instruction and other permanent officials. I said nothing to contradict your *assertions in apologia* because I felt so aggrieved that I thought silence was the better course to adopt to prevent an outburst. The facts constitute a revolting instance of insubordination, and the main incidents are well-known. In spite of assurances given to me by the Revenue Secretary and other officials that no decision would be taken regarding the Lady Brabourne College without reference to me, it appears that the various Secretaries and the Director of Public Instruction between themselves managed to hand over the buildings and appliances to the military authorities without reference even to the Minister-in-charge. The official note submitted by the Director of Public Instruction was to the effect that he had confirmed the arrangements. It is reminiscent of the language of the officials half a century ago when every bureaucrat in the Writers' Buildings used to consider himself as big as the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. These officials who have bungled over the Lady Brabourne College incident should be told very plainly that things now are entirely different from what they have been in the past and that they must know how to adapt themselves to the altered circumstances.

I will now say a few words about the appointments to A.R.P. services. Muslims have not got even 5 per cent. of these appointments made by the Controller and his subordinates in Calcutta and not even 2 per cent of the appointments made by the permanent officials in the mofussil. To add insult to injury, some of these officials have stated that competent Muslims were not forthcoming. Some officials have taken the plea that Muslims are not willing to accept appointments on low salaries and some have hazarded the very ingenuous and novel cause that Muslims are well placed in life and therefore not available for A.R.P. appointments. I may tell you that these statements are not correct and it is surprising that high officials holding responsible positions should have added to rank injustice the frivolity of baseless excuses. I am annexing some tables of figures which will show how Muslim interest have been sacrificed by these officials. The situation has passed beyond the stage of argument and explanation.

The Muslim community will accept no denial and I insist that the erring officials be compelled to make ample amends without delay. I propose to take up this case with the officials concerned, and see that justice is done to all communities and interest.

I now come to the case of the transfer of an Indian I.C.S. officer. For several years this officer has been trying to get a posting in or near Calcutta for personal and private reasons. This is nothing unusual, specially in the case of I.C.S. officers as I have known posts having been created in order to accommodate members of the Imperial Services. This officer was appointed to a comparatively unimportant post in Calcutta but being a senior member of the Indian Civil Service he did not like the humdrum nature of the duties of the post. He wanted an opportunity to serve as a Collector. I suggested to the Chief Secretary to give him a district, as he had already officiated as District Magistrate on two previous occasions. The Chief Secretary suggested a District and I agreed. Later on the Chief Secretary withdrew his suggestion and I again accepted the Chief Secretary's advice. This officer naturally felt very much annoyed, almost insulted, and pressed his point so very strongly that he even offered to resign in case he was not given a district. While this was going on, the Chief Secretary put up proposals for posting him as Additional District judge. This was doubly unwelcome to him and he again protested against what he considered to be a deliberate refusal to do him even bare justice. I felt the force of his remarks but at the same time I did not wish to encourage the officer in any act of insubordination. I therefore, persuaded him to carry out orders, promising that his request for a transfer to an executive post in or near Calcutta will be sympathetically considered. An opportunity occurred by the sudden and untimely death of a District Magistrate and I asked the Chief Secretary to put up proposals for posting this officer to that district as Collector. To this the Chief Secretary did not agree and instead of accepting my suggestion he put up different proposals. I agreed that I would accept his suggestions partially if he would accept my suggestion to give the I.C.S. officer mentioned above the post of an Additional District Magistrate which was falling vacant. The Chief Secretary, however, pressed his own proposals, and I then passed definite orders in the case. The file came up before you and you were pleased to discuss the matter with me. I explained to you the whole situation, but in spite of all I said you turned down my recommendations and ignoring my advice accepted the advice of the Chief Secretary. I may tell you that your action has been wholly unconstitutional. So far as this case is concerned you are on an extremely bad wicket. The Act gives you the power to interfere where I.C.S. officers are involved, but this interference would be justified solely and only in the interest of the officer himself or of some other officer whose interest would be jeopardized by any proposed action of any Minister. But in cases in which the minister's orders do not harm anybody and are in consonance with the wishes of the officers concerned, the Governor has no right to interfere. The Act gives no power to a Governor to interfere with orders, legitimately passed by a Minister, simply to uphold the obstinacy of officials in the Secretariat.

Closely connected with this case in principle is that of a police officer who has been proposed by the Commissioner of Police to be superseded by another officer on what appears to me unjustifiable reasons. On the materials before me, it was impossible for me to agree to this supersession. I wanted to be satisfied about the justice of the proposals made by the Commissioner of Police as I found absolutely nothing on record which would warrant the supersession, beyond a statement in the file that the Commissioner of Police had sent up a confidential note to the Chief Secretary. This note was removed from the file when it was submitted to me. I asked for the production of this note. but was told that the note, had been

destroyed by the Chief Secretary with the concurrence of the Commissioner of Police. I then wanted to know the contents of that note. The Commissioner of Police replied by saying that he had nothing to add. On these materials I had no other alternative but to order the promotion of this particular officer. The file is now lying with you. You have not been able to come to a decision yet. Because I feel that you are vacillating between an obvious sense of justice and your inclination to oblige the Commissioner of Police.

I would now say a few words regarding the present Commissioner of Police. He is in the habit of going up to you direct completely ignoring the Home Minister and I have reasons to believe that in many cases he represents matters to you in a strain which virtually amounts to a complaint against the Minister. I will only refer to a few instances. One of these cases reiterate to the trouble that arose over the last Tazia procession concerning the putting of tram way overhead wires to allow the Tazias to pass with long pole. It was represented to the Commissioner of Police that the Tram way authorities may be asked to allow the wires to be cut on payment of compensation. The Commissioner of Police refused. Thereupon I sent for the Agent of the Tramway Co., and settled with him to have the wires cut on payment of compensation. The Commissioner of Police was apparently annoyed and represented something to you on the telephone in consequence of which you sent for me, and from the conversation that I had with you it appeared that the Commissioner of Police had virtually complained against me. In connection with the recent Tramway strike also the conduct of the Commissioner of Police was far from satisfactory. I managed to call off the strike by personal efforts, whereas the Commissioner of Police ordered indiscriminate arrest of persons which would have exasperated the leaders of the strike. You granted an interview to the Commissioner of Police in this connection and from the conversation that you had with one of my colleagues. I am convinced that the Commissioner of Police must have expressed his dissatisfaction of what I had done in the matter of settling this strike.

I will now sum up to tell you exactly what I want. Let me begin by referring to the atrocious manner in which Muslim interest have been sacrificed by the appointing authorities in the A.R.P. services. It has produced a feeling of bitter resentment in the minds of the Muslim community of Bengal and even our own supporters have become very restive and may be against us unless the wrongs done to the Muslim community are immediately redressed. Possibly, the permanent officials wanted a breakdown of this Cabinet and if I am right in my surmise, they could not have adopted a more effective means of achieving their end. But I am not going to accept the position created by the officials. I will of course know how to deal with them, and I am only referring to this affair simply to show how officials have been encouraged to act arbitrarily in consequence of their belief that they will always find in you a powerful supporter. This belief has been the result of the policy you have followed in dealing with them.

Secondly, I want the Lady Brabourne College and the hostels to be immediately vacated by the Military and if it is not possible, to make immediate provisions for the opening of the classes of the Lady Brabourne College at some suitable place in Calcutta and also to afford hostel accommodation to the students. As regards the Lady Brabourne College I will have no nonsense about correspondence course. The College must be opened immediately. The Bethune College has already been opened in Calcutta, and there is deep resentment that the Lady Brabourne College still remains closed. This is an intolerable position.

Thirdly, I want the boat denial policy to be thoroughly revised. The boats should be allowed to move about freely under control and all the orders should be immediately withdrawn.

Fourthly I want you to agree to an immediate expansion of the Cabinet by the appointment

of four more Ministers and to the appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries. I have already made my suggestions as to who should be appointed and it now only remains for you to accept my nominations.

Fifthly, I want you to consent to the formation of a Bengali Army consisting of a hundred thousand young Bengalis consisting of Hindu and Muslim youths of a fifty-fifty basis. There is an insistent demand for such a step being taken at once, and the people of Bengal will not be satisfied with any excuses. It is a national demand which must be immediately conceded.

Sixthly, you should act as the Constitutional Governor and not as the mouthpiece of permanent officials, or of any political party. In other words you should allow Provincial Autonomy to function honestly rather than as a cloak for the exercise of autocratic powers as if the Province was being governed under Section 93 of the Act. Unless my requests are accepted and a declaration made on these lines I will place the matter before His Excellency the Viceroy for redress. If I fail even there, I will make a public statement of all that has happened in Bengal and if necessary a statement also in the Legislature. I hope you will not drive me to this bitter end. I hope you will appreciate the frankness with which I have spoken before precipitating a crisis. I would strongly advise you to avert such a crisis and to act in accordance with the declaration by His Excellency the Viceroy defining the relation between the Governor and the Ministers. For ready reference, I am quoting extracts from the Viceroy's statement as an appendix. There is yet time to mend and I think you will allow your own judgment to prevail and not listen to the advice which may be tendered by bureaucratic officials leading to a crisis of which no one can foresee the end.

Yours sincerely,

A.K. Fazlul Huq

To His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert G.C.I.E.,
Governor of Bengal, Governor Camp, Bengal.

Calcutta, January 9th, 1943.

[Enclosure 6] B (2)

Dear Sir John,

I was surprised to receive from Mr Pinnell a copy of certain notes purporting to embody the substance of our discussions during my interview with you on the 2nd January. I find on enquiry that my colleagues have also got extracts of the said note which attributes to me facts which I dispute. Out of sheer courtesy at least my consent should have been taken before the document was circulated. I wonder if the document was drafted and emulated for the purpose of binding me down to decision I did not approve. What is most regrettable is that the document ends with a veiled threat. It raises a constitutional issue of vital importance which requires full clarification.

In the first place permit me to point out that I never agreed to the appointment of Mr MacInnes, because I knew nothing about the man, knew nothing about the duties which he was going to perform, and lastly, because the post to which he has been appointed was not sanctioned by me. You remember that when I saw you on Saturday the 2nd of January 1943, you met me in a very ugly mood. You laid too much stress on the point that I was absent from Calcutta for 4 days from the 27th December to 30th December, both days inclusive. Calcutta had assumed normality then and some of our colleagues were present in town

throughout the Christmas vacations. (After all even busy Governors absent themselves from town on private business.)

You then brought in the question of the appointment of Mr MacInnes. I told you that I knew nothing about the affair and I could not signify my approval. In the end, I left you by saying that in case Honble Member Commerce and Labour had agreed to the appointment being made, I was not going to raise any difficulty. I made my position clear that although I did not say anything against the decision that had been taken. I should not be pressed to approve of what had been done. I now find that you have definitely put in the note that I agreed to the appointment of Mr MacInnes. I give my emphatic denial to this statement and say definitely, now that the issue has been raised that I feel compelled to record my protest against the appointment. I am surprised at the further statement in the note that I agreed that discussions in Cabinet were unnecessary. I definitely remember that such a point never arose in the course of our discussions that morning. It is evident that the post to which Mr MacInnes has been appointed is a new post, and the concurrence of the Cabinet should therefore have been taken. Discussions in Cabinet were not only necessary but absolutely essential. The last sentence in the note is most highly objectionable. I find that it has not been incorporated in the note circulated to my colleagues. You say that the Departments are to report to you any interference or attempt to influence the activities of the Department. I should like to have a clear statement from you as to what you mean by interference or attempt to influence. As the Chief Minister of the Province, I have every right to intervene if I find that anything is going wrong in the administration, and I repudiate the idea that I would attempt to influence illegally the activities of anyone, be he a Minister or an official of Government. You say that the Department concerned should report to you so that you may take appropriate measures. In other words the Ministers must be completely eliminated and the Government carried on by you though the various Departments as if the constitution did not exist. I must point out to you that it is an unconstitutional interference on your part with the rights and privileges of Ministers.

Lastly, I record my disapproval of the whole policy which you and some of your officers have been pursuing since April 1942 regarding the matter of foodstuffs and supplies. I reserve to myself the right to make a public statement, if necessary, that actions had been taken in many cases without reference to me and in some cases even against my wishes.

Yours sincerely,

A.K. Fazlul Huq.

To His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal.

January 27th, 1943.

[Enclosure 7] B (3)

D.O. No. 3196-G

Dear Chief Minister,

His Excellency has asked me to return to you the enclosed letter as you expressed to His Excellency your desire to withdraw it.

Yours sincerely,

A. Dec. Williams

To
The Hon'ble Mr A.K. FAZLUL HUQ.
H.C.M.

[Enclosures 8, 9, are in Chapt I-Sect C, Docs. 2 & 3 – Ed.]

[Enclosure 10] B(6)

114-A, Park Street, Calcutta,
March 21st, 1943.

Dear Sir John,

I have always held the opinion, never so strongly as at the present moment, that in order to cope with the abnormal situation prevailing in the country it is necessary to have a Government composed of all parties in the House. As I have explained to Your Excellency, if at anytime I am found to be a hindrance to the formation of such a Government, I shall be glad to tender resignation of my office.

I hope these few lines will enable Your Excellency to explore all possible avenues for the formation of a Cabinet which is most suited to the present needs of the country.

Yours sincerely,

A.K. Fazlul Huq

To
His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E.

Calcutta, March 26th, 1943.

[Enclosure 11] B(7)

Dear S. John

With reference to my conversation with Your Excellency this morning, I write to say that at a time like this it is extremely desirable that the Cabinet should be constituted so as to include the representatives of all the political parties in the Legislature. As I have several times told Your Excellency, I should always be ready to help you in bringing about such a consummation, and if at any time Your Excellency feels that I am an obstacle to the formation of such a Cabinet, I shall be prepared to tender resignation of my office in the interest of the country.

Yours sincerely

A.K. Fazlul Huq.

To His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E.,

[Enclosure 12] B(8)

Dear Sir John,

Understanding that there is a probability of the formation of a Ministry representative of most of the parties in the event of my resignation, I hereby tender my resignation of my office as Minister in the sincere hope that this will prove to be in the best interests of the people of Bengal.

Yours sincerely,

A.K. Fazlul Huq.

Dated the 28th March 1943.

To
His Excellency Sir John Herbert G.C.I.E.

March 28th 1943.

[Enclosure 13] B (9)

Dear Chief Minister,

I very much appreciate the public spirit which has prompted your resignation which I accept with grateful recognition of your motives. I wish to thank you for all your work and co-operation during the past years as Chief Minister.

Yours sincerely

J.A. Herbert.

At your request this will not be announced until after 8 p.m. tomorrow evening.

To
The Hon'ble Mr A.K. Fazlul Huq.

[Enclosure 14] B (10)

Calcutta March 29th, 1943.

Dear Sir John,

I understand that Your Excellency wants me to see you. I am, at the present moment, so mentally upset that I do not find it possible for me to have any useful discussion with Your Excellency on any subject.

From early morning I was hearing all sorts of rumours that I saw Your Excellency last night and everybody seemed to know that I had tendered my resignation which had been accepted. As soon as I entered the House this morning, pointed questions were put to me as to whether it was a fact that I had tendered resignation and that the resignation had been accepted. You will judge for yourself that I would not tell a lie, and I had to tell the House that I had to sign a letter of resignation which had been already drafted and that I received your letter accepting my resignation in a course of less than a couple of hours. You will therefore now see the reason why I had advised you not to press for my resignation. I pointedly told you about the Budget and the Finance Bill, and as far as I remember. You said that I had to pilot the Finance Bill and therefore the resignation would not take effect immediately. I was therefore surprised when I found two lines as a postscript in your own hand writing that you would defer the announcement of the acceptance of my resignation till 8 p.m. tonight and that you are doing so at my request. I fully remember that I did not make any such request. I said that the resignation should not be accepted for the present and I do not understand how the question of deferring the announcement of the acceptance till 8 p.m. tonight could possibly arise, I do not see the particular significance of 8 p.m.

I must now tell you something about the constitutional position. As soon as I made the announcement in the House that my resignation had been accepted, pointed questions were put to me whether our responsibilities were joint or several or joint and several; and I told that our responsibilities were joint and several. Thereupon the Speaker ruled that the Ministry is *functus officio*, and therefore could not move the Budget demands, and on this the Speaker adjourned the House for a fortnight.

I have made a short statement, as I could not refuse answering questions that were put to me concerning such an important event. I have, however refrained from going into details.

A party meeting is going on and I am being pestered with questions from all sides as to why I signed the letter of resignation and I am being seriously taken to task for letting the party and my colleagues down. Vigorous speeches are being made that I had betrayed the party and betrayed my colleagues. I remember that I requested you not to insist on my signing the letter of resignation before I had an opportunity of consulting my colleagues and the party, but you said that the letter should be signed then and there, which had already been drafted in anticipation. I only carried out Your Excellency's request: but I knew that trouble would arise and trouble has arisen.

As I was going to sign this letter, I was informed that you wanted to have a Cabinet meeting this afternoon. I was also told that you hold the view that my resignation does not take effect till 8 p.m. tonight, and as regards the other Ministers, they continue in office since they have not officially tendered resignation. My colleagues and I differ from you in this view. So far as my resignation is concerned, it has already been accepted and your postscript said that only the announcement would not be made till 8 p.m. this evening. It is obvious that the acceptance and announcement are two different things. Once the resignation is accepted and communicated it does not matter when it is announced. As regards the other Ministers, it may be a debatable point but the Speaker has ruled that they are *functus officio* in consequence of my resignation.

Unless therefore your acceptance of my resignation is withdrawn and the letter I had to sign at Government House is treated as cancelled and returned to me, there cannot be a Cabinet meeting today.

Yours sincerely,

A.K. Fazlul Huq.

To
His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert G.C.I.E.

1 Not printed

2 See also Doc 5.

47 Viceroy to the Governor of Madras

Linlithgow Collection
[NAI - Acc. No. 2207]

To H.E. The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Hope, G.C.I.E., M.C. Governor of Madras.
The Viceroy's House, New Delhi,
July 22nd, 1943.

[Secret]

My dear Hope,

2. I was glad to read what you say in paragraphs 3 and 4 of your letter¹ about attempts to

form a non-Congress Ministry. The Justice Party are, I am bound to say a very disappointing lot. Between 1937 and 1939, they complained that they had not a chance as Congress was in power. I used, as occasion offered, and within such limits as propriety dictated, to indicate to individuals who complained that their political prospects were not bright that the answer to that was a little hard work and organisation and that no party whether Congress or any other was ever likely to make a success of its politics unless it really got down to it; brought its party machine up to date; travelled the constituencies, and got it into peoples minds that as a party it had something to offer which its opponents could not offer, and which was for the general good. But I never saw any particular response on the part of these gentlemen of the Justice Party. Since 1939, however, they have had four years clear in which to pull themselves together, with Congress in the wilderness. But there is not the slightest sign, that I can see, that they have taken one step in the direction of organizing themselves to fight an election if and when there is one. After all the responsibility in these matters must be for them—we cannot take sides with any party, or do anything beyond point out to the discontented that the remedy lies in their own hands. Even in its present discredited and depressed condition I would not be a bit surprised, in the event of a general election, despite all the time that has passed, and of the resources at the disposal of the non-Brahmins and the Justice Party, to see Congress return in Madras with a quite definite majority, despite everything that can be said from every point of view against its programme and against its record.

3. As regards formation of a non-Congress Ministry, you may be interested to know that so far as I can judge the various efforts of this nature that are being made throughout the country show singularly little sign of coming to anything. They are of no importance whatever in Bombay. In the Central Provinces I have no reason to think that they will succeed. I would judge the prospect of anything happening in the United Provinces to be negligible. There has been a good deal of activity in Bihar, but there equally, there is no sign at the moment of the requisite stable majority of the whole House ready to fight the war. Incidentally the advice I have given to various Governors who have consulted me in connection with these endeavours to form minority Ministries has been first, that it is essential to have a stable majority, and that of the whole House. (The objections to a majority of people who are out of jail are obvious). Secondly that they must be certain that there is not only a stable majority but that the people who command it are prepared, with stable majority to give full support to the war effort. Thirdly, to go slow; require to be satisfied up to the hilt on all these points, and leave the burden of satisfying the Governor in regard to them fair and square on the shoulders of the would be Ministers. It would, I am sure, be the greatest mistake and highly improper to take any responsibility ourselves. Equally it would be unfortunate in the highest degree were a Governor to withdraw the section 93 proclamation and were the Ministry thereafter formed to collapse within two or three months, thereby necessitating, failing any alternative Ministry with a stable majority, &c., recession to Section 93.

Yours sincerely

Linlithgow

(40-G./43)

1. Not printed.



48: Note on Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh Camps held since March 1943 (dt 28.7.43)

Govt. of C.P. & Berar Pol. & Mil. Dept., File No. 207
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

Secret

Since the last note on Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was written in March last (copy forwarded to Home Department under this Bureau's U. o. No. 37/DC/43, date 18th March¹ 1943) further quasi-Military activity on the part of the Sangh, especially in connection with the holding of so-called Camps, has been noticeable. In spite of a circular which was reported to have been issued by the R.S.S.S. Headquarters at Nagpur early in May, 1943 removing military training from the Sangh's curriculum and abolishing all posts connected with military training, various Provinces have reported instance which show that Sangh volunteers are still being trained on military lines. A brief summary is given below:

Bombay

The Annual Officers' Summer Training Camp of the Sangh was held at Poona from 26-4-43 to 27-5-43. About 2000 volunteers from the Maharashtra districts attended. About 2300 volunteers were present at the closing ceremony over which V.D. Savarkar² presided. He was given a general salute by the volunteers and was entertained to a demonstration of lathi drill and physical exercises.

U.P.

During the first half of May 1943, batches of volunteers usually between 20 and 60 in number drilled frequently in various parts of Benares city. Twenty-two of these batches or groups were reported to have been formed in Benares. The most important event, however, was the Officers' Training Camp which was held at Benares from 22-5-43 to 19-6-43 and was attended by volunteers from all over the U.P., Bengal, Bihar, Gwalior and Bombay. The daily programme included drill and marching, physical training, lathi displays and sword exercises. On 19-5-43 a flag hoisting ceremony was followed by a commercial parade of 600 volunteers at which M.S. Golwalker³ took the Salute. In Meerut a local camp held on May 17th, 1943, was attended by 100 volunteers in which the special features were the holding of a sham fight and military Court of Enquiry, and practice in bridge building. The camp was probably a rehearsal of Officers' Training Camp which was held at Meerut from 27-5-43 to 27-6-43. It was attended by about 500 volunteers. The programme included physical training, parade on military lines and lectures held behind closed doors, admission being restricted to holders of special passes. A band was in attendance. Golwakar, accompanied by Sir Sita Ram and Seth Birla (presumably J.K. Birla) said to be the two chief organizers of the Camp, paid a visit to the Camp when all volunteers sprang to attention. Lathis formed part of the training equipment, while tin swords and daggers were supplied at the camp. Sangh volunteers were noticed drilling in four places in Cawnpore City during the week ending 28-5-43. During June, 1943 new branches of the Sangh were opened at Allahabad, Rae Bareli, and Unao where youths were trained in drill and in the use of the lathi. Sangh volunteers in uniform were seen attending meetings held at Lucknow.

C.P.

R.S.S. Sangh Training Camps were held at Nagpur and Amraoti in the central Provinces.

The Nagpur Camp which started on 3-5-43, terminated on 1-5-43 with a flag salutation ceremony and displays of drill, sword and lathi exercises by about 100 volunteers in the presence of 1500 visitors. The training classes were split into sections of 30 volunteers; the training consisting of drill, lathi and physical exercises. A novel feature of this year's camp was in the inauguration of a censorship branch which scrutinized all outgoing letters posted in the camp.

A similar camp was held at Amraoti from 5-5-43 to 3-6-43. About 800 persons attended the closing function. Here also training consisted of drill and lathi exercises.

Shahpur (Deccan)

The Officers Training Camp for Karnatak group was held at Shahpur from 25-4-43 to 25-5-43. About 20 instructors came from Nagpur to impart training to volunteers in physical exercises and lathi drill. The volunteers, numbering about 525 were housed in the state Schools at Shahpur. Parades were held in the open ground near Madhyapur 28-7-43.

1. Not printed.

49 Governor of Punjab to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI - Acc. No. 2226]

From H.E. Sir Bertrand Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.,
Governor of the Punjab

'Barnes Court', Simla
August 6th, 1943.

[Private & Personal.]
No. 465

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

Increased activities by Muslim Leaguers have led to further uneasiness in Ministerial and political circles. Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan's unpardonably indiscreet references to 'Pakistan' in the course of his recent tour came near to bringing matters to a head. His perambulations, as you are aware, have now been brought to an abrupt conclusion, but he had done enough to show that little, if any, reliance can be placed on his loyalty to his Leader. He has not entirely made up his mind whether to pose as the Repentant Sinner or the Injured Innocent: in the latter role he is sadly unconvincing and has met with no official applause. League newspapers, incited by Shaukat's vagaries, clamour more loudly than ever for a declaration that the Unionist Party is at an end, and a mischievous and unedifying controversy has been raging round the question whether the party in power is a creation of the League or a Coalition

or a combination or merely a Union. There is a general demand that the Premier should come out into the open and make his position clear. It seems likely that he will be driven to do so as the result of the forthcoming Muslim League meeting at Delhi. The Premier is, I gather, determined to take his stand on the Sikander-Jinnah Pact and to insist on retaining the term 'Unionist' or 'Unionist coalition' (both of which expressions figure in the Pact) as the correct designation of his Party. His intentions are likely to be indicated to Jinnah before the meeting takes place. If Jinnah adopts a moderate line and decides not to force the issue, the existing truce may continue indefinitely. But, if he is set on pressing for outright subservience to the Muslim League, it is quite on the cards the Premier will conclude that his correct course is to resign, rather than see his Muslim followers gradually fading over into opposition under stress of promises and threats. I most sincerely hope that Jinnah's intransigence will not bring matters to this pass. It may be unlikely enough that his supporters could at present succeed in working up a majority in the Punjab assembly, but each of the main communities as represented in the House contains a fairly large proportion of unstable elements, and in many cases it would be rash to assume that public interest would prevail over personal considerations. Even if it is disquieting to think that a pre-eminently Muslim Government, which, whatever its defects, has carried on for so many years with reasonable efficiency, should now collapse through the machinations of the Qaid-i-Azam and be replaced by a system of administrations set up under Section 93 of the Act.

2. The Congress party have shown very little liveliness of late and there is not much prospect of their successfully staging any serious disturbances in the Punjab on the approaching anniversary of last years sensational adventure. Precautions have, however, been taken, and Railway security measures are being brought into force in the south east of the Province. The Hindu Press has naturally displayed considerable anxiety about the chances of the Ministry subordinating themselves to the Muslim League, and there have been various attempts to effect a better understanding between Hindus and Sikhs.

3. The Akalis have been busy defending their position against assault. Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh have visited Simla and I have had a fairly long talk with them. It appears that, in spite of their almost incessant complaints that the Sikander Baldev Pact is being disregarded, they realise that much has been done in fulfillment of its intentions. A statement has been made by Master Tara Singh that his party will have nothing to do with a Muslim League Ministry, but it is a matter of opinion how far he would abide by this declaration if offered a substantial inducement to march in the opposite direction. His main interest is centred at present in a Bill for the Amendment of the Gurdwaras Act whereby he hopes that he and his associates on the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak committee will acquire control of revenues now in the hands of various Local communities and will be allowed in the alleged interests of the Panth on increased degree of latitude in the general disposal of religious funds.

4. Khaksar activities have not by any means subsided. Allama Mashriqi has given his followers instructions purporting to indicate his intention to take heed of the warning recently conveyed to him, but it is sufficiently evident that he still means to preserve his irregular army as a distinctive organization ready at any favourable opportunity to menace and disrupt the peace of the country. The Khaksars have of late fallen further from grace with the Muslim community in general because of their manoeuvres to bring about an understanding between Gandhi and Jinnah, and because the miscreant who is reported to have made an attempt on Jinnah's life was a former adherent of the Khaksar cause. It seems unlikely that drastic action

against the Khaksars would at the present juncture arouse any appreciable degree of resentment in other quarters.

[Omitted: paras 5 –8 dealing with other topics-Ed.]

Yours sincerely,

B.J. Glancy.

50

Government of India to all Provincial Governments

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of India

Home Department

Secret

From Home, New Delhi

All Provincial Governments,

(copy to Chief commissioners, Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara)

No. 28/3/43 – Poll (I)

New Delhi, the 10th August 1943

We recently had occasion (our letter No. 74/4/41 – Poll (I) dated 19th July 1940 to draw attention to the increasingly objectionable activities of the Khaksar organisation and to urge that the provisions of notification No. 74/3/40 – Poll (I) of 5th August 1940, should be strictly enforced to prevent the performance of military exercises and the wearing of military uniforms by members of that organisation. The attached note by the Intelligence Bureau regarding the recent activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh disclosed a distinct tendency on the part of this organisation also to disregard the ban on military drill and also indicates considerable variations from Province to Province in the latitude allowed to members of the organisation. We would emphasize the importance in our view of a reasonable degree of uniformity in the treatment of volunteer organisations and we would suggest that the desired uniformity can only be obtained by a strict adherence to the terms of our notification of 5th August 1940, and by allowing no deviation whatever from the ban on military drill and uniforms. We trust you will agree that such uniformity is desirable and will take steps to ensure that activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and any other volunteer organisations which may offend against the notification of August 5th do not go unchecked.

Signed

Addl. Secretary to the Government of India

No. 28/3/43 – Poll (I)

New Delhi, the 10th August 1943

Copy to Secretary to the Governor General (Personal), Secretary to the Governor General (Public), Political Department, External; Affairs Department, Director, Intelligence Bureau and the Director, Military intelligence.

By order,

Signed

Under Secretary to the Govt. of India.

51: Official Notings reg. wearing of uniforms and performance of military drill (dt 14.8.1943) (extracts)

Government of Bengal File No. 21/44 (Home)
[Bengal State Archives]

The Government of India recently asked us, as a means of enforcing the provisions prohibiting the wearing of uniforms and the performance of military drill, to give orders that persons applying for permission to hold meetings, processions or demonstrations should be directed to state whether any volunteer demonstration was contemplated and, if so, that the license or permission for the meeting, procession or demonstration should include a provision prohibiting the wearing of uniforms and the performance of military drill. H.C.M. observed that there was now no general requirement that notice should be given and permission obtained, that there were at present no meetings or demonstrations being held and that there was consequently no necessity to issue general directions of the kind suggested, but that the case might be considered if or when circumstances suggest its desirability.

2. So far as I know we have not received any indication that the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh is active in Bengal or that any proposal is afoot in respect of any organisation to carry on training camps or make volunteer demonstrations at meetings or public assemblies. We may ask the D.I.G., I.B., and the C.P. to inform us of any indications, should they become available, that such projects are afoot. Meantime there can, I think, be no question but that we should comply with the expressed wishes of the Government of India in this respect and I think that we might inform them that we agree that uniformity is desirable and that we will be prepared to take steps against contravention of the notifications of 5th August 1940.

A.E. Porter

Signed

14-8-43.



52 Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar to the Chief Secretary, Government of C.P. & Berar

Govt. of C.P. & Berar – Pol. & Mil. Dept., File No. 207 1943
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

Secret

No. 2297 C. 249/43
Government of Bihar
Political Department
(Special Section)

From
Y.A. Godbole, Esqr, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to Government

To
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay
Central Provinces & Berar

Ranchi, the 16th August 1943.

Sir,

I am directed to say that the Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh founded by the late Dr Keshav Hedgewar, with headquarters at Nagpur, has of late been opening many branches and extending its activities in this Province. the question has now arisen whether this is an objectionable organisation. It is understood that in Bombay and the Central Provinces, the organisation is carrying on its activities openly and enjoys a large measure of public support and it appears that the Government of Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar did not put a ban on the activities of the Sangh during the last Congress disturbances. It has been reported that aided educational institutions have even extended their co-operation to the Sangh, for instance by allowing the Sangh to make use of their playgrounds for their annual camps. It is represented to this Government that the organisation is not anti-Government, though it is nationalist in outlook and is essentially a Hindu revivalist movement:

Before the Provincial Government arrive at any decision in this matter, they would be grateful if the Government of Bombay/Central Province could let them have, if no objection, such information about the present activities of the Sangh and your Government's attitude to it as would enable them to decide their own attitude to it. In particular the Government of Bihar would be glad to know whether the students and teachers of aided educational institutions in your Province are allowed to associate with the Sangh in any way.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Most obedient servant,

Signed
Chief Secretary to Government

53 Savarkar's statement on India's unity

Report in *The Hindu* dt 17.8.43 *The Hindu*

[ICWA Library]

There can be 2 Nations but only One State – Nagpur August 15

For the last 30 years we have been accustomed to the ideology of geographical unity of India and the Congress has been the strongest advocate of that unity but suddenly the Muslim majority, which has been asking one concession after another, has after the communal Award come forward with the claim that it is a separate nation. I have no quarrel with Mr Jinnah's two nation theory. We Hindus are a nation by ourselves and it is a historical fact that Hindus & Muslim are two nations, said Mr V.D. Savarkar, replying to a question at a press conference this afternoon.

Proceeding, Mr Savarkar said that the mere fact that the Hindus & Muslims were separate nations, either because of Muslim's claim for separate nation or because of historical fact, was no bar to the achievement of unity. Like England, Scotland & Wales which have now become Great Britain or Germany which welded into one nation out of different States & principalities we could come to an agreement over the formation of the Indian State. There could be nations in India but only one state.

Replying to another question Mr Savarkar stated that he did not agree that the Indian question was largely an economic one. The economic problem was only one aspect of national organisation which had several other aspects such as political cultural, religious & social.

Concluding Mr Savarkar said that the Hindu Mahasabha was always willing to extend its hand of co-operation to all who accepted the four principles namely, territorial integrity of India, majority rule in provinces & centre; residuary powers in the Centre & recruitment to public services on merit alone.

'We have a programme but we want more men & means' said Mr V.D. Savarkar, asked what the Mahasabha was doing to protect Hindu culture & religion.

Asked 'having regard to the attitude of the Muslim League and the British Govt., what programme are you going to adopt to gain freedom, Mr Savarkar replied 'we will wait until after the war'.

Dr B. S. Moonje who was also present at the conference added 'let our proportion in the army be increased and that every problem will be automatically solved'.



54

Note on RSSS by Police Chief, Madras

Government of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 56/1943

[TNA]

No. 53857

Mylapore, Madras

4.9.43

My dear Govindan Nair,

Reference Public Departments D.O. No. 21-8/43 dated August 1943 regarding RSSS.

I enclose a note

Yours sincerely,

Signed Hamilton

P. Govindan Nair, Esq., I.C.S.

Under Secretary to Govt. of Madras.

U.S. Files No. 56/1943

Note on the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh

The first attempt to form a Madras Branch of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh was made in April 1939 when C.S. Paramarth of Nagpur, 'the Chief Organizer for the Madras Province' visited Madras and recruited about 40 young men as members of the Sangh and located the Branch at Maharatha Bhavan, Rundalls road, Vepery, with Dr P. Varadarajulu Naidu as its Director. One N. Rajendralal was sent to Nagpur for training as Instructor. J.H. Chinchelkar of Nagpur came to Madras in July 1939 and both Rajendralal and he organised two branches of the Sangh in Madras city with a total membership of 69 members by about September 1939; the volunteers used to parade in uniform. In November 1939 two more instructors Ananda Rao Hardikar and Nanda Rao Hardikar, came from Nagpur and were in charge of two new branches at Madras, one at Mambalam and the other at Mylapore. Twenty boys were sent to Nagpur for training in January 1939; and the membership increased to 140 in February 1940.

The Chief organiser, Paramarth, visited Coimbatore in March 1940 on a propaganda tour but the response was very poor. A branch of the Sangh was formed in Salem under G.N. Phatak with the support of one S Ramamurthi of Salem and 18 students went to Nagpur in May 1940 to attend the annual training camp. One R.S.S. Sangley then visited Madras to give advanced training to the volunteers.

About 75 volunteers, in uniform carrying lathis, formed in 3 groups, were taken in 'group drill' and 'march past' in April 1940 in Madras when Sir P.S. Sivaswami Aiyar took the salute. When subsequently such drill by private agencies was banned under the D.O.I. Rules, the local organizers in Madras, G.S. Paramarth and V.V. Gokhale, persisted in conducting it, were arrested on 17-8-1941 and successfully prosecuted under rule 58 (2) of the D.O.I. rules by the Commissioner of Police, Madras.

Propagandist of the R.S.S. Sangh from Nagpur have lately been visiting Madras city and

various districts in this province addressing meetings, opening new branches of the Sangh, enlisting volunteers, holding camps and conducting physical training. The volunteers who are chiefly students and lawyers have been given training in manual exercises and in the use of lathis for self defence, and instructions in physical culture etc. About 50 volunteers from Kistna Dt. were sent to Nagpur in May 1943 to attend the 'Officers Training Camp' there. On their return to the districts they conducted drill with lathis in several places in the districts.

Branches of the R.S.S. Sangh have now been formed in almost all districts in Madras. Performance of physical exercises and salutation of the Sangh flag are the general activities of the Sangh, besides the opening of branches at various places, recruiting volunteers and holding camps.

Funds are being briskly collected now in the name of Gurudakshina in almost all places where these Branches are working. The propagandists who came from C.P. are still working very actively in Guntur, Krishna and East and West Godavari Districts to open new branches.

The whole affair has been under close and constant watch by the S.B. C.I.D. and should the Sangh really develop Government will be informed. All D.S.Ps have been warned about the Sangh's activities.

55 B.S. Moonje on the stand of the Hindu Mahasabha

Moonje Papers, File No. 67
[NMML]

9th Sept. 1943.

Dear Bhapatkar/Gogte/Tahmankar

There is a great controversy going on at present over the wrong understanding and wrong reporting of Dr V.D. Savarkar's conversation at the Press Conference held at Nagpur on 15th August 1943.¹ I feel that the position of the Hindu Mahasabha should be cleared and clarified, I am, therefore, of opinion that a resolution of the kind of which a draft copy is herein enclosed should be adopted by the working Committee. I have therefore to request you to kindly think over and let me know at your earliest convenience as to what you think of the proposal. I will be most thankful.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

B. Moonje.

Encl: 1

DRR.

Draft Resolution

In view of the great controversy over the wrong understanding and wrong reporting of the conversation of Dr V.D. Savarkar in the Press Conference held at Nagpur on 15th August

1943, as to whether the Moslems of India are or are not a separate Nation in India by themselves, the Hindu Mahasabha, taking into consideration the following facts of the situation, namely:

- (1) that the Moslems of India are real Hindus in blood and bones, being born of Hindu parents but afterwards converted by force, fraud or willingness to Islam;
- (2) that they have the same mother tongue as the Hindus of the various places and have inherited most of the culture as the Hindus;
- (3) that thus ethnologically, linguistically and mostly culturally also the Moslems of India are one and the same unitarian and homogeneous community recognised as Hindus of Hindustan.

Does hereby declare that the Moslems of India are not a separate Nation by themselves, being only one of the various religious communities of India, and, as such, the Hindu Mahasabha is prepared to agree to provide for protection as for the protection of the other minority communities according to the formula evolved by the League of Nations which are inspired by the combined wisdom and statesmanship of England and Europe and America.

Dr Moonje.

1. Doc. 53.

56 Governor of Sind to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection
[NAI – Acc. No. 2233]

From H.E. Sir Hugh Dow, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Governor of Sind.

Govt. House, Karachi,
September 10th, 1943.

D.O. No. 314/F.R.

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

It has been a quiet fortnight and I have very little to add to the official fortnightly report for the second half of August.

2. So far as the *Satyartha Prakash* agitation in Sind is concerned, I should be rather inclined to put the principal blame on the Hindus and to regard the Muslim reaction as the counter-agitation. My Government long ago published their intention not to take any action in the matter, and all that was required was the Hindus to hold their tongues, but that is the one thing they are unable to do. . . . (Para 3, 4, and 5 omitted).

6. I hear that the local Provincial Muslim League is not a very happy family. You will remember that Jinnah excluded members of my Ministry from holding office in it. But the prominent men in it are G.M. Syed (the President) and Abdul Majid; both are ex-Ministers and probably anxious to be so again, and they are rather inclined to use their position in the League to force policies on the Ministers which will keep communal agitation simmering. I

don't think the position is at all dangerous, for if it came to a showdown, probably the whole Ministry would resign from the League and nearly all the Muslim M.L.As. would support them and follow suit. My Premier assures me that Jinnah realises this, and is not in any way supporting the ginger group.

Yours sincerely,

H. Dow.

57 L.B. Bhopatkar regarding Moonje's draft resolution Doc. 55

Moonje Papers, File No. 67

[NMML]

Dated: 11.9.1943.

My dear Dr Moonje,

Yours of 9th I have returned the draft resolution only slightly altered here & there.

I feel with you that Dr Savarkar's statement must have been incorrectly reported by the representatives of the Press. Be that as it may, but the report has landed us all in a very awkward situation, and it is, therefore, incumbent upon the Hindu Mahasabha to come out with an official declaration of its view.

With regards,

Bhopatkar.

Draft Resolution

In view of the great controversy over the incorrect and wrong reporting of the conversation of Dr V.D. Savarkar in the Press Conference held at Nagpur on 15th August 1943, as to whether the Moslems of India are or are not a separate Nation in India by themselves, the Hindu Mahasabha, taking into consideration the following, among other facts of the situation, namely:

- (1) That the Moslems of India are really Hindus in blood and bones, being converted by force, fraud or willingness to Islam;
- (2) That they have the same mother-tongues as the Hindus of the various places and have inherited most of the same cultures as the Hindus, and
- (3) That thus ethnologically, linguistically and culturally also, the Moslems of India are one and the same with their Hindu brothers being of the same Unitarian and homogeneous community recognised as the Hindus of Hindustan

Does hereby solemnly affirm that the Moslems of India are not and cannot constitute a separate Nation by themselves, but are only of the various religious communities of India; and, as such, the Hindu Mahasabha is prepared to agree to provide for their protection as for the protection of the other minority communities according to the formulas evolved by

the League of Nations, which are inspired by the combined wisdom and statesmanship of England and Europe and America.

Nasik: 9th Aug. 1943.

1. Doc. 55.

58 Jinnah to Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan

S.Q.H. Jafri (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders* (1977), pp. 224-34

11th September 1943.

My dear Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan,

I am in receipt of your telegram¹ and you may rest assured that I will not make any commitment without consulting you. I cannot write to you in detail but I have advised those who have approached me that you people must put your heads together among yourselves in the first instance and try to come to a unanimous decision, or at any rate backed up by a solid majority. I have advised your premier to meet you again and if you all cannot agree then I would like to have a talk with both of you while I am in Delhi which is likely to be about the end of October. He has agreed to see you again and I hope that a satisfactory solution may be found by agreement between you. But one thing is certain that the Muslim League Party in the Assembly must be established on a sound and proper footing as it has been agreed upon and I hope that you will all see to it and it must have its constitution, rules, its office-bearers, executive, etc.

I learn that Malik Khizar Hayat Khan had met you before he came to Bombay and had a talk with you. I wish you had apprised me of the situation and the discussions that took place between you two, in that case I would have been in a better position to understand your point of view. However, the matter stands as I have described above.

With reference to the Property I have not heard any thing from you yet. Please let me know how the matter stands as I understood from your previous letter that the transaction has to be completed by the end of September.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Signed M.A. Jinnah.

Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan,
Nawab of Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa,
Davis Road,
Lahore.

1. Not Printed.

59

D.V. Tahmankar to B.S. Moonje

Moonje Papers, File No. 67
[NMML]

Bombay, 14th Sept. 1943.

Dear Dr Moonje,

Many thanks for your letter and the draft of the resolution.¹ I could have replied to you immediately but thought it better to wait till I had opportunity of discussing the draft resolution with Mr Jayakar.

I had that opportunity the other day. Mr Jayakar discussed with me the draft resolution frankly. I have amended the draft in the light of my discussions with Mr Jayakar. I generally agree with the amendment and I hope your Committee will be able to accept it. I enclose your original draft with the amendments, in ink.

I am likely to leave for Calcutta in a day or two. Otherwise there is no news at the moment. With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
(Tahmankar)

Draft Resolution

In view of the great controversy over the conversation of Dr V.D. Savarkar in the Press Conference held at Nagpur on 15th August 1943, that the Moslems of India are a separate Nation in India by themselves, the Hindu Mahasabha, taking into consideration the following facts of the situation, namely:

- (1) That the Moslems of India are real Hindus in blood and bones, being born of Hindu parents but afterwards converted by force, fraud or willingness to Islam;
- (2) That they have the same mother tongues as the Hindus of the various places and have inherited most of the same culture as the Hindus; and,
- (3) That thus ethnologically, linguistically and mostly culturally also, the Moslems of India are one and the same with their Hindu brothers being of the same (Original) as Hindus of Hindustan.

Does hereby solemnly declare that the Moslems of India are not a separate Nation by themselves, being only one of the various religious communities of India, and, as such, the Mahasabha is prepared to agree to provide for their protection as for the protection of the other minority communities according to the formulas evolved by the League of Nations, which are inspired by the combined wisdom and statesmanship of England and Europe and America.

Nasik: 9th Aug. 1943.

1. Doc. 55.

60: Secretary to the Governor of Bengal to the Government of India (Notes on Ministers)

Linlithgow Collections
[NAI – Acc. No. 2336]

From A. Dec. Williams, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to H.E. the Governor of Bengal.

Govt. House, Calcutta,
September 17th, 1943.

D.C. No. 228-S.

Dear Gilbert,

I send you a belated half-yearly report on Ministers with apologies for the protracted delay, the causes of which I explained to you verbally.

This report in so far as it is not purely factual represents the views of Sir John Herbert as known to me at the time he fell ill. You will perhaps agree that it will be better that Sir Thomas Rutherford should supplement it with his own impression when the next report falls due in January next by which time he will have had more experience of the Ministers individually.

This letter will be my last communications to you in my present capacity – I take over from Blair (*via* Stevens) as Chief Secretary in less than an hour!

Yours sincerely,

Beery.

[131 (2)-G.G.-38]

[*Enclosure.*]

Notes on Ministers (Half-yearly Report)

1. *Sir Nazimuddin* (Chief Minister and Home) – The report, dated 12th July 1939, and previous reports hold good. He seems, however, a tired man now and does not impress as a team leader.

2. *Mr H.S. Suhrawardy* (Civil Supplies) – The report, dated 12th July 1939, and previous reports hold good. In his present portfolio he has shown great energy, drive and loquaciousness. He tries to keep too much in his own hands and to play to the gallery.

3. *Mr T.C. Goswami* (Finance) – Son of Raja Kishori Lal Goswami, first Indian member of the Bengal Executive Council. Educated at Oxford, and a man of considerable brilliance as an orator. Formerly represented Bengal in the Indian Legislative Assembly, where he was a member of the Swaraj Party led by Moti Lal Nehru. Was involved as co-respondent in a notorious divorce case brought by N.N. Gupta (brother of S.N. Gupta, I.C.S., Bengal) against his wife, a daughter of the first Lord Sinha-paid Rs 60,000 to compromise it, and subsequently married the lady. Is now financially ruined, his income being Rs 500 from his estate and Rs 200 as rent for his house, which has been requisitioned. Has represented Burdwan North Division Municipal General constituency in the Bengal Legislative Assembly since 1937, and was, until recently, a staunch member of Sarat Bose's Congress Group there. At one time was reported to have been in

contact with Italians in India. Was selected by Forward Bloc to put forward their case to Sir Stafford Cripps. Has run through a large fortune and is now physically and intellectually wrecked by profligacy and drink. Seems to be taking a pull on himself temporarily and is quick in the uptake; but retains only the vestige of his former considerable talents.

4. *Mr Tamizuddin Khan* (Education) — The report, dated 12th July 1939, holds good. He is rather tedious in discussion but has a probably well-deserved reputation for complete integrity.

5. *Mr B.P. Pain* (Communications and Works) — A prominent and able criminal lawyer, and the son of another. Has been Chairman of the Howrah Municipality for some years. A vote of no-confidence in him was carried by the Municipal commissioners not long before he joined the Ministry. Has represented the Hooghly-cum-Howrah Municipal General constituency in the Bengal Legislative Assembly since 1937. Is a firm adherent of Subhas Bose, and a member of Sarat Bose's Congress Group in the Assembly. His C.I.D. record is not good and he is reported to have had dealings with the Jugantar Party and various security prisoners. His private life is open to criticism and he is addicted to wine, women and gambling. He is, however, alert and businesslike and of a presentable address.

6. *Khan Bahadur Muazzamuddin Hosain* (Agriculture) — A retired officer of the Settlement Department. (He began life as a Kannungo and ended as a Settlement Officer). Represents the Ministry in the Bengal Legislative Council, to which he was elected by the Bengal Legislative Assembly — his term of office being due to expire in April 1949. Cantankerous, stubborn, opinionated and obstinate, but not lacking in ability. Leader of the Muslim League Group in the Bengal Legislative Council.

7. *Mr Tarak Nath Mukherjee* (Revenue) — Grandson of Raja Peari Mohan Mukherjee, of Uttarpara, and a landowner. Chairman of the Hooghly District Board. Awarded the M.B.E. in 1937. Succeeded Sir B.P. Singh Roy as representative of the Burdwan Landholders constituency in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1940. His brother Lokenath Mukherjee formerly represented Bengal in the Council of State. Has now been expelled from the Nationalist Group for joining the Ministry. Worthy, probably loyal, but tedious and stupid.

8. *Nawab Musharruff Hossain* (Judicial and Legislative) — The report dated 12th July 1939, and previous reports hold good. He is now more than ever a figure of fun, but within his practical experience he is no fool.

9. *Mr Khuwaja Shahabuddin* (Commerce, Labour and Industry) — Brother of Sir Nazimuddin and acted for him as a Member of Sir John Anderson's Council. Chairman, Dacca District Board. Awarded C.B.E. in 1937. Chief Whip and Parliamentary Secretary in Huq's Ministry 1937-41. Able, communal and intriguing. Even now he is much more the Chief Whip than the Minister.

10. *Khan Bahadur Jalaluddin Ahmad* (Public Health and Local Self-Government) — Has represented Cox's Bazaar (Muhammadan) constituency in the Bengal Legislative Assembly since 1937, and has been brought into the Cabinet mainly in order to give representation to the war-affected areas. The Commissioner, Chittagong Division reported that he never helped the District authorities in anything. By profession a second-rate and rather exasperating pleader.

11. *Mr Pulin Behari Mullick* (Publicity) — Brother of Mr M.B. Mullick, Minister in the previous Ministry until his appointment as Chairman, Coal Mines Stowing Board. A pleader of the Calcutta Police Court, and a nominated Fellow of the Calcutta University. One nephew in the I.C.S. Comes of a loyal and respectable family. Has represented the Howrah Scheduled Caste constituency in the Bengal Legislative Assembly since 1937. In no way outstanding.

12. *Mr Prem Hari Barma* (Forests and Excise) – A lawyer, who has represented the Dinajpur Scheduled Caste constituency in the Bengal Legislative Assembly since 1937. Unobtrusive in manner. Nothing more is known of him.

13. *Mr Jogendra Nath Mandal* (Co-operative Credit and Rural Indebtedness) – Has represented the Bakarganj North-East General constituency in the Bengal Legislative Assembly since 1937, the only member of the Scheduled Castes to win a General Hindu Constituency. He won it with the assistance of Subhas Bose. Was nominated as a member of the Calcutta Corporation for one year in 1942 at the instance of Mr S.K. Basu. His Forward Bloc activities were unobjectionable. Fairly intelligent and quite vocal.

61: V.B. Gogte to B.S. Moonje

Moonje Papers, File No. 67
[NMML]

From
V B. Gogte, L.L.B.,
Pleader, 623/14 Deshmukhwadi,
Poona 2.

undated

To
Dr B.S. Moonje,
General Secretary,
All India Hindu Maha Sabha,
Nasik.

Sir,
Received your urgent letter of the 9th inst.¹ along with the copy of the resolution drafted by you.

I have gone through the resolution and have formed the definite opinion that some such resolution is necessary with a view to clarify the position of Hindu Mahasabha as regards the claim put up by the Muslim League to make a division of India on the basis that the Muslims are a Nation.

Nevertheless with due respects to you I propose to make some amendments in the resolution sent by you. I humbly submit that the whole of the first paragraph should be dropped and in its place the following clause should be inserted.

In view of the claim for Pakistan made by the Muslim League on the ground that the Muslims are a Nation in India, the Hindu Maha Sabha desires to clarify its position by passing the following resolution which does nothing but emphatically reasserts its views which are patent and well-known.

The Hindu Maha Sabha taking into the consideration the following facts of the situation namely.

- (1) That the Moslems of India are real Hindus in blood and bones, being born of Hindu parents but afterwards converted by force, fraud or willingness to Islam:
- (2) That they have the same mother-tongues as the Hindus of the various places and have inherited most of the same culture as the Hindus; and
- (3) That thus ethnologically, linguistically and mostly culturally also, the Moslems of India are one and the same with their Hindu brothers being of the same unitarian and homogeneous community recognised as Hindus or Hindustan.

Does hereby solemnly declare that the Moslems of India are not a separate Nation by themselves, being only one of the various religious communities of India; and hence cannot demand rightfully a Separate state for themselves in India. The Hindu Mahasabha is prepared to agree to provide for their protection as minority community according to the formulas evolved by the League of Nations. The Hindu Mahasabha maintains that Hindus alone are a Nation in India and all the rest communities are minority communities and that under any circumstances there shall be only one State, secular in character for the whole of India.

My reasons in suggesting this change are as follows:

In dropping the first paragraph I have an idea not to talk much about the Nagpur conversation. We need not in our resolution allege anything against the Press Reporters which will instigate them to make allegations against us to the effect that we want to suggest changes in what Savarkar said at Nagpur and we are somehow out to defend him. Savarkar alone should deny their reports which he has already done. We are expressing by this resolution the opinion of Hindu Mahasabha on this point irrespective of what Dr V.D. Savarkar said anywhere.

The importance of the two nation theory arises because on this basis they claim a separate State for themselves. It is for this purpose that we must definitely deny their claim to separate States on the basis of two nation theory. Therefore I have inserted the necessary words. I am sending one copy of this letter to the Presidential office at Bombay for favour of consideration. As yet I have not been able to consult Shriyut Annasaheb Bhopatkar, S.R. Date and various other Hindu Sabhais. I have dropped this letter urgently and it expresses my personal view. Of course I hope that this view of mine will be approved by many Hindu Sabhais. I humbly suggest that a copy of the resolution drafted by you be sent to every member of the working Committee of the A.I.H.S. Let me know in reply how you approve of my suggestion. If you approve them may I suggest very humbly that a copy of the approved resolution be forwarded to other members for consideration. Kindly excuse me for having been over frank and overbold with you especially in view of the large experience in politics you have and negligible experience in the same which I possess.

Thanking you,

I beg to remain,
Most sincerely yours,
Gogte

Member of the Working Committee of A.I.H.S.



62 B.S. Moonje's reply to V.B. Gogte (reply to Doc. 61)

Moonje Papers, File No. 67
[NMML]

22nd Sept. 1943.

Dear Mr Gogte,

Many thanks for your letter dated nil which still remains unanswered.¹ I was busy in other ways. I note your amendment and suggestions. I am glad to note that your amendment has received approval of Mr Savarkar. I have received letters in support of the resolution from Mr Khaparde, Dr Naidu, Mr Bhopalkar and Kunwar Guru Narain.

I have not yet received remarks favourable or unfavourable from Dr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Mr N.C. Chatterjee, Mr Katkar and Mr Ashutosh Lahiry.

There is general approval of the resolution. But as I have written to them, I do not insist on the form of the resolution which may be amended or modified in any way as they like so long as the fundamental points in the resolution are accepted.

Regarding Mr Savarkar's resignation, Dr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee writes to me, 'I am definitely of opinion that he (Savarkar) should continue to discharge the functions of the President until the working Committee has considered his letter of resignation at its next meeting. He is still our President and there can be no question of any body also taking charge of the Central office'.

Thus you will see that, if properly approached no one will be against Mr Savarkar's Presidentship. Whatever difference there appear to be on the surface are all due to want of mutual consultations and languages used in statements and correspondence.

It gives me great satisfaction to find that we are still a happy family in the Hindu Mahasabha. One has however to be very careful and cautious in maintaining such amicable feelings.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sjt. V.B. Gogte,
Pleader, Poona.

1. Doc. 61.



63: Chief Secretary, to the Government of C.P. & Berar to the Government of India

Govt. of C.P. & Berar Pol. & Mil. Dept., File No. 207
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

Political & Military Departments

Nagpur
22nd September 1943.

My dear Tottenham,

Please refer to your Express Letter No. 28/3/43 -- Poll (I), dated the 10th August 1943, regarding the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. The Provincial Government had collected detailed information regarding the strength, organisation and activities of this Association in the different districts of the province, and these reports, together with other miscellaneous reports about the Hindu Mahasabha, have been printed in pamphlet,¹ of which two copies are enclosed for the information of the Government of India. Copies of the pamphlet are also being supplied to other Provincial Governments, as inquiries have been received from some of them asking for information regarding the organisation of the Sangh in this province.

T.C.S. Jayarathnam

1 Document 64

64 Government of the Central Provinces and Berar

Govt. of C.P. & Berar Pol. & Mil. Dept., File No. 207
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

Draft for Approval

No. 1158-647/dated 22nd September 1943.

Secret.

To
All Deputy Commissioners,
Central Provinces and Berar.

My dear

I am desired to enclose herewith two copies of a pamphlet containing district reports recently received about the activities and organisation of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in each district of the province. One copy for the D.S.P. and if any more copies are required, will you please let me know.

2. The Government of India have recently drawn our attention to the increasingly objectionable activities of certain volunteer organisations like the Khaksars and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in respect of the performance of military exercises and the wearing of uniforms. It appears from recent reports that the activities of the R.S.S.S. also disclose a distinct tendency on the part of that organisation to disregard the ban on military drill and some variations seems to have sprung up in different areas in the latitude allowed to members of the organisation. Government considers that a reasonable degree of uniformity in the treatment of volunteer organisations should be maintained in the districts and the desired uniformity can only be secured by a strict adherence to the terms of the Central Government notification No. 74-3-40 Poll (I), dated the 5th August 1940, of which a copy was forwarded to you with this Department's D.O. letter No. 706-583-Con, dated the 19th September 1940. No deviations whatever from the ban on military drill and uniforms should be permitted. Government desires you to take steps to ensure that activities of the R.S.S.S. and any other volunteer organisations which may offend against the notification of the 5th of August 1940 do not go unchecked.

2. It is also requested that a careful watch should be kept on the activities of all volunteer organisations, and, especially the R.S.S.S. and Khaksars, and a report made to Government of any developments which you consider are of interest. The different district reports and the other reports in the enclosed pamphlet will give you a general idea of the R.S.S.S. as a whole and it is hoped that you will make it a special point of keeping your information regarding the activities of this association up to date.

Yours Sincerely.

No. 1159-647/..Nagpur, the 22nd September 43.

Copy (with a copy of the pamphlet) forwarded to all COMMISSIONERS of DIVISIONS and the Inspector-General of Police, Central Provinces and Berar, for information.

Secret

Government of the Central Provinces and Berar

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh

Organization and Development in Each District of C.P. and Berar at the End of the Year 1942.

Strictly Secret D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated Pachmarhi, the 19th October 1942, from T.C.S. Jayaratnam, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S. Chief Secretary to Government, Central Provinces and Berar, to all Deputy Commissioners, Central Provinces and Berar.

Government would be glad if you will, in consultation with the District Superintendent of Police, collect full particulars of the organization of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in your district and its membership. It may also be ascertained who the leading organizers are. The information is required in order to have as full a record as possible of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh activities in each district. This information may please be collected as expeditiously and as unostentatiously as possible and a report submitted to Government.

No. 1466-890-Con.

Pachmarhi, the 19th October 1942.

Copy forwarded to all Commissioners of Divisions and Inspector-General of Police for information.

T.C.S. Jayaratnam,
Chief Secy. to Govt., C.P. & Berar.

Contents

1. *District Reports*

Nagpur	-	-	-
Wardha	..	-	-
Chanda	-	-	-
Chhindwara	-	-	-
Betul	-	-	-
Jubbulpore	-	-	-
Saugor	-	-	-
Hoshangabad	-	-	-
Nimar	-	-	-
Mandla	-	-	-
Raipur	-	-	-
Bilaspur	-	-	-
Balaghat	-	-	-
Drug	-	-	-
Bhandara	-	-	-
Amraoti	-	-	-
Akola	-	-	-
Buldana	-	-	-
Yeotmal	-	-	-

[Not printed — page references of the original pamphlet — Ed.]

2. Extracts from half-yearly report on volunteer organizations from May to November 1942
3. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh Officers' Training Camp held at Nagpur in 1943
4. Minutes of the Fourth Security Conference held at Nagpur on 8th and 9th March 1943
5. Summary of the District Reports
6. Appendix-Miscellaneous Special Branch reports on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha, 1942

District Reports Nagpur District

D.O. No. 4252, dated Nagpur, the 16th November 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Nagpur

Kindly refer to your strictly secret D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942. The details required regarding the organization of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in this district and its membership are as follows.

2. The Sangh is an all-India organization started by the late Dr K.B. Hedgewar on

Dasehra day in 1925. The aim of the Sangh is to protect the Hindu race, religion and culture, and to achieve the progress and regeneration of the Hindu community. It is desired to infuse a spirit of collective life amongst the Hindus and to utilize the spirit thus created for nation-building purposes. The chief organizer for India is Mr Madhaorao Sadashivrao *alias* Guruji Golwalkar who is known as Sar Sangh Chalak. The organizer for Nagpur is Mr M.N. Ghatate who is assisted by Mr Madhukar *alias* Balasaheb, son of Dattatraya Dcoras, and in the case of interior Mr K.B. Vaidya, Advocate, who in turn is assisted by Mr Vasant Ramchandra Padhye. Branches of the Sangh are being established all over India and propagandists from Nagpur are also sent to other places. There are nearly 48 branches of the Sangh in Nagpur proper and about 30 in the interior of the district. The total membership of the Sangh is roughly 7,000. This includes, 2,000 youths. Of the 7,000 members, 2,000 come from the interior of the district. All members make voluntary subscription to the Sangh on a special day which is observed by every branch of the Sangh according to convenience. The total donations are deposited in the head office which is situated at Salubai Mohite's Bada in circle No. 6, Nagpur city.

3. Officers' training camps are conducted annually in the summer and last for about 40 days. Organizers are trained at these camps and uniformity of programme is aimed at in order that all branches can be run on similar lines. Camps are opened at important centres in order to suit the convenience of the members. A rough programme is that the members either assemble in the evening or morning for about an hour and undergo various kinds of physical and military training, while lectures are also delivered. The Sangh also observes important Hindu festivals and on such days small outdoor camps are arranged. Owing to the disturbances this year, the principal day on which subscriptions are raised was not observed but subscriptions were collected and deposited in the head office. The total amount collected is reported to be about Rs 17,000, most of which is deposited in the Provincial Co-operative Bank or with individual banks, such as those of Mr Ghatate or Mr Chitnavis of Nagpur.

4. The Sangh is an independent organization which is not affiliated to any political or communal organization but has definite communal objects.

Wardha District

D.O. No. 1036, dated Wardha, the 14th November 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Wardha

Kindly refer to your strictly secret D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942, regarding the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. I enclose herewith a copy of the District Superintendent of Police's report, which gives the necessary information.

Copy of memo. No. Q. dated the 11th November 1942, from the District Superintendent of Police, Wardha, to the Deputy Commissioner, Wardha.

A branch of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was first established at Wardha in the year 1928. As the Sangh advocated organization of Hindu community to oppose the inroads of Muhaminadans and other communities on it, it caught the fancy of Hindu youths, mostly Maharashtrians, and since then the Sangh has made rapid progress. At present, there are 112 branches throughout the district and the total membership is about 4,000. For their own administrative purposes, Dhamangaon taluq is included in Wardha district. I have, however, excluded it in my report. The members of the Sangh contribute handsome subscriptions on Guru Dakshina day. The amount collected generally ranges from Rs 8,000 to Rs 10,000. Each

branch keeps its own collection, which is generally spent over camps and training classes. Previously many youths used to be attracted to this organization on account of its glamour of parades and military training. But, since the promulgation of the orders prohibiting wearing of military uniform, the Sangh has stopped all military training and parades. However, they have been holding camps and summer training classes. In the year 1938, the enmity between the Sangh boys and the members of the Pratap Vyayam Shala, a Congress organ, culminated in 'marpits'. Offences of rioting were put up in court, but since then there have been no recurrences like those. The following are the leading organizers of the Sangh:

- (1) Hari alias Appaji Krishna Joshi, Wardha.
- (2) Rambhau Laxman Tankhiwale, Pleader, Wardha.
- (3) R.N. Deshpande, Pleader, Wardha.
- (4) G.M. Pande, Pleader, Wardha.
- (5) S.R. Deshpande, Pleader, Wardha.
- (6) M.B. Deshpande, Pleader, Wardha.
- (7) G.N. Kawley, Pleader, Wardha.
- (8) G.S. Harkare, Pleader, Wardha.
- (9) S.N. Limaye, Pleader, Wardha.
- (10) M.D. Kolte, Pleader, Wardha.
- (11) S.B. Halwai, Wardha.
- (12) Shanker Rao Vaidya, Wardha.
- (13) G.T. Subnis, Pleader, Hinganghat.
- (14) N.B. Mulmule, Pleader, Hinganghat.
- (15) G.N. Nagle, Pleader, Hinganghat.
- (16) K.D. Singru, Pleader, Hinganghat.
- (17) C.N. Pendke, Hinganghat.
- (18) Babaji Gane, Mandgaon, S.H. Hinganghat.
- (19) Nilkanth Gajanan Wakhare, Hinganghat.
- (20) Anna Abaji, Brahmin, Taroda, S.H. Hinganghat.
- (21) Vinayakrao Khati, Allipur, S.H. Wadner.
- (22) Kesheorao Narale, Malguzar, Karanja.
- (23) Narayanrao Vyagra, Malguzar, Thanegaon, S.H. Karanja.
- (24) Bhau Puranik, Pulgaon.
- (25) Anna Sahib Virul, S.H. Pulgaon.
- (26) Pandurang Balkrishna Sunar, Anji, S.H. Kharangna.
- (27) Marotrao Ramji Teli, Kasarkheda, S.H. Kharangna.
- (28) Nanaji Madhorao, Brahmin, Kachnur, S.H. Kharangna.
- (29) Bhalchandra Mahadeorao, Brahmin, Seloo.
- (30) Narayan Balkrishna Deshpande, Seloo.
- (31) Murlidhar Nathulal Khatri, Hingni, S.H. Seloo.
- (32) Sahibrao Sitaram Katkar of Moi, S.H. Seloo.
- (33) Sheshrao Ganesh Pande, Antargaon, S.H. Seloo.
- (34) Knahaiyalal Nathulal Kalwar, Sindi.
- (35) Dada Govind Deshpande, Palasgaon, Sindi.
- (36) Dr Devidas Raghunath Deshpande, Arvi.
- (37) G.W. Khare, Pleader, Arvi.

Chanda District

No. 1081-S.T. dated Chanda, the 28th October 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Chanda

Copy of statement below forwarded to the Chief Secretary to Government, Central Provinces and Berar, Nagpur Commissioner, Nagpur Division, Nagpur, for information, with reference to Political and Military Department D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942.

List of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh branches, with their location, officer-bearers, etc.

The object of the association is to organize all the Hindus as one community for their betterment in all respects, particularly physical.

1. Chanda (established 1926)-Sangh Chalak-Narayan Pandurang Bhagwat, Pleader. Vice-President-Balkrishna Ganpatrao Sadhankar, Pleader. Senapati-Purushottam Tatiaji Puranik, teacher, New Model High School. Members-300. The branch is in a flourishing condition.
2. Warora (established 1935)-Taluqa Sangh Chalak-Gopal Wasudeo Pendke, Pleader. Taluqa Sah Sangh Chalak-Shrinivas Purushottam Sirmukaddam, Pleader. Nagar Sangh Chalak-Govind Shrihari Deshpande, Pleader. Members-30. The branch is in a flourishing condition.
3. Mul (established 1940)-President-R. S. Kashirao Fadnavis. Sangh Chalak-Diwakarrao Bokhare. Senapati-Narhari Marathe, Schoolmaster. Drill instructors-(i) Baby Balvant Khati. Brahmin, and (ii) Shankarrao Sadashiv Pimpalkhute, Brahmin. Members-30, mostly schoolboys.
4. Bhadravati (established 1936)-Sangh Chalak-Babu alias Nilkanth, son of Laxmanrao. Updeshaks-(i) Jageshwar Yette Gurao, and (ii) Govind Ghodmade Barai. Captain-Kisan jungare Marar. Members-60.
5. Chamorshi (established 1939)-President-Bhaiyaji, alias Sadashiva, son of Keshorao Secretary-Rajaiya, son of Onkar Jangam. Members-25. The branch is inactive.
6. Brahmapuri (established 1937)-Taluqa Chalak-(i) Bhashkarrao Bhusari, Pleader, and (ii) Madhorao Kalikar, Malguzar. Members-50.
7. Chimur (established 1927)-Instructor-Annaji Murlidhar Siras, Brahmin. Members-30.
8. Dhaba (established 1936)-President-Khushalrao Hastak, Brahmin Secretary-Nanaji Peshkar, Brahmin. Members-20. The branch is not in a flourishing state. Lathi-Kathi being practised.
9. Gondpipri, Dhaba S.H. (established 1936)-President-Warlu Gond, Malguzar. Secretary-Bapuji Panchal. Members-10. The branch is not in a flourishing state. Lathi-kathi being practised.
10. Nagbhir (established 1935)-President-Mahadeo Buchappa Wani. Secretary-Sakharam Gomaji Kale. Sangh Chalak and cashier-Manohar Moreshwar Kallawar Koskati. Members-25. The branch is not in a flourishing state. Lathi-kathi being practised.
11. Talodi (established 1938)-President-Popatbhai Kalidad Bhatia. Secretary-Yadao Jairman Komti. Cashier-Rajeshwar Jairam Komti. Members [not stated – Ed.] The branch is not in a flourishing state. Lathi-kathi being practised.
12. Nawargaon [Sindewahi] (established 1938)-President-Balaji Deoram Patel. Secretary-Dina Laxman Kosti. Manager-Govinda Hari. Members-40.
13. Armori (established 1936) – President-Narayanrao Niral. Members-200.

N.B. – Any additions or corrections will be reported later.

Chhindwara District

D.O. No. 686, dated Chhindwara, the 14th November 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Chhindwara

Please refer to Political and Military Department secret D.O. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th

October 1942 I enclose statement giving particulars of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh organization in this district.

Branches of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh

<i>Location</i>	<i>Office-bearers and members</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Chhindwara	President – Ramprasad Sing Rathod. Pleader Vice President H.N. Huddar, Malguzar, Under Secretary and Treasurer K.R. Jamte Instructors (1) Narayanarao, Maratha (2) T.R. Astputre and (3) Onkarprasad Chaurasia. Members 200. Membership increasing.	Funds Rs 200. Activities are limited to the physical exercises and drill. Govt. restrictions on uniform, drill etc. are being observed. Active Office bearers are influential and wealthy persons. The object of the organization is to inspire nationalism and self-confidence in Hindus. Potentially dangerous.
Pandhurna	No office-bearers Sanghchalak – Pandharinath, son of Balaji Chahuttre, Pandhurna. Members 100. Membership not increasing.	Funds Rs 10. Activities dull and limited to the boy members of the Sangh playing Indian games. Government's restrictions being observed strictly. Inactive. Holds no position of influence Mr R.P. Chitle, Singnaller, G.I.P. Rly Nilkanthrao Fadnavis, Teacher, Anglo-Vernacular Middle School, are the sympathisers.
Sausar	Sanghchalak-Sukhnandan Talokchand Adlakhe Local Board Head Clerk, Sausar Instructor – Someshwar Ramchandra Pimpalgaonkar of Nagpur. Members – 40. Membership not increasing.	Funds Rs 27. Indian games and physical exercises. Government's restrictions being observed. Present activities are limited mainly to create unity amongst Hindus. Not an influential body. Not dangerous.
Mohgaon (S.H. Sausar)	Sanghchalak-Jaiwanlal, son of Ramlal Maheshri, Mohgaon. Members – 30 Membership not increasing.	Funds Rs 9. Indian games and physical exercises. Government's restrictions being observed. Present activities are limited mainly to create unity amongst Hindus. Not an influential body. Not dangerous.
Berdih (S.H. Sausar)	Sanghchalak – Bhaiya Members – 27. Membership not increasing.	Funds nil. Indian games and physical exercises. Government's restrictions being observed. Present activities are limited mainly to create unity amongst Hindus. Not an influential body. Not dangerous.
Chaurai		In June last attempts were made by Eknath Ranade of Nagpur to establish a branch here and five members nominated. Did not materialize.

<i>Location</i>	<i>Office-bearers and members</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Amarware		Murlidhar, son of Krishnarao, Brahmin, of Circle No. 9 visited the place in October last But failed.
Seoni	President-Nil Organizer and Secretary Moreswar Hari Ketkar and Govind Patel of Seoni. Members (1) Ramshankar Agnihotri and (2) Baburao Zade. Members – 150 to 200.	Funds not known. Indian games and physical exercises Government's restrictions being observed. Active. It is an anti-Muslim organisation at the exclusive supremacy of the Hindus. Chief aim to cultivate physical and moral development and unity.
Kanhiwara	President – Mangal Prasad, Sunar, of Kanhiwara Secretary – Motilal Barai. Organizer – Angad Prasad Sunar. Members (1) Gangaram, Teli (2) Bhairrolal, Barai, (3) Kapurchand, Sunar and (4) Gopichand Agarwal Members – 30 to 50.	Funds not known. Indian games and physical exercises Government's restrictions being observed. Active. It is an anti-Muslim organisation at the exclusive supremacy of the Hindus. Chief aim to cultivate physical and moral development and unity. It has recently been formed.
Hinotiya (N.H. Kanhiwara)	Organizers (1) Mullu, Sunar, and (2) Tika Chhipa of Hinotiya Members – 15.	Funds not known. Indian games and physical exercises Government's restrictions being observed. Active. It is an anti-Muslim organisation at the exclusive supremacy of the Hindus. Chief aim to cultivate physical and moral development and unity. It has recently been formed.

Betul district

D.O. No. 176, dated Betul the 13th November 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Betul

Kindly refer to your D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942. The particulars about the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in this district are as below:

Betul Town – The organizer is Mr I.S. Deshpande, Pleader, and Mr N.B. Wathodker, Pleader, acts as its secretary. One Gopalrao Joshi is the instructor. There are about 30 members, mostly Maharashtra boys. The organization has no funds nor have there been any rallies, training camps, etc., within the past six months or so. Only a few school boys use to drill themselves occasionally without any uniform. About a month ago one Nawegaonkar of Nagpur had come here with the object of reviving the organization, but he met with no success. It is reported that he may come to Betul again with the same object.

Multai Town – The Sangh is being run by one Govindrao alias Abaji Joshi assisted by Messrs. G.K. Huddar, A. Dubey and T.N. Bhargava, Pleaders. There are about 31 members and they have physical exercises daily where boys are taught the use of lathi and *Kabaddi*.

Amla Village – There are about 12 members but the Sangh has not been functioning at all since the organizer Narayan Dattare left the place.

2. There are no branches of the Sangh elsewhere in the district.

Jubbulpore District

D.O. No. C.-Pol., dated Jubbulpore, the 21st December 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore

Would you please refer to your D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942? I send herewith police report giving full particulars of the organization of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in Jubbulpore district.

Report, dated the 15th December 1942, from the L.I.B.¹ (S.B.). Jubbulpore, on the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh at Jubbulpore.

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, whose activities are on increasing scale possibly may have no immediate object of taking to subversive programme for some time in future.

This organization which is backed by V.D. Sawarkar and his followers like Dr B.S. Moonje who firmly believe in the importance of military training to instil a sense of discipline in the Hindu youths of the country and make them physically fit for the attainment of their desired goal-Independence-in due course, are also sponsors of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh movement.

V.D. Sawarkar's policy to encourage Hindu youths to avail of the opportunity by enlisting Hindu youths in the present war has a deep-seated motive behind. These leaders might not like to interfere with the present administration in view of their present policy and might like to take their own time by which large number of Hindu youths in the country were sufficiently trained in military tactics to bring about a revolution in India to achieve independence and to maintain the same. This would naturally take a pretty long time.

It has been made sufficiently clear by the Hindu Sabhaites during the course of their usual talks that V.D. Sawarkar does not think that time was ripe for revolution in the country.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh organization, in the opinion of these leaders, which is yet to be sufficiently organized for the said purpose is likely to take every precaution to avoid its being brought to the notice of the Government adversely whereby Government may not be able to declare the organization illegal or check its progress to the detriment of the interests of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

The organization as a whole remained aloof from the present subversive activities indulged in by the Congressmen. No adverse reports were received about the Sangh's activities from Station House Officers in the district. Instructions have been however issued to all the Station-House Officers to make further efforts in the light of S.B. circular No. 94, dated Nagpur, the 3rd November 1942, to find out and report inside information about the Sangh's secret activities and preparations which are clearly not being made without some purpose, although it is not known exactly what the Sangh intends to do.

At the time of the Dasehra celebrations held on 24th October 1942 at Jubbulpore at which the contingents from tahsil places in the district and from Narsinghpur and Mandla were present, the volunteers did not wear uniforms. No boots, putties or shoulder badges were worn. The drill of a military nature was avoided.

Only two persons, namely, K.B. Agnihotri, organizer of Sihora Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, and Lattu alias Suraj Chandra Bani, an instructor of Shahpura Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh were detained under Defence of India Rules because of their pro-Congress activities.

The list of important persons whose arrest would be necessary is kept ready in case the necessity should ever arise to declare the Sangh an illegal organization.

Report dated the 15th December 1942, by the I.I.B. (S.B.), Jubbulpore, on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh organisation in the Jubbulpore district

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh organization came into existence here on 23rd December 1935. It was organized by Kunjilal Dubc, Advocate Jubbulpore, under the guidance of late Dr K.B. Hedgewar and since then the Sangh is becoming more and more popular every year. The aim and object of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has been so far to protect the Hindu culture, to organize the Hindus of the country and also to improve the physique of the Hindu youths.

At present the following are the branches of the Sangh in Jubbulpore town:

(1) Golebazar, (2) Dixitpura, (3) Tilak Bhumi Talaiya, (4) Hanumantal, (5) Ghamapore, (6) Robertson College, (7) Gorukhpore, and (8) Shreenath Ki Talaiya.

Besides the above-mentioned branches the Sangh also has its branches in Katni, Sihora, Panagar, Patan Shahpura, Garha and Barela.

Each of the above branches are in charge of one organizer and there is an instructor to train the volunteers in parade, lathi drill, physical exercises and outdoor games. Occasionally Ram Prasad Tiwari, Advocate, Jubbulpore, district organizer of Jubbulpore, visits the branches in the district. Formerly the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers used to put on khaki uniform with badges including boots and putties, but in obedience to the Government's restrictions on the wearing of uniforms no uniforms were worn by the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers.

At present the strength of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers is about 600 but only a few volunteers attend daily parades and sports held in the various branches of the Sangh. About 250 volunteers collect once a week at one place for parade and games and this is arranged by the local organizers to stimulate the enthusiasm of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers.

On 27th July 1942 about 300 volunteers of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh assembled in the Bengali Club to worship 'Ochre Flag' on the occasion of Guru Paurnima. Shriram Nanhoria, Advocate, was in the chair and the meeting was open only to the volunteers. Speeches were delivered by Shriram Nanhoria and Satyabrata Shastri. Both the speakers spoke on the significance and in praise of 'Ochre Flag' and appealed to the volunteers to strengthen the Sangh.

'Guru Dakshina' ceremony was held on 6th September 1942 in the Bengali Club under the presidentship of Ramprasad Tiwari, the chief organizer of the Sangh. About 600 volunteers attended the meeting. The proceedings consisted of 'The flag worship' and 'Guru Dakshina'. During the 'Guru Dakshina', the chief organizer, Ramprasad Tiwari, was presented purses totalling Rs 2,027, by the various branches of the Sangh in the district. In the end the president delivered a short speech thanking the volunteers for their purses and expressed satisfaction on subscriptions collected. He said that he expected Rs 3,000, but Rs 2,027 was not bad as against Rs 1,000, collected during the previous year. He appreciated the enthusiasm of the various branches of the Sangh and appealed to the volunteers to strengthen the Sangh all the more.

During September and October 1942 the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers were busy preparing for their 'Dasehra celebrations'. Daily the volunteers were seen being drilled in the various branches of the Sangh, while occasionally general parades were being held in Golebazar. Prahlad Narayan Ambekar and Bibhas Chandra Banerji were noticed taking keen interest in training the volunteers.

On 24th October 1942 M.S. Golwalkar, Nagpur, nicknamed 'Guruji' visited Jubbulpore and presided over the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. Dasehra celebrations were held at the Golebazar grounds. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh performances consisted of marching, lathi drill, physical exercises and various games. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh band was also in attendance. No uniforms were worn by the volunteers nor a drill of a military nature was performed by them. On 25th October 1942, M.S. Golwalkar addressed a meeting of about 400 Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers in the Maharashtra High School premises and deplored that in a vast country like India there should be only 1,500 branches of the Sangh and 200,000 volunteers in all. He appealed each volunteer to enlist 10 more volunteers in the Sangh and to devote more of their time in the work of the Sangh. He declared that the Sangh was a non-political organization, the aims and objects of which were to make the Hindus physically fit, and to organize them with a view to safeguard the interests of the Hindus in general. He remarked that the Sangh had done some solid work for the Hindu community.

Even after their 'Dasehra celebrations' the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers are doing their daily parade in the various branches of the Sangh; but they have lost all interest. The attendance is decreasing day by day.

The following names are worth mentioning in connection with the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh:

(1) Ram Prasad Tiwari, Pleader-Chief Organizer (2) Shriram Nanhoria, Pleader (3) Motishanker Jha, (4) Prahlad Narayan Ambekar, (5) Bibhas Chandra Banerji, (6) Bimal Chandra Banerji, and (7) Anantram Thosar.

The above are the sponsors of this organization in Jubbulpore city and have kept up the enthusiasm of the volunteers in the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh branches in Jubbulpore city are as follows. They are conducted by the workers noted against each branch:

- (1) Golebazar – P.N. Ambekar.
- (2) Dixitpura – Gokul Prasad Agarwal and Anantram Thosar.
- (3) Tilak Bhumi Talaiya – Nemichand Jain and Bibhas Chandra Banerji.
- (4) Hanumantal – Ranglal Sulere.
- (5) Ghamapore – Subhas Chandra Beohar.
- (6) Robertson College – Kunjilal Dave.
- (7) Gorukhpore – Puran Singh, son of Dhanpat Singh Thakur
- (8) Ganjipura – Sitaram Vishva Karma.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh at Shahpura

There are 30 volunteers. Bhaiyalal Bani and Gopal Teli are its organizers; while instructions are imparted to the volunteers by one Lattoo *alias* Suraj Chandra Bani, who was detained under rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules on 2nd September 1942.

The Sangh at this place does not possess any funds and has no influence with the public.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh at Palan

There are about 66 volunteers. R.P. Pande, Pleader, is the chief organizer. Phoolsingh Ghoshi is the secretary while Deepchand Bani and Tarachand Bani are its instructors. Other workers

worth mentioning are Ramdayal Sunar, Lalji Khangar, Suraj Prasad Bani, Shyamlal Bani, Bare Bani and Hukumchand Bani.

The Sangh has a fund of Rs 100. The funds are likely to increase as the Sangh exercises good influence on the people and is becoming popular.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh at Garha

There are about 100 volunteers in it. Tekchand Chourasia, a teacher of the Maharashtra High School, imparts instructions to the volunteers in lathi drill and parade. 'Guru Dakshina' was celebrated on 8th August 1942 on a large scale. The volunteers perform their daily parade at Bagha Tal from 7 a.m. to 8 a.m. and 5.30 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. Jairam Teli and Shobharam Teli, both teachers of the Garha Hindi School, are the prominent workers of the Sangh.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh at Barela

The Sangh has become defunct in Barela.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh at Katni

There are 100 volunteers in the Sangh at present and the membership is increasing. The following are its office-bearers:

- (1) Ramprasad Tiwari, Pleader — President.
- (2) Bajnath Mehta — Secretary.
- (3) S.X. Lonkar, teacher — Organizer and Instructor.

The Sangh does not carry much influence. 15 Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers of Jubbulpore went to Katni to witness the Dasehra function of the place.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh at Sihora

There are about 55 volunteers. K.B. Agnihotri, Pleader, is the organizer, while other chief workers are Jiwan Lal Nema and R.P. Bukhshi. Surendra Nath instructs the volunteers in parade. All the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh activities regarding parade etc., are carried out under the supervision of Anand Thosar, who occasionally visits the place and gives necessary instructions to the leaders. There are no funds; and since the arrest of K.B. Agnihotri the Sangh has practically become inactive.

Statement of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh of the Saugor District including Damoh Sub-Division

<i>Location</i>	<i>Office bearers and members</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1. City Kotwali Saugor	<i>Office bearers</i> (1) Laxmi Prasad Tiwari of Dhana, at present Saugor (Sar Sangh Chalak), (2) B.L. Saraf, Pleader, Saugor (Sangh Chalak) (3) K.P. Urmil, Pleader, Saugor (Secretary) (4) M.G. Shrawne, Teacher, Moraji High School, Saugor (Chief Physical Instructor), and (5) Ram Shanker Pandya, Saugor (Group Leader) <i>Leading members</i> (1) K.M. Tole, Pleader,	Membership about 120 Lathi, dummy sword, and dagger exercises and marching practised. Have got uniforms (1) Khaki shirts (2) Khaki knickers, (3) Khaki puttis (4) Blackboots (5) Deep blue cap, and (6) Badges (shoulders) which are put on sometimes.

<i>Location</i>	<i>Office bearers and members</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	(2) Manohar Shrikhande, (3) Aswant Kher, (4) K.G. Kher, (5) Vasudeo Rao Arhley, (6) Mama Athley, (7) Ballo Hardikar, (8) Basant Deoshkar, (9) Shanker Keshow, (10) Gajanand, (11) Kharker, (12) Shridhar, (13) Shen Raj Singh, (14) Moghe, (15) Babu altas Bhagwant, (16) Rameshwar, son of Kashiram, (17) Shriram son of Vinayak, (18) Bapu son of Shanker Desai, (19) Purshottam Moghe, (20) Adon, Teacher, (21) Madhukar Rao, (22) Chintaman Rao, (23) Premchand, (24) Shambu Jadia, (25) Rameshwar, Sunar, (26) Komalchand Jain, (27) Shambu Dayal, (28) Gulabchand Jain, (29) Jiwan Kadam, (30) Gopal Das Mahant, (31) Lachman Itwari Tori, and (32) Krishna Sewak Parkota.	
2. Cantonment, Saugor	<i>Office-bearers</i> (1) Laxmi Prasad Tiwari of Dhana, at present Saugor (Sar Sangh Chalak) (2) B.L. Saraf, Pleader, Saugor (Sangh Chalak), (3) K.P. Urmul, Pleader, Saugor (Secretary), (4) M.G. Shrawne. Teacher, Moraji High School, Saugor (Chief Physical Instructor) (5) Ram Shanker Pandya, Saugor (Group Leader). (6) Yado Rao Kher, and (7) Mahendra Kumar [(6) and (7) Instructors]. <i>Leading members</i> — (1) Durga Singh, Pleader (2) Ratan Lal Master, (3) Dr Mukharya (4) Baijnath Pathak, and (5) Rathgopal Banke.	Membership about 20. Lathi, sword and dagger exercises practised. Have got uniforms — (1) Khaki shirts, (2) Khaki Knickers (3) Khaki puttis, (4) Black boots (5) Deepblue cap, and (6) Badges (shoulders) which are put on sometimes.
3. Khurai	<i>Office-bearers</i> (1) Sangh Chalak B.L. Saraf. Saugor (2) Vithal Prasad Ramgulam Choube, (3) Secretary — Pannalal Gupta, headmaster, Hindi School, Khurai, and (4) Jagdish Chandra Shrivastava (Leaders of the Sangh at Khurai). <i>Leading members</i> (1) Durgadin, Kayasth, (2) Govind Maheshri, (3) Jamna Prasad Thakur, (4) Shrikrishna Bhatt, (5) Govind Sarvate, (6) Govind Sarvate (7) Badri Prasad, Kayasth (8) Basant Rao Mulley, (9) Gulabchand, Bania (10) Amarnath,	Membership about 27 and school boys. Lathi, drill and marching practised. No uniform.

<i>Location</i>	<i>Office bearers and members</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	Brahman (11) Jamna Prasad Khuredi (12) Kamal chand, Bania (13) Purshottam Tamers, (14) Ramchand, Dhimar (15) Manak Barkur (16) Kundan Barai, (17) Kundan, Teli, (18) Babulal Panwala, (19) Dhanna, Bania (20) Pooran, Rajput, (21) Munnalal, Darji (22) Durga, Darji, and (23) Purshottam Premasker.	
4. Rahatgarh	<i>Office bearers</i> – Kilka Prasad Dube, School Master (Instructor) at present in jail in connection with Congress movement. <i>Leading members</i> – (1) Ramkrishna Brahmin (in jail in connection with present movement) and (2) Panna, Kori (in jail in connection with present movement).	Membership about 32.
5. Banda	<i>Office bearers</i> (1) Munshi Narayan Prasad, Kayasth, Petition-writer, Banda (leader of the Sangh), (2) Nathuram, Lodhi, Malguzar, (3) Gorelal, Sunar, Malguzar, (4) Hargovind Bharbhunja, Malguzar, (5) Baijnath Misar, Malguzar, (6) Raghuber Prasad Vyas, Retired sub-Inspector of Police and Malguzar (7) Nathuram Choudhri and (8) Kanaiyalal Bania. <i>Leading members</i> (1) Raj Bihari Sharma (2) Sunderlal, School Master, (3) Sunderlal Tiwari and (4) Shanker, Lodhi.	Membership about 70. Lathi exercise practised. No uniforms.
6. Bina	<i>Office bearer</i> , Jagshwar Gopal Hardikar (Instructor) <i>Leading members</i> – Nil.	Membership about 10. Lathi drill exercise practised. No Uniform.
7. Jaisinagar	<i>Office bearers</i> (1) Munnalal, Darji (Instructor), and (2) Bhaskar Rao Vakhale (Leader) <i>Leading members</i> – Nil.	Membership about 50. Lathi drill exercise practised. No uniforms.
8. Damoh	<i>Office bearers</i> (1) Leader Kunjbiharilal, Pleader (in jail under section 26. Defence of India Rules), and (2) Shanker Rao. (6) Vinayak Rao Shender, (4) Sita Rao Shende, and (5) Padam Chand, Bania. <i>Leading members</i> (1) Damodhar Bhatt, Teacher, (2) Sita Rao Shende, and (5) Padam Chand Bania.	Membership about 100. Lathi and lezim exercises practised. No uniforms.
9. Patharia	<i>Office bearers</i> – Nil <i>Leading members</i> – Mahadeo Prasad Dube, Physician.	Membership about 8. Lathi and Indian games practised. No uniforms.

Saugor District

Report on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Saugor.

It has come to light at Saugor that one Kesho Sadashco Kher of Gwalior Lashkar is in correspondence with one Vimal S. Pandit, C.O. Shankerrao Deoras Pandit. Mohalla Rampura, Saugor. K.S. Kher has been doing Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh propaganda in and out of Gwalior State. He describes armed violence as the latent principle of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, in attaining Swaraj and 'Quit India'. He has also advocated indirectly the burning of Government buildings and sabotage of railway lines to be the chief function of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. K.S. Kher has even gone to the extent of congratulating Vimal S. Pandit of Saugor, if the latter was in the mob, which burnt Saugor post office. K.S. Kher also proposes to open an institution called 'Abinav Bharat Swaraj Samiti' with its centre at Saugor. Its principle will also be to 'Quit India' and use violence. K.S. Kher also mentioned that Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh claims to be the follower of Sardar Bhagat Singh and Subhas Bose.

Dr Patwardhan of Poona and K.S. Kher of Gwalior intend to be out for enrolling youths for this propaganda work elsewhere and at Saugor.

From the above it transpires that Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh is not only a communal but also a dangerous political body.

B.L. Sharaf is the president of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. As the Sangh is developing into a dangerous political body, in my opinion it would be better if this organization is banned.

List of Office-Bearers and Members

Office-Bearers

- (1) Mr Laxman Prasad Tiwari of Dhana, Chakraghat, Saugor-Head of the Sangh.
- (2) Bhaiyalal Saraf, Pleader, Palotangunj, Saugor-Sangh Chalak.
- (3) K.P. Urmil, Pleader, Jhirna-Secretary.
- (4) M.G. Shrawne, teacher, Moraji School, Saugor-Physical Instructor.
- (5) Ramshanker Pandya, Palotangunj, Saugor-Group Leader.
- (6) K.M. Tole, Laxmipura, Saugor-Leader of the Sangh.

Members and their Residence.

- (1) Manoharrao Shrikhande, Laxmipura.
- (2) Yeswant Keshao Kher, Laxmipura.
- (3) Krishna, son of G.S. Kher, Laxmipura.
- (4) Wasant Deshkar, Laxmipura.
- (5) Wasdeo Athle, Laxmipura.
- (6) Mama Athle, Laxmipura.
- (7) Baloo Haridkar, Laxmipura.
- (8) Shanker, son of Keshao, Laxmipura.
- (9) Gajanand, Laxmipura.
- (10) Karkar Rao, Laxmipura.
- (11) Shridhar Mama, Laxmipura.
- (12) Sheoraj Singh, Laxmipura.
- (13) Moghe Rao, Laxmipura.

- (14) Babu, son of Bagwansingh, Laxmipura.
- (15) Rameshwar Kashiram, Brahmin, Laxmipura.
- (16) Shriram Vinayak Wakhle, Laxmipura.
- (17) Bapu Shanker Desai, Laxmipura.
- (18) Purshottam Moghe, Laxmipura.
- (19) Adoni, Teacher, Laxmipura.
- (20) Madhukar Rao, Laxmipura.
- (21) Chintaman Rao, Laxmipura.
- (22) Premchand, Palotangunj.
- (23) Shamboo Wasco Jadia, Sarafi.
- (24) Rameshwar Munnalal Sunar, Sarafi.
- (25) Balram Hazarilal Jain, Sarafi.
- (26) Komalchand Jain, Sarafi.
- (27) Shamboodayal, Chamelichowk.
- (28) Gulabchand Jain, Chamelichowk.
- (29) Jewan, Kadam Kua.
- (30) Lachhman, Itwari.
- (31) Vishnoo Shewak, Parkota.
- (32) Gopaldass Mahant, Gopalgunj.
- (33) Kunji Kori, Gopalgunj.
- (34) Radhabalabh Bajpai, Gopalgunj.
- (35) Kashiram Kumhar, Gopalgunj.
- (36) Rambharose Gujarja, Sarafi.
- (37) Barelal Janki Bhat, Katra.

Report on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Damoh Started in the year 1938

Organizer-Kunjbeharilal Manmohanlal Guru, Pleader, Damoh (at present in jail in the present movement, under section 26, Defence of India Rules).

Acting Organizer and Sangh Chalak-Shankerrao Balkrishan Tambe, Pleader, Damoh.

Chief Instructors-(1) Damodar Giri Bhatt Vishnu Pant Giri, assistant school master, district council school, Hridayapur, Damoh, (2) Gangdharrao Govindrao, Maharashtra Brahmin, cultivator, Damoh.

Assistant Instructors-(1) Vinayakrao and (2) Sitaram, sons of Pandurang Shende, Vaid, Damoh; (3) Padamchand Pooranchand Seth, Damoh; (4) Bedraj, son of Bhagwandas Dua, private medical practitioner, Damoh, student, matric class, Government High School, Damoh.

Band Master-Mahesh Nathuram Agarwal, Damoh, student, Government High School Damoh.

Funds-About Rs 150 collected by subscriptions.

Members-About 100 including students and others.

Details-This Sangh is a branch of Nagpur Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. On the start it was an ordinary organization but is increasing day by day. Recently two more branches at Patharia and Hatta have been established and a third one is also going to be started at Hindoria. This organization is meant for Hindus only in which all the parties e.g., Hindu Mahasabha, Congress and others are mixed. At present only lathi, lezim and band training is given to the members. The activities are to make the boys bold and courageous. Some of the members have got khaki uniform but at present they are not using it.

Hoshangabad District

No. B-1428, dated Hoshangabad, the 15th November 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Hoshangabad

I forward herewith a statement giving full particulars of the organization of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in this district and its members. There are about 1,000 members for the whole district of the said Sangh. The membership is increasing at Hoshangabad, Timarni, Seeni-Malwa and Gadarwara. Parades are held daily and instructions are given in lathi drill and at some places also in dagger and sword drill. The leading organizers in the district are Govindrao Bhuskute of Timarni, Narayan Prasad Dube of Hoshangabad, Indra Deo Singh of Hoshangabad, R.D. Swami of Gadarwara and Baldeorao Sharma of Gotegaon. Hoshangabad is the only place where the Sangh appears to have ample funds and it is reported that even Government servants have been giving subscriptions.

2. Although the Sub-Divisional Officer, Police, Narsinghpur, reports that the activities of the Sangh are non-violent, the District Superintendent of Police, Hoshangabad, does not agree to this, and I concur with the latter in the view that the Sangh is a potentially dangerous organization which would be difficult to suppress if it started any anti-Government activities. Its members are mostly students of the high school classes in bigger towns. Since the present civil disobedience movement was conducted by the school boys and college students in the province and other provinces, it is not unlikely that, if the movement revives with serious changes in the world situation or in consequence of an enemy attack on India, the Sangh would take part in it and its members would be prepared to use violence. In any case, if there is an outbreak of Hindu-Muslim trouble as a concomitant of a supposed deterioration in the world situation or of a hostile attack on India, the members of the Sangh would come forward to measure their strength against the Muslims and create a problem for the Government. There was a slight indication on the part of this Sangh at Hoshangabad to share in the civil disobedience movement inasmuch as its members were seen with lathis attending some meetings at Hoshangabad at which objectionable speeches were made during the present movement and it was suspected by the Station-House Officer, Hoshangabad, that these persons might use their lathis in case of a dispersal of a meeting with a lathi charge by the police on the failure of the people to disperse.

3. There is a nucleus of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh at Sainkheda also, there being only five members in the Sangh. Ramgulam Dixit of Tumra is the organizer there. For the present this place is excluded from the list. Its progress and activities are, however, being closely watched and further developments will be reported to Government.

<i>Place</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Organizers</i>	<i>Activities</i>
Hoshangabad	150	(1) Narayan Prasad Dube, pleader and (2) Indradeo Singh pleader.	Parades are held twice (morning and evening) daily. They are instructed in lathi, sword and dagger drills, also marching and squads (Gutts), each having ten youths. Membership increasing. No uniforms are worn.
Itarsi	25	M.P. Diwan	They meet irregularly, when only indoor games are played.

Harda	100	(1) Anantram Chaube pleader, and (2) Dinkarrao Benkwar.	Parades are held twice (morning and evening) daily. Instructions are given in lathi and dagger drill, also P.T. No uniforms are worn.
Timarni	100	Govind Rao Buskute	Parades held daily. Lathi drill is taught. No uniforms are worn. Membership increasing.
Seoni-Malwa	100	(1) Govind Rao Bhuskute of Timarni, and (2) Sadasheo Rao, Pleader, of Seoni-Malwa.	Parades held daily. Instructions are given in lathi drill and marching. P.T. is also taught. Membership increasing. No uniform.
Gadarwara	350	(1) R.D. Swami, Pleader, and (2) Rangopal Agnihotri.	Parades held daily. Instructions are given in lathi drill. No uniforms are worn. Membership increasing.
Kareli	50	Seth Tukaram Oswal	No parades have been held since August.
Narsinghpur	100	(1) Mahendra Dutt Sharma, and (2) Seth Motilal.	Parades held daily. Instructions given in lathi drill. No uniforms are worn.
Gotegaon	80	(1) Baldeo Rao Sharma and (2) Ghasiram Jan	Parades held daily. Instructions given in lathi drill. No uniforms are worn. Membership is decreasing.

Nimar District

D.O. No. C-73, dated Khandwa, the 27th December 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Nimar

Please refer to your D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942, regarding the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. I enclose herewith a statement giving the required particulars regarding the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the Nimar district, together with a general appreciation, which has been drawn up by the District Superintendent of Police, with whose conclusions I agree. The Sangh is definitely becoming too powerful to be ignored any longer. The Sangh appears to be steering clear of political activities for the present in order to consolidate its position. After it has done that, it is bound to take part in political activities and will probably act in somewhat the same manner towards the Hindu Mahasabha that the Khaksars did to the Muslim League.

Statement Showing the Particulars Regarding the Activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh

Khandwa Tahsil

Khandwa (S.H. Khandwa)

Leading organizers-Dr Badri Narain Mahodaya, G.L. Bedekar, Pleader D.V. Gokhale, Pleader, and Sohanlal Gupta.

Members - 450.

Pandhana (S.H. Pandhana)

Leading organizers-Basant Kumar Gangrade, Bania, Malguzar, and Sukhlal Sadh, Brahmin, ex-school master.

Members - 130.

3006 *Towards Freedom: 1943-1944*

Diwal (S.H. Pandhana)

Leading organizer-Karan Singh Rajput, Malguzar.

Members - 40.

Ghatakhedi (S.H. Pandhana)

Leading organizer-Daulat Singh Rajput, cultivator.

Members - 26.

Piplod and Rustampur (S.H. Pandhana)

Leading organizers-Anokhilal Rangara and Balkrishan Bania.

Members - 43.

Chhegaon (S.H. Chhegaon)

Leading organizer-Shriniwas Bania, son of Malguzar.

Members - 13.

Ahemedpur (S.H. Chhegaon)

Leading organizer-Beni Prasad, headmaster.

Members - 16

Barud (S.H. Chhegaon)

Member - 10.

Gandhwa (S.H. Piplod)

Leading organizers-Ambalal Pujari, Champalal Gujrati, Malguzar, and Sitaram, son of Patel.

Members - 30.

Rampura (S.H. Piplod)

Leading organizer-Vishwanath Bedekar, Malguzar.

Members - 30.

Burhanpur Tahsil

Burhanpur (S.H. Burhanpur)

Leading organizers-Govindrao Mahajan, Ramchandrarao Jhoke, school master and Balchandrarao Bhuskutte.

Members - 450.

Jainabad (S.H. Burhanpur)

Members - 100.

Loni (S.H. Burhanpur)

Members - 75.

Shahpur (S.H. Shahpur)

Leading organizers-Sheokumar Singh, Sarpanch, and Vishnu Kulkarni.

Members - 50.

Ichhapur (S.H. Shahpur)

Leading organizers-Rajaram Pitare and Shanker, Brahmin.

Members - 50.

Phopnar Kalan (S.H. Shahpur)

Leading organizers-Rajaram Gujar, Laxman Gujar, Meharbansingh Master, Sitaram Patel and Bhagwan Mahajan.

Members – 60.

Chapora (S.H. Shahpur)

Leading organizers-Deochand Maheshwari, Bapu, Brahmin and Shriram Maratha.

Members – 25.

Dapora (S.H. Shahpur)

Leading organizers-Rajaram Gujar and Raghunath Gujar.

Members – 60.

Nachankhera (S.H. Shahpur)

Leading organizers-Sitaram Gujar, Jiwanram Gujar and Tukaram Gujar.

Members – 50.

Sarola (S.H. Shahpur)

Leading organizers-Rambhau Kunbi, Jatan Kulati, Kanu Sunar and Nathu Mahajan.

Members – 50.

Harsud Tahshil

Harsud (S.H. Harsud)

Leading organizers-Vishwanath Bedekar, Malguzar of Rampura, S.H. Piplod, Trimbak Jumde of Wardha and Ramchandra Gupta, son of a merchant.

Members – 110.

Mundi, Bir, Dudhwas and Mohad (S.H. Mundi)

Leading organizers-Mangilal Seth, Malguzar, Anokhilal Teli, Malguzar, Umrao Mali, Siwa Brahmin, Narayanprasad, assistant master, Mulkraj Punjabi Thekedar, Bir, and Ramratan Brahmin.

Members – 300.

Jawar (S.H. Jawar)

Leading organizer-Hiraji Bharud.

Members – 25.

Bhamgarh (S.H. Jawar)

Leading organizers-Rao Bhimsingh, Malguzar and Mangilal Bania.

Members – 150

General appreciation: Expansion is proceeding apace and the members in general attend the meetings assiduously. Most of the village branches are not properly organized, and all the persons who attend the classes have not been formally enrolled. The approximate numbers of men and boys who actually take part in the proceedings have been given. A good number of villagers no doubt send their sons to attend the classes to derive the benefits of physical training, without fully realising the implication of what the organization stands for. The training imparted includes lathi drill, physical exercises, games, wrestling, *lezim*, etc. A very fair state of proficiency in lathi drill has been attained at the chief centres. At certain centres sword and spear drill is also taught. Should the organization ever be used as an instrument of force to further any political campaign it would be likely to offer fairly strong resistance in those centres where it is well organized and its members systematically trained. The Sangh is influential

with Maharashtrian and Marwadi classes in particular and educated Hindus in general. Its membership includes many Congress-minded persons. The organization is not yet dangerous but it is progressing towards a point where it may become so. A good deal of secrecy is observed about the meetings and conferences. Funds of the whole district organization probably amount to something less than Rs 1,000. The restrictions with regard to drill and uniform are observed, but these do not appear altogether adequate to encompass the object in view and it may become wise to clip the wings of this Sangh further to prevent it from eventually blossoming into something akin to a political army.

Mandla District

D.O. No. C-672 of 1942, dated Mandla, the 5th November 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Mandla

Kindly refer to your D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942. I herewith enclose a statement furnished by the District Superintendent of Police after enquiry showing full particulars of the organization of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the Mandla district. The institution here is a very poor show and its activities are chiefly confined to the physical training of boys. The members have directions not to take part in the subversive activities. So far, I did not find this institution taking any part in active politics.

Statement Showing the Organization of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Mandla

Where located-Mandla.

When established-In 1942.

President and Secretary-Nilkanth Shridco Dixit.

Vice-President-Gangadhar Shesrao Pande.

Members-35.

Object ostensible and real-To give training in lathi, kathi and other physical games.

The organizer of this Sangh is Vidyadhar, son of Ganeshdeo of Dhantoli, Nagpur, and he is here for this work for the last three months. He is assisted in work by Nilkanth Dixit, Ishwari Prasad and Keshco Prasad, the persons of ordinary status of Mandla proper. The Sangh has no funds. The uniform of the volunteers is consisted of Khaki shorts, white shirts, black cap and a brass badge with 'R.S.S.' letters. This badge is worn on right shoulder. The uniform is supplied by the member himself. The principal activity of the Sangh is to train the boys in lathi, kathi and other Indian games with a view to improve their health and to protect themselves when they are attacked. The members assemble in the evening in Sanskrit Pathshala to receive training and for this training the members bring their own sticks. The Sangh has no influence or importance at this place.

Raipur District

D.O. No. 1062, dated Raipur, the 26th October 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Raipur

Please refer to your strictly secret D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942. The District Superintendent of Police, Raipur, has obtained a report from the Local Intelligence Branch on the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. I attach a copy of the report herewith.

2. The Sangh was organized in this district in 1931 at the instance of leading Maharashtrians. The office-bearers are as follows:

District President	Dr Baldeo Prasad Mishra (ex-Diwan, Raigarh State).
Town President	Mr P. Bhaduri, Advocate, Raipur.
General Secretary	Shri Hari Sudarshanwar, Pleader, Raipur.
Joint Secretary	K.M. Munshi, science teacher, Laurie Municipal High School, Raipur.
Organizers	M.R. Munje (for the whole Chhattisgarh Division), and Eknath Ranade (for the Hindi Mahakoshal).
Preceptor (Guru)	M.I. Golwalkar, Nagpur.
Promoters	(a) S.K. Bose, contractor, Raipur, (b) Brijbhushanlal, Raipur, and (c) Trivenilal Shrivastava, Pleader, Dhamtari.

The exact membership in the whole district is not definitely known but in Raipur town it is believed to be 800 and the Sangh has branches in 12 wards of the town.

3. The office-bearers at Dhamtari are:

President	Hirjibhai.
Vice-President	Trivenilal Shrivastava, Pleader.
Secretary and	
Instructor	G.R. Padole.

The membership in Dhamtari town is believed to be about 300. The Dhamtari branch is reported to be active and 7 members have been arrested during the present Civil Disobedience movement.

4. The office-bearers at Mahasamund are:

President	Shridhar Roy, Pleader.
Instructor	Narayanrao Khandekar.

The membership of the Sangh in this town is believed to be 20 only.

5. At Arang (an important village about 22 miles from Raipur) there is a branch of the Sangh and the officer-bearers are-

President	Bhagirathi Agarwal.
Vice-President	Umashankar Agarwal.
Secretary	Rambhajanlal.
Treasurer	Bhagirathi.

The membership of this branch is believed to be about 60.

6. At Sihawa (a notorious tract of Dhamatri tahsil) there are reported to be 10 members while at Bhatapara, Baloda Bazâr, Mullu (Arang) and Kurud there are 10 to 20 members at each place.

7. At the present moment the activities of the Sangh are not conspicuous but there is no doubt that if the communal situation deteriorates this institution will rapidly thrive as it is an anti-Muslim organization with almost the declared aim of having the whole of Hindustan for Hindus.

8. Physical training of younger members of the Sangh continues in Raipur and they are reported to own a band as well. An officers' training class consisting of about 265 members from Jubbulpore, Chhindwara and the Chhattisgarh Division was held at Raipur for a month from the 4th May 1942. Dr Baldeo Prasad Mishra, President, and S.H. Sudarshanwar, General Secretary of the Sangh, had organized the class. Prakash Chandra Bhargava, Advocate, of Delhi, presided over the function of the last day and several speeches were delivered at an audience of about 500 (including 300 volunteers). The Hindus were exhorted to unite and to increase the membership of the Sangh.

9. Enquiries are being made in the interior to collect further details about the membership

of the organization in important villages. When the information is available, a further report will be submitted.

Report of the Local Intelligence Branch, Raipur, dated the 24th October 1942 on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the Raipur district

[Omitted: First para which repeats para 2 of the Dy Commissioner's letter above, and the list of office bearers is already given above – Ed.]

The office-bearers and promoters are men of considerable local influence in the Hindu society and have political leanings towards the Hindu Mahasabha, although they have remained aloof from the Congress civil disobedience movement, yet their sympathies are latent. The Sangh claims to be a body independent of the Hindu Mahasabha but it may be recalled that in 1932 the All-India Hindu Mahasabha gave official recognition to the Sangh, after which it became an all-India organization and practically a Hindu Sabha institution.

The membership in Raipur town alone is about 800 and its branches are located in 12 different wards (mohallas). Of these, are the most important, Budhapara, and Tatyapara, as these localities are populated mostly by Maharashtrians and middle-class Hindus.

The ramifications in the interior of the district with details of each are given below, except Dhamtari, Mahasamund and Arang where governing bodies control the branches; the remaining ones are in charge of trainers only:

- I. Dhamtari-Established in 1939; president-Hirjibhai; vice-president-T.I. Shrivastava, Pleader; secretary and instructor – G.R. Padole; membership – 300. It has got four sub-branches-(i) Mukhya Shakha (main branch), (ii) Up-Shakha, (iii) Prabhat Shakha (morning branch), and (iv) Ratri Shakha (night branch). Then again, each of these Shakhas has 4 classes-(i) Shishu (children), (ii) Baltoli (up to age of 15 years), (iii) Taruntoli (adults up to the age of 35 years), and (iv) Vriddhatoli (old persons). This branch is very much active and 7 members have been arrested during the present civil disobedience movement under rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules.
- II. Mahasamund. – Established in 1942; president – Shridhar Roy, Pleader; instructor – Narayanrao Khandekar; membership-about 20.
- III. Arang – Established in 1942; president – Bhagirathi Agarwal; vice-president – Uma Shankar Agarwal; secretary – Rambhajan Lal; treasurer – Bhagirathi; membership – about 60.
- IV. Nagri(Sihawa) – Membership – about 10.
- V. Bhatapara – Membership – 20.
- VI. Baloda Bazar – Membership – 15.
- VII. Khariar Road – Membership – not known.
- VIII. Komakhan – Membership – not known.
- IX. Mullu (Arang) – Membership – 10.
- X. Kurud – Membership – 10.

Aims and Objects: Ostensible object is to impart physical training to the Hindu youths and to make them strong and healthy. Real object seems to be different. The underlying motive is to organize the Hindu youths to defend the community against the Muslims' attacks and to win independence for Hindus and restore India to her ancient glories. It is an anti-Muslim organization, aiming at the exclusive supremacy of the Hindus.

Physical Training: The volunteers of the Sangh are daily exercised in *lexim*, *lathi*, dagger,

sword and military drill. The Sangh owns a band consisting of drums, trumpets, flutes, bugles and bagpipes. The volunteers are trained to play on them. The complete course extends over three years. Since the orders of the Government they are complying with the restriction and their policy, at present, as reported, as is not go against the Government regulations.

Mental Training: Mental training classes are also held from time to time suiting the convenience of the different type of volunteers like students, labourers, etc., and the volunteers are taught, besides discipline, to maintain their religion and the prestige of Hindu India and to worship their heroes like Shivaji and Maharana Pratap Singh, who by their bravery and efforts had established Hindu Kingdom by defeating the Muslims. Their present programme is to increase the membership and open branches of the Sangh in the rural areas-for which workers have been trained-and to organize the Hindus so that they may be able to defend themselves at the time of internal chaos.

Pledge and Prayer: Every member of the Sangh is required to enter into a written pledge and to take oath before Almighty God that he has become a member of the Sangh and would endeavour to gain freedom for Hindu nation and maintain without violating his sacred Hindu religion, Hindu society and Hindu culture and perform his duties honestly with heart and soul. The prayer is national and on Hindu style for the prosperity of the Hindu community and nation.

Bhagwa Jhanda: They hoist an ochre-coloured flag (Bhagwa Jhanda) at the time of their prayer, parades and other ceremonial occasions. It may be recalled that this flag, at one time, was used by the great warrior Shivaji.

Uniform: It consists of khaki shirts, shorts, hoses, pattis and military boots with leather belts with brass buckles. The badges 'R.S.S.' are also fixed on the shoulder flaps. The head-gear consists of a black folding cap (like forage cap). Volunteers carry a stout lathi. The officers wear cross belts but this practice has since been given up as also the marching in military formation. In short, the dress resembles that of an Indian sepoy.

Funds: These are collected generally on Guru Purnima day celebrations falling some time in the month of every August. The Hindu idea is that every student or disciple should remunerate his Guru (teacher) for the learning imparted to him. The last Guru Purnima falling on 27th September 1942 fetched nearly about Rs 1,500. Sum is not fixed and every one contributes according to his status. Besides this, donations are also accepted from well-to-do persons.

Officers Training: An officers' training class consisting of 265 members drawn from Chhattisgarh, Chhindwara and Jubbulpore was held at Raipur from 4th May to 4th June 1942 under the supervision of Dr Baldeo Prasad Mishra and S.H. Sudarshanwar the general secretary of the Sangh. At the closing function held under the presidency of Prakash Chandra Bhargava, Advocate of Delhi, speeches were delivered by several speakers in the presence of 300 volunteers and 200 Hindus, laying stress on organization of the sangh, increasing the membership and unity of the Hindu society.

Celebrations: The Sangh celebrates annually the following festivals:

- (1) Hindu New Year's Day - In April.
- (2) Guru Purnima Day - In August.
- (3) Raksha Bandhan - In July.
- (4) Dasehra - In October.
- (5) Ramdas Nawami - On the birthday of Shivaji.

General Remarks: The membership is gradually increasing and efforts are being made by

the promoters to raise up the number of volunteers. The volunteers are well disciplined and smartly turned out on ceremonial occasions. Although the policy at present is not to come into conflict with the Government, yet the Sangh, beyond doubt, remains potentially dangerous. About 7 members of the Sangh individually participated in the present civil disobedience movement and have been jailed under rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Bilaspur District

D.O. No. 327, dated Bilaspur, the 10th November 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur

Please refer to your strictly secret D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942, regarding Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

2. I furnish particulars regarding membership, etc., of the Sangh in the statement below. The Sangh is run by the following office-bearers, who are men of considerable local influence. Politically all of them are Hindu Mahasabhaites and have no sympathies for National Congress. During the present subversive movement of the Congress they kept themselves aloof. In fact, Mr T.Y. Dehankar, the president of the Sangh, who is also the president of the municipal committee, Bilaspur, was of much help to me during the recent disturbances and he did all that was in his power to put down the student-trouble. At my request he influenced his party to pass a resolution to the effect that the committee had not objection to the removal of the Congress flag from the Town Hall and the flag was accordingly removed:

- (1) President Mr T.Y. Dehankar, Advocate, Bilaspur.
- (2) Secretary Mr P.H. Sant, Bilaspur. Is local medical practitioner and secretary of the Indian Red Cross Society.
- (3) Joint Secretary
and Treasurer Mr R.A. Nulkar, Pleader, Bilaspur.

3. The Sangh is in existence in this district from 1929. It was started here by the local Maharashtra community with a view to improving the health of the youths of the Hindu community. The Sewaks of the Sangh are now taught physical exercise, lathi drill and discipline.

4. The Sewaks are also instructed to maintain their religion, prestige of the Hindu India and to worship great men of the land, like Shivaji, Maharana Pratap Singh and others. Every volunteer of the Sangh is required to enter into a written pledge and he takes a religious oath that he, as a member of the Sangh, would endeavour to do his duties to the best of his ability, to win freedom for the Hindu nation and maintain it without violating the sacred principles of the Hindu religion and Hindu culture. At the time of the religious ceremonies and prayers the Sangh hoists an ochre-coloured flag (Bhagwa Jhanda). The Sangh observes the following religious festivals, at which they hold parades and have short speeches on the occasion:

- (1) Hindu New Year Day-In April.
- (2) Guru Purnima-In August.
- (3) Rakshabhandhan-In July.
- (4) Dasehra-In October.
- (5) Ramdas Nawami-On the Birthday of Shivaji.

Funds are collected from time to time from well-to-do persons for the use of the Sangh.

5. The members of the Sangh use uniforms consisting of khaki shorts, shirts, hoses, patts, belts with brass buckles and boots. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh badge is fixed on

shoulder flaps. The head-gear consists of a black folding cap. In D.O. No. 1111-853-Con., dated the 4th July 1942, Government asked me not to take objection to the wearing of such uniform by the members of the Sangh.

Statement Showing Particulars Regarding Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and Its Branches in Bilaspur District, 1942

Name with location and number of members.

R.S.S.S. (S.H. Bilaspur)

Chatapara branch – About 125.

Sarkanda branch – 50.

Gondpara branch – 75.

Kududand branch – 20.

Juna Bilaspur branch – 150.

Normal School branch – 30.

Railway Settlement branch – 50.

Jagmal Kholi branch – 25.

Vyayamshala, a branch of the R.S.S.S. (S.H. Hirri), Belha – 7.

R.S.S.S. (S.H. Kota), Ganiyari – 20.

Maharashtra Mandal, a branch of the R.S.S.S. (S.H. Ratanpur) Ratanpur

R.S.S.S. (S.H. Mungeli)

Mungeli branch – 100.

Karhi branch – 20.

R.S.S.S. (S.H. Pandaria), Pandaria – 30

R.S.S.S. (S.H. Janjgir) –

Akaltara branch – 150

V. Baloda branch – 50.

R.S.S.S. (S.H. Champa), Champa branch – 25.

Its ostensible object is to impart physical training to the Hindu youths and to make them strong and healthy. Real object seems to be different. The underlying motive is to organize the Hindu youths to defend the community against the Muslims' attacks and to win independence for Hindus and restore India to her ancient glories. It is an anti-Muslim organization aiming at the exclusive supremacy of the Hindus. The funds amount to about Rs 600 for the district. Its activities are at present non-violent. The organization represents Hindus.

Note: The District Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh is intending to open its branches at Sheorinarayan (where they have started their work), Tarod (S.H. Pamgarh), Purah (S.H. Mungeli), Takhatpur, Deori, and Birkona (S.H. Bilaspur), Hardi, Mopka and V. Sakri (S.H. Bilaspur). At some places they have started their work, but have not yet formed a regular branch.

Balaghat District

D.O., dated Balaghat, the 14th November 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Balaghat

In reply to your D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942, I enclose a copy of a statement received from the District Superintendent of Police. I agree with the District Superintendent of Police that the organization needs watching. Recently they had a big meeting at Katangi attended by people from Balaghat and Seoni. The object of this meeting is not known. It came to notice during the disturbances that a certain mine foreman at important

Bharweli manganese mine (4 miles from Balaghat) was a ghat-naik of the Balaghat branch of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

<i>Place</i>	<i>No. of members</i>	<i>Names of office bearers</i>	<i>Its leading organizers</i>
1. Balaghat	150	P.R. Deopujari Pleader, Balaghat (Jila Sangh Sangh chalak)	(1) M.R. Waikar, Pleader, Balaghat, (2) S.V. Indurkar, Pleader, Balaghat, (3) P.S. Harkare, Balaghat, and (4) W.N. Kelkar, Pleader, Balaghat.
2. Lalbarra	11	B.R. Waikar	(1) B.R. Waikar and (2) N.R. Pendharkar
3. Waraseoni	40	P.R. Deopujari Pleader, Balaghat	Krishnaji, son of Ithobaji, Koshti.
4. Katangi	40	(1) Ramkrishna Bholaram Gupta and (2) Lunkaran Nemichand Oswal (Cashier)	(1) Ramkrishna Bholaram Gupta and (2) Lunkaran, Nemichand Oswal.

Nature of activities — Indian outdoor games. Lathi drill and physical exercises.

Note: Although it has branches at Balaghat, Lalbarra, Waraseoni and Katangi the funds (Rs 150) are only at the last named station house which is its only stronghold. Outwardly there has been nothing lately to arouse suspicion about the bona fides of the organization though a watch over the movements of its leading organizers appears highly desirable. The organization may take a dangerous turn.

Drug District

D.O. No. 572, dated Drug, the 21st November 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Drug

I submit herewith a copy of the District Superintendent of Police's report which gives the required information about the organization of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in this district, its membership and the local leading organizers.

2. It will be seen from the District Superintendent of Police's report that it is only at Bemetara that a small branch of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has been established last year by a teacher from Nagpur with a membership of 15 school boys and the local organizers are Mr Thoke, Pleader, and his son who are its president and secretary, respectively. At Drug there is no regular branch of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh as such and attempts to establish one have not so far been successful owing to lack of local interest. About a dozen boys are being given training in physical drill.

Report, dated the 17th November 1942, of the District Superintendent of Police, Drug

At Drug proper no branch of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was ever organized although some members of this organization from outside visited Drug in the past and tried to collect subscriptions and enlist members but failed as local persons did not take any interest in the work. About four months ago it was proposed to call Dr Munje for establishing a branch at Drug but for want of local support nothing could be done. Recently one Kesho Narhari Gore, a boy aged about 25, who is a member of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh of the Bilaspur Branch, came to Drug and has succeeded in collecting about 12 to 15 boys who are being

given training in physical drill. These boys have neither uniforms nor badges of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. No subscription has been collected and there have been no recent activities of any kind. One Eknath Ranade of Nagpur who is said to be the chief organizer of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh for Mahakoshal Division visits this place occasionally.

2. At Bemetara (tahsil) a small branch of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was established last year by J.T. Joshi, headmaster of a private school of Nagpur, who visited Bemetara and stayed with his father-in-law, Mr L.Y. Katolkar (Tahsildar), Bemetara. Since then about 15 small school boys who are supposed to be the members of this Sangh are receiving physical training given by one Pandulal, school master, and a school boy by name Mulidass Bairagi who got the training at Raipur. K.S. Thoke, Pleader, is the president of this organization and his son, S.K. Thoke, is the secretary. There have been no recent activities.

3. There is no branch of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh at Balod.

4. Reports from other station houses also show that no such organizations exist anywhere.

5. As information in this connection had to be called from station houses, this report could not be sent earlier.

Bhandara District

Con. No. 12, dated Camp Gondia, the 13th January 1943, from the Deputy Commissioner, Bhandara

Kindly refer to Political and Military Department D.O. No. 1465-890-Con. of the 19th October 1942 regarding particulars of the organization of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in this district. The information will be found in the statements below. Mr Vinayak Damodhar Kolte, Advocate, Bhandara, is the chief man in the district.

I. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Bhandara

Membership 200.

Office-bearers:-

President Mr Vinayak Damodhar Kolte, Advocate.

Vice-President Mr Nanaji Joshi.

Secretary Mr Ganpatrao Deo, Pleader.

Names of important Sangh members

- (1) Mr Gajanan Deo, Pleader, Bhandara.
- (2) Mr Anantrao Sathe, teacher, Shri Ganesh High School, Bhandara.
- (3) Mr Bedekar, teacher, Shri Ganesh High School, Bhandara.
- (4) Mr Chande, teacher, Shri Ganesh High School, Bhandara.
- (5) Mr S.G. Pathak, Pleader, Bhandara.
- (6) Mr D.V. Chepey, Pleader, Bhandara.
- (7) Mr Trimbak Hirdey, Bhandara.
- (8) Mr Purshottam Apte, Bhandara.
- (9) Mr Gangadhar Vinayak Tilak, Bhandara.
- (10) Dr Gopal Ramchandra Wyawahare.
- (11) Mr Annaji Subhedar, Pleader, Bhandara.
- (12) Mr Dattatraya Gopal Ranade, Pleader.
- (13) Mr Atmaram Maroti Markandewar.

Numbers (2), (3) and (4) who are teachers of the Shri Ganesh High School are training instructors. Non-brahmins do not take part in any Sangh affair. A small number of boys attend

ordinary drill and Indian games, occasionally in the morning or evening without uniform or lathi. Rallies were held in 1940 and 1941 but not in 1942.

II. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Adyar

Membership	25
Officer-bearers — President and Treasurer	Mr Vishwanath Laxman Patel.
Organizer and Commander	Mr Vasant Bhagirath Shrungar, Pawar.

Names of important Sangh members

- (1) Mr Motiram Bajirao Deshmukh.
- (2) Mr Maroti Kalar.
- (3) Mr Nilkanth, tailor.
- (4) Mr Gangadhar Patel.
- (5) Mr Vithoba Dalal.
- (6) Mr Balaji, Kunbi, Munim.
- (7) Mr Sitaram, B.A.
- (8) Mr Jaikrishna Nawre, Headmaster.
- (9) Mr Sitaram Sangitwar.
- (10) Mr Narayan Pitu Dalal.
- (11) Mr Deshmukh.
- (12) Mr Tiwari.
- (13) Mr Motiram Sende.
- (14) Mr Dhargawe.
- (15) Mr Jagannath Raut.
- (16) Mr Nimaji.
- (17) Mr Govinda Bhuiyar.
- (18) Mr Jagannath Bhuiyar.
- (19) Mr Bhagwat.
- (20) Mr Rajaram Gajawe.
- (21) Mr Anandrao Potwar.

Numbers (8) to (21) are teachers of the local school.

The Sangh has uniform, lathis and bugle, but these are not used at present. They play country games. This branch was intending to participate in the August disturbances and for doing so they had raised a sum of Rs 200 by private collections. Their president, Vishwanath Patel, having died, they abandoned the idea; they have deposited Rs 200 in the temple funds. These members are likely to participate in anti-Government movements in future. The president and the organizer are active members and have Congress leanings.

III. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Lakhani

Membership	20
Officer-bearers —	
President —	Parashram Govind Lakhnikar, B.A.
Vice-President —	Mr Vaidya, teacher, Samarth School.
(Both of them are also instructors.)	

Names of important members

- (1) Mr Pandhari Nanaji Kalal, teacher, primary school.

- (2) Mr Ramchandra Balaji Dhenge, Kalal.
- (3) Mr Narad Gopal, Kalal.
- (4) Mr Takaram Mahadeo, Baraj.
- (5) Mr Govinda Dhumre. Sunar, teacher.
- (6) Mr Lalchand Munnalal, Bania.
- (7) Mr Narayan Balaji Dhenge, Kalal.
- (8) Mr Sudalwar, Brahain, Hindi Middle Primary school.
- (9) Mr Sakharam Arjun Nerwage, P.M. Pohra school
- (10) Mr Nago Govinda, teacher, Amgaon school.
- (11) Mr Ratiram Nabha, Kunbi, tailor.
- (12) Mr Wasudeo Ganu Bhanarkar, Barai.
- (13) Mr Shreeram Krishan Jhalke, Kunbi.
- (14) Mr Khushal Patiram Patel, Kirad.
- (15) Mr Laxman Doma, Kalar, student.
- (16) Mr Yado Govinda, Teli, student.

This branch is under the general supervision of Mr V.D. Kolte, vice-president of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh of the Bhandara district. It is under the direct supervision of Mr D. Gaikwad, Pleader, of Sakoli, who very often runs down to the place for giving instructions. Students of the local school numbering 36 attend the Sangh exercises on the ground near the rest-house. It is learnt that this branch has got 10 swords, lathis, daggers, and bugles but none of these are used for training at present. Subscriptions are collected for purchasing things required. The branch here has not been very active as Lakhani which is a big village has four distinct parties namely that of Depressed Classes, that of Telis, that of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and that of Musalmins. All these parties are at loggerhead. The president is an active member of the Hindu Mahasabha. He established a Samarth High School (unrecognized) at Lakhani. This branch is not likely to side the Congress but by itself it may prove dangerous.

IV. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Gadegaon (Sakoli tahsil)

Membership 20

Officer-bearers —

President Shankar Singh Dhanraj Singh, Rajput.

Names of important members

- (1) Mr Sardar Singh, Rajput.
- (2) Mr Chandulal Dhanraj Singh, Rajput.
- (3) Mr Khushal Patiram Patel, Kirad.
- (4) Mr Bakaram Kuthe.

This branch was started by Parashram Govind Lakhanikar, president of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Lakhani. It was formed only last year. Every evening trained members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh at Lakhani visit this village to give the boys physical training. They meet in the house of one Khushal Patiram Patel. This branch is subordinate to the Lakhani branch and acts according to the instructions of the president of that branch. By itself it has been so far harmless.

V. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Sakoli

Membership 25.

Office-bearers

President Mr R.D. Gaikwad, Pleader.

Secretary Mr Shankar Singh *alias* Kawadu Singh, son of Bhagwan Singh.

Names of important members

- (1) Mr Balaji Ghadhey, Muktiar.
- (2) Mr Ramchandra Joshi, teacher.
- (3) Mr Paiku Somaji Gadre, teacher.
- (4) Mr Adku Somaji Gadre, teacher
- (5) Mr Munishwar, teacher.
- (6) Mr Dhonge, headmaster.
- (7) Mr G.A. Bhandari, Pleader.
- (8) Mr Ranade, Pleader.
- (9) Mr Mondhey, Attorney.
- (10) Mr Nirwan, teacher.
- (11) Mr M.M. Luley, pound-inspector.
- (12) Mr Dirjisao, son of Dillisao, Kalar.
- (13) Mr Vithal Sheoji, petition-writer.
- (14) Mr Dullu Singh, son of Sukal Singh.
- (15) Mr Nathu, petition-writer.
- (16) Mr Kunji Singh.

This branch trains school boys in lathi exercise on the school ground. Small subscriptions are collected from the boys under training. It is learnt that the Sangh has got spears, daggers and lathis but these are not brought out.

VI. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Gondia

Membership 350

Office-bearers

President and treasurer Mr Kesharao Khanderao Kulkarni, Pleader.

Vice-President Mr Mardikar, petition-writer.

Secretary Mr Dhaindharao Tankhewala, Pleader.

Commander Mr Narayan Hari Telang, Pleader.

Names of important members

- (1) Mr Oudha Bihari of Deshbandhu ward, Gondia, owner of elephant brand oil tank.
- (2) Mr W.A. Limaye, Pleader U.T.C.
- (3) Mr P.R. Joshi, Pleader.
- (4) Mr Deshpande, Pleader.
- (5) Mr D.M. Kolte, Pleader.
- (6) Mr S.G. Bapat, Pleader U.T.C.
- (7) Mr K.K. Verma, headmaster.
- (8) Mr W.G. Sarolkar.
- (9) Mr S.K. Baikar, teacher, Samarth High School.
- (10) Mr Pathak, Panvel agent.
- (11) Mr Phophle, lathi instructor.
- (12) Mr Deshpande, reporter and municipal member.

- (13) Mr Punjiyabhai, partner of Chhotabhai Jethabhai Bidi Factory.
- (14) Mr Manoharbai, partner of Chhotabhai Jethabhai Bidi Factory.
- (15) Mr Ganpati Pachunde, dismissed railway clerk.
- (16) Mr Bansi, son of Surajmal, Kerosene oil tank owner.

Mr Narayan Hari Telang, a pleader, who is commander with the branch, looks after its management. Two years back, Mr Telang was living at Bhandara. He was an active member of the Bhandara branch. During the August disturbances he used to visit Nagpur and Bhandara for instructions. Subscriptions are collected for this branch. It is understood that the branch has got lathis, daggers, spears, swords and bugles but these are not brought out. It is also understood that at times they exercise with these weapons secretly in the compound of Mr S.R. Bapat. This body is not very active and all of them cannot make up their mind to join political activities.

VII. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Tirora

Membership	250
Office-bearers	
President	Ambadaspant Aloni, Malguzar.
Vice-President	Mr Ramratan Pandit (in jail).
Secretary	Mr Ganpatrao Kadwa, Kunbi, headmaster, middle school.
Instructors	Mr Mene, assistant teacher, and Mr Peshkar, assistant teacher.

Names of important members

- (1) Mr Damodarpani Aloni.
- (2) Mr Balmukund Dixit.
- (3) Mr Ambalal Pujari (in jail).
- (4) Mr Jangade, teacher.
- (5) Mr Lautare, teacher.
- (6) Mr Wairangade, teacher.

Tirora is a bad Congress centre and though this branch did not participate in the August disturbances, it is potentially dangerous. Tirora is a big place and has a large student population and this branch has influence with the students. Subscriptions are collected.

VIII. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Tumsar

Membership	50
Office-bearers	
President	Shaligram Chaurasia, Medical Store.
Vice-President	Mr Maroti Bansod, Mahar, of Deohari.
Secretary	Mr Kaloolal Halwai, of Tumsar.

Names of important members

- (1) Mr Tulsiram, Teli.
- (2) Mr Balkrishan, Gaudi.
- (3) Mr Haribhau Badwaik.
- (4) Mr Kashigir, Gosain.
- (5) Mr Sitaram, Teli.

- (6) Mr Dasaram, Teli.
- (7) Mr Bala, Teli.
- (8) Mr Narsingdas Fatechand, Marwari.
- (9) Mr Govinda Lakhu, Teli.
- (10) Mr Tukaram, Teli.

Numbers (3) to (7) and (9) and (10) are in jail.

Seth Fatechand of Tumsar had established this branch and gives it considerable financial assistance. One Biharilal Patel, a person who has been arrested during the last disturbances and who took part in damaging causeways at Mohadi, has influence with these members. The branch trains local youngmen in the use of lathis, swords, daggers and spears. Some of the members participated in the August movement but they gave up immediately after the mob was fired at on the 14th August 1942.

Amraoti District

No. 42-C, dated Amraoti Camp, the 12th January 1943, from the Deputy Commissioner, Amraoti

I forward herewith a copy of a report on the activities and organization of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the Amraoti district just received from the District Superintendent of Police. The district police have had their hands full in connection with prosecutions arising out of the disturbances, crop thefts, and price control administration; hence the delay in submission of this report.

Report, dated the 12th January 1943, from the District Superintendent of Police, Amraoti, on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the Amraoti district

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh is very well organized and there are at present in this district about 55 branches in Amraoti, Loni, Paratwada, Morsi, Ellichpur, Chandur Railway, Dattapur, Warud, Kurha, Daryapur, Talegaon, Mahuli, Pathrot, Nandgaon, Teosa, Badnera, Mangrul, Rahimapur, Anjangaon, Sirasgaon, Assegaon and Khallar ranges. At present the membership is believed to be about 3,750 and is increasing. The financial position of the organization is fairly sound though some of the smaller branches are said to have little or no funds.

The members of the Sangh practise Indian games and lathi play and the standard of drill of some of the bigger branches is definitely good. Recently there has been increased activity the reason for which is not definitely known. One explanation is that at the time of his death the late Dr Hedgewar had laid down that 3 per cent of Hindus living in towns and 1 per cent of Hindus living in villages should be enlisted as members of the Sangh and that therefore efforts are being made to bring enlistments up to these proportions. At present there is no reason to surmise that the members of the Sangh are being trained for any purpose other than to protect Hindus and their interests in the event of serious communal strife. During the Congress rebellion a few members of the Sangh took part in acts of sabotages, etc., but as a whole the organization kept aloof.

Recent activities of the Sangh have included camps held at Daryapur, Ellichpur, Amraoti and Dhamangaon at which volunteers were given instructions in drill and in leadership. It is reported that at all of these camps Government restrictions were duly observed.

The district organizer is Rao Bahadur R.M. Khare who is known as a loyal friend of Government. The names of other influential organizers in the district are as follows:

- (1) Shankar Daulat Gupte, Pleader of Amraoti.
- (2) Laxman Ramkrishna More of Amraoti.
- (3) Damodhar Shivram Shekdar of Amraoti.
- (4) Ganesh Rangnath Bhoot, Pleader of Amraoti.
- (5) Ganesh Sheshrao Jadhao, Pleader of Amraoti.
- (6) Devidas Prahlad Pathak of Amraoti.
- (7) Ramrao Raghunath Sardeshpande of Amraoti.
- (8) Janardhan Eknath Adasad of Dhamangaon.
- (9) Prabhakar Shankar Joshi of Dhamangaon.
- (10) Gajanan Anant Jog of Dattapur.
- (11) Purshottam Labhachand Rathi of Dattapur.
- (12) Laxman Janardhan Khare, Pleader of Daryapur.
- (13) Dr Pandurang Tukaram Havre of Babhali, S.H. Daryapur.
- (14) Haribhai Chowkhade, Pleader of Daryapur.
- (15) Dattatraya Laxman Chitale, Pleader of Daryapur.
- (16) Kesheo Ganesh Abhyankar, Pleader of Paratwada.
- (17) Govind Narhar Kanetkar, Pleader of Paratwada.
- (18) Anant Ambadas Deshpande, teacher of Paratwada.
- (19) Jaikrishna Rajaram Joshi of Ellichpur.
- (20) Laxman Narayan Jugade of Ellichpur.
- (21) Eknath Namdeo Thakre of Ellichpur.

Akola District

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Branches</i>	<i>Strength</i>	<i>Increasing or not</i>	<i>Financial position</i>
1.	Akola	800	Increasing	Sound
2.	Murtizapur	450	Increasing	Ordinary
3.	Karanja	75	Stationary	Fair
4.	Borgaon	-	-	-
5.	Khadka	160	Increasing	Unsound
6.	Goregaon	-	-	-
7.	Palso	-	-	-
8.	Akot	200	Not increasing	Unsound
9.	Telhara	200	Increasing	Sound
10.	Bhameri	-	-	-
11.	Waruda	-	-	-
12.	Dahigaon	-	-	-
13.	Pathardi	125	Increasing	Unsound
14.	Tuthgaon	-	-	-
15.	Hiwarkhed	-	-	-
16.	Danapur	-	-	-
17.	Hingni	-	-	-
18.	Adgaon	-	-	-
19.	Balapur	96	Increasing	Unsound

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Branches</i>	<i>Strength</i>	<i>Increasing or not</i>	<i>Financial position</i>
20.	Barsitakli	30	Stationary	Unsound
21.	Ural	30	Stationary	Unsound
22.	Andura	16	Increasing	Unsound
23.	Channi	20	Increasing	Unsound
24.	Basim	250	Stationary	Ordinary
25.	Sirpur	-	-	-
26.	Malegaon	135	Increasing	Unsound
27.	Netansa	35	Stationary	Unsound
28.	Nandora	10	Stationary	Unsound
29.	Mungla	35	Stationary	Unsound
30.	Pangrikute	10	Stationary	Unsound
31.	Risod	100	Increasing	Fair
32.	Wakad	30	Increasing	Fair
33.	Loni Bk	20	Increasing	Fair
34.	Kaotha	55	Increasing	Fair
35.	Mop	20	Increasing	Fair
36.	Balkheda	25	Increasing	Fair
37.	Bhur	25	Increasing	Fair
38.	Motegaon	15	Increasing	Fair
39.	Savad	15	Increasing	Fair
40.	Nizampur	15	Increasing	Fair
41.	Kurha	10	Increasing	Fair
42.	Medsi	35	Stationary	Ordinary
43.	Rajanda	24	Stationary	Ordinary
44.	Jhala	8	Stationary	Ordinary
45.	Rajakinhi	50	Stationary	Ordinary
46.	Ansingh	57	Stationary	Ordinary
47.	Mangrulpir	40	Stationary	Ordinary
48.	Manora	-	-	-
49.	Damni	-	-	-
50.	Heora	-	-	-
51.	Giroli	-	-	-
52.	Kondali	90	Increasing	Ordinary
53.	Karli	-	-	-
54.	Waroli	-	-	-
55.	Talap	-	-	-
56.	Pinja	20	Stationary	Ordinary

Principal activities are as usual i.e., lathi drill, squad drill and native games. At Akola, some of the members are trained to play at band and bugle. Principal organizers also go on cycles in villages to do propaganda and increase membership. There is a general tendency to increase

the membership and open new branches in as many villages as possible and some of the branches mentioned above have recently been opened. Government restrictions on uniforms and military drill are being observed except at Hiwarkhed.

At Channi, a new branch has been started. Office-bearers are:

President Sukhdeo Chandrabhan of Umra.
Vice-President Ramchandra Supazi of Umra.
Secretary Sakharam Khandu of Umra.
Instructor Narayan Phulchand Gaud of Deolgaon.

Note: The organization mainly aims at Hindu unity. It is staunch communal. The organization has influence mostly over the young people. It is neither actually nor potentially dangerous. Station-house Officers, Balapur and Hiwarkhed, report that it is potentially dangerous in their circle.

List of Principal organizers of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the Akola district

1. *Akola:* (1) Shriram Anant Sohoni, Advocate provincial Berar organizer, (2) Dinkar Wasudeo Pingle, Advocate, district organizer, (3) Gajanan Mahadeo Ghate, Pleader, taluq organizer, (4) Krishnarao Keshcorao Palsule, Pleader, Akola town organizer, and (5) Govind Kesheo Sohoni, Waidya, dehat organizer.
2. *Basim:* (1) Shankar Gopal Dabir, Pleader, (2) Narayan Ramchandra Dhangre, Pleader, (3) F.B. Deshpande, Pleader, (4) Laxman Devidas Ansinghker, (5) Dattatraya Balkrishns Kolhatkar, (6) Premlal Bhagwandas Mochi, (7) Narayan Ganpat Kale, and (8) Dattatraya Balkrishna Athle, Pleader.
3. *Sirpur:* (1) Dr R.J. Kulkarni, Malegaon, (2) Bhujangrao Achutrao, Malegaon, (3) Gopal Sakharam Joshi, (4) Chandrabhan Hari Teli, (5) Ramprasad Laxminarayan Tiwari, Marwadi, and (6) Sawarker, Pleader.
4. *Risod:* (1) Jethamal Sheoram Marwadi, (2) Vithalrao Khanderao Deshpande, and (3) Narayan Kaluram Kothari Marwadi.
5. *Ansing:* Dadarao Bhujangrao Deshpande.
6. *Jawalka:* (1) Narayan Bhagwantrao Vanjari, Medsi, (2) Raghunath Tukaram Pathak, Medsi, (3) Mahadeo Jaideo Marwadi, Medsi (4) Hazarimal Ghasiram Marwadi, Medsi, and (5) Rajaram Sonaji, Maratha, Giha.
7. *Akot:* (1) Purshottam Shankar Bedarkar, Akot, (2) Mahadeo Vasudeo Asalkar, Akot, (3) Digambar Kashinath Deshmukh, and (4) Vasant Vinayak Jakate.
8. *Hiwarkhed:* (1) Wasudeo Namdeo, Maratha, Danapur, (2) Narayan Dhonduram, Brahmin, Danapur, (3) Jagdeo Madhoji, Maratha, Danapur, (4) Govind Gopdu, Maratha, Hingni Buzruk, (5) Jagannath Sampat, Maratha, Hingni Buzruk, (6) Bhagwan Sampat, Maratha, Hingni Buzruk, (7) Motiram Pundlik, Maratha, Hingni Buzruk (8) Narayan Pundlik, Maratha, Hiwarkhed, (9) Ramchandra Govind Mankar, Adgaon Buzruk, (10) Vishwanath Gannappa Wani, Adgaon Buzruk, and (11) Shridhar Laxman Joshi, Adgaon Buzruk.
9. *Telhara:* (1) Manilal Harakchand Gujrathi, Telhara, and (2) Kesheo Narayan Tagde, Telhara.

10. *Murtizapur*: (1) Govind Raghunath Karandikar, Pleader, taluq organizer, (2) Ramkrishna Martan Parchand, Vaidya, taluq organizer, and (3) Amrit Dulichand Sangwi, drill instructor.

11. *Karanja*: (1) Vishnu Yadhora Khedkar, Karanja, drill instructor (2) Sadaram Pandurang Sadhu, Pleader, Karanja, (3) Shridhar Balkrishna Godbole, Karanja, drill instructor, and (4) Dr Hemchandra Ratansa Vaidya Karanja.

12. *Balapur*: (1) Wasantrao Dajiba Kaite, Vyala, (2) Wasudeo Narayan Soman, Pleader, and (3) Balkrishna Narayan Palker, Pleader.

13. *Mangrulpir*: (1) Dattatraya Dhondopant Kulkarni, (2) Gopal Vithal Palsolker, Pleader (3) Nawabrao Subhanrao Deshmukh, drill master, Manora, and (4) Ramrao Shivrao Deshmukh, Talab.

Buldana District

D.O. No. 174-S., dated Buldana, the 28th November 1942, from the Deputy Commissioner, Buldana

I have had detailed enquiries made in regard to the organization and membership of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in this district. There can be no doubt that the Sangh remains one of the most important, disciplined and organized bodies of Buldana district. I do not think I will be wrong in stating that the strength of the Sangh movement here is greater and the roots of the organization go deeper than in any other district of Berar except Akola. The membership of this organization has been on the increase according to the 3-year plan of the Sangh and the drilling and discipline as well as a well-defined policy remain a marked feature not found in other political or social bodies of Berar.

2. The organization has its headquarters at Mehkar with Mr R.V. Deshmukh, a landlord, as the president. Mr Kavimandan is the district treasurer and president of the branches in the Chikhli taluq. He is also the president of the Buldana town branch. There are in all 173 branches in the district and the total membership would come to something like 3,222. I have been able to collect detailed information in regard to membership and other details of the Khamgaon sub-divisional organization. The names of the president, secretary, joint secretary, drill master and other office-bearers are given in the list below (Annexure A). This is as complete as could be possibly managed in the circumstances. The list gives the framework of the organization and the names of members as far as ascertained.

The organization of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the ghat taluqs (Chikhli, Mehkar and Buldana) is led by Kavimandan and Khekale. The names of office-bearers of the Chikhli and Mehkar branches is also enclosed though here the information is neither so detailed nor complete (Annexure B).

3. I am also supplying for the information of Government details regarding (a) the present strength, (b) financial position, (c) increase in membership, (d) due observance of the restrictions placed on the Sangh, and (e) the influence of the branches of the Sangh in their respective localities as well as remarks as to whether they are potentially dangerous or not. This information is collected for each station house and is tabulated in the annexure below (Annexure C).

4. In regard to the objects of the organization the information so far received by me leads me to the conclusion that the Sangh does not want to come into conflict with Government but desires to build up and conserve its power for a two-fold purpose-

(1) to seize power, if need be by violence, in the event of anarchy in the country.

(2) to defeat the Muslim power in the event of a civil war or at least to give a threat to the Muslim organization to avert the possibility of a civil war.

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has, however no plan to either fight Government or even to oppose it. It has been reported that the Sangh is the 'mailed fist' of the Hindu Mahasabha and it is said that they would take the role of shock troops of the Hindu Mahasabha. This may be partly true but I am not in a position to vouch for the accuracy of the above remarks. My conversation with Kavimandan, the principal organizer, leads me to believe that the Sangh is by no means the 'defending dog' of the Hindu Mahasabha. It is stated and asserted that the Sangh is pre-eminently a non-political body and does not associate itself with any of the political organizations or parties that exist in India today. This is their theory and ostensibly they may be said to have maintained it.

5. Your D.O. probably requires information to be collected regarding membership of the Sangh. You will appreciate that as there are over 3,000 members it will be necessary to open special registers to get their names and particulars and I would like to know if Government would find it necessary to be supplied with all these details. The District Superintendent of Police has been instructed to collect all possible information in regard to membership and I presume it will be enough if this is kept in the district. In any case, I would like to know if Government would desire me to send a detailed list of members also.

Annexure A

Khamgaon

President	S.R. Bhate, Pleader. A reasonable moderate man possessing great influence in the town. President of the municipal committee. Vice-Chairman of the Berar Hindu Mahasabha.
Secretary	D.N. Soman, Pleader, Khamgaon, Intelligent. Moderate means and influence. Of no importance.
Joint Secretary	Ramchandra Sheshrao Deshpande, Pleader, Khamgaon. Intelligent. Moderate means and influence. Of no importance.
Drill master	Dr R.S. Bhorkar. Very moderate means. Extremist. Was prosecuted for assaulting a policeman, who insisted on admission to a private meeting of the Rashtriya Swāyam Sevak Sangh. As there was legal flaw, the case was withdrawn.
Office	Mohan Building Khamgaon.

Malkapur

President	Gulabrao Bhaurao, Maratha, Pleader of Malkapur. Active. Well-to-do.
Secretary	S.N. Patil, Pleader. Of no importance.
Town President	P.K. Kalele, Pleader of Malkapur. Also president of Hindu Mahasabha. Keeps the funds of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, amounting to Rs 300 with him.
Secretary	G.N. Ghirnkar. Of no importance.

Jalgaon

President	Keshao Kashinath Joshi. Of no importance.
Secretary	S.T. Didolkar, Pleader. Intelligent but unlikely to take prominent part. Should be watched.

Prominent persons V.G. Bhorkar, Pleader. Violent. Important.
G.P. Pundalik. Cultivator and captain of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.
Dangerous.

Apart from these office-bearers I attach also a list of important people at various places in the three taluqs, who will have either to be arrested or carefully watched, in the event of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh giving trouble.

Khamgaon Taluq

Khamgaon town

B.W. Dongre: Pleader, Violent agitator. Member of the Hindu Mahasabha and Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

M.S. Tayade: Pleader. Violent agitator. Member of the Hindu Mahasabha and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh.

J.A. Anekar: Pleader. Violent agitator. Member of the Hindu Mahasabha and Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

Hanumant Jankilal: Violent agitator. Member of the Hindu Mahasabha and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh.

Shri Panchlegaonkar Maharaj: the local saint and should not be arrested unless unavoidable. The whole town will follow him but he is amenable to suggestion and is quite non-violent.

Pannalal Vyas: Leader of Arya Samaj, connected with Hindu Mahasabha and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. Violent and dangerous.

Khamgaon town. Goondas —

(1) Ramprasad Kesarichand Khatri (2) Purushottam Trimbak Pathak, (3) Bulakhidas Mathuradas Gujrathi, (4) Natwarlal Mathuradas Gujrathi, (5) Wasudeo Shankar Deshpande, (6) Murlidhar Govind Darji, (7) Ramlal Hiralal Agarwale, (8) Ramlal Balmakund Khatri, (9) Baban Shrichand Khatri, (10) Pundalik Bansiappa Wani, (11) Digambar Shankar Wani, (12) Naolaji Nathu Gurao, (13) Madhao Shridhar, Brahmin, (14) Hanumant Jankilal Marwadi, (15) Sitaram Gangaram Gavhone, (16) Vishwanath Babatao Maratha, (17) Kachru Babarao, Maratha, (18) Sahebia Tukaram Yampuri, (19) Tukaram Maroti Badar, (20) Shankar Ramdhan, Maratha, (21) Balkrishna Rama Wani, (22) Maroti Narayan Sukade, (23) Shankar Baburao Hatmode, (24) Jankiram Pandurang, Kunbi, (25) Madhao Bhagwan, Tongawala (26) Mahadeoprasad Ganpatprasad Pardeshi, (27) Udit Narayan Ramawatar, (28) Umakant Krishna Sonar, (29) Bhawanishapkar Shrinivas Sharma, (30) Pandit Ratipal Baldeo Pardeshi, (31) Popatlal Ramcharan Bhadbhuj, (32) Madan Suryamal Agarwal, (33) Ambadas Kashiram Lohar, (34) Sunder Dagdu Dalwala, (35) Babu Kashiram Lohar, and (36) Pandhari Tukaram Badar.

Other goondas are of less importance.

The Khamgaon cell of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh could muster about 300 persons over the age of 17.

Shegaon

No one of importance. The Shegaon cell could muster about 30 to 40 men. The most prominent would be—(1) H.P. Bhate, (2) B.R. Bhate, (3) V.V. Matkari, (4) Bhumya Ganbar Shingnewar, (5) Kanhaiyyalal Balmukund, and (6) Chaturbhuj Sitaram.

Jalamb

Prominent persons are—(1) D.R. Varangaonkar, (2) Surajmal Badrilal Marwadi, (3) Shankarlal

Birdichand, (4) Sitaram Chhotmal, (5) Laxman Jamnadas Marwadi, (6) Kisanlal Badrilal, (7) Sitaram Tukaram Teli, (8) Pandu Sitaram, Teli, (9) Wasantrao Sheshrao Deshmukh, (10) Yeshwantgir Ratangir Gosawi, (11) Kanhoo Ganoo Mali, (12) Mahadeo Hajjam, (13) Punjaji Kisan Teli, and (14) Ukarda Teli.

The cell numbers about 30 to 40.

Matargaon Buzruk Could muster about 40 to 50 men.

Kherda 15 to 20 men.

Pahur Jira 49 to 50.

Tembhurna 10.

Wasadi Buzruk 10.

Khadatgaon Buzrk 10 to 15.

Hiwra 10.

Warna 10.

Antraj 10 to 15.

Chinchpur 10 to 15.

Lakhanwada Buzruk 10 to 15.

Palsi Buzruk 10 to 15.

There is also some Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh activity in villages Bhalegaon and Alasna.

Malkapur Taluk

Malkapur town

(1) G.N. Dixit-Violent and most important worker of Malkapur, (2) Damodar Ramnivas Raut-Goonda leader, (3) P.K. Kalele, Pleader-Keeper of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh Funds, (4) G.B. Metkar, Pleader-Important worker, active, (5) S.N. Patil, Pleader-Active.

The cell at Malkapur contains about 100 members over 17. Certain boys from high school might make trouble-notably (1) Panchabhai, (2) V.G. Fadnis, (3) B.V. Deshpande, (4) M.N. Dixit, and (5) Rajabhau Deshpande.

Motala About 30 members. The important man is Kashirao Babarao Deshmukh.

Dhamangaon About 50 to 60 members. Important persons are (1) Gopal Dhondur Seth and (2) Waman Jankiram Wani

Dharangaon Membership 30. Important person is Kesheo Zipru Patel.

Advihir Membership 10 to 20 Important persons are (1) Damoo Zipru Patil and (2) Yadao Vithan Ingle.

Dabhadi Membership negligible. Important person is Namdeo Khushal Patil.

Kharbadi Membership 20. Important person is Punjaji Churaman.

Mahalungi Membership 10 to 15. Important person is Kesarimal Lachhiram Kalal.

Panhera Membership 10 to 15. Important person is Laxman Shripat Kunbi.

Pophali Membership 20 to 30. Important persons are (1) Jagatrao Shankar Patil, (2) Kanusingh Jangramsing, (3) Bhagwansing Pandharising, (4) Nimbaji Narayan Patil.

Rohinkhed Membership 10 to 15. Important person is Krisnarao Ganesh Khekade.

Chawardha Membership 10 to 15. Important persons are (1) Vithoba Shipat Wanjari, (2) Daulat Narayan Wanjari, (3) Trimbak Narayan Wanjari, (4) Dashrath Maroti Wanjari. These men are dangerous.

Tapowan Membership negligible. Organizer-Yadao Pandu Patil. Goondas in the whole

of this area are (1) Yedu Gambhir Kunbi of Korhala, (2) Waman Jankiram of Dhamangaon, (3) Kesarimal Lachhiram of Mabalungi, and (4) Harsingh Zamsingh of Liha.

Wadali	Membership 10 to 15. Important persons are (1) Shankar Tukaram Dhade, (2) Wasudeo Waman Dhade, (3) Umraosing Bankarsingh.
Rasulpur	Membership 20 to 30. Important persons are (1) Narayan Ramu Patil (2) Shankar Vithusa Bhaosar, (3) Laxman Raoji, Maratha, and (4) Kashinath Shioram Bhaosar.
Bhuising	Membership 5 to 10. Important person is Udebhan Ganpat Gond.
Chandur	Membership 10 to 15. Important person is Shankar Raoji Chimanpure.
Wadi	Membership negligible. Important person is Govind Anant Maratha.
Mamulwadi	Membership 10 to 15. Important person is Hanumant Vishnu, Brahmin.
Nimgaon	Membership 20 to 30. Important persons are (1) Mahadeo Kisan Waghole (2) Hari Bhagu Mali, and (3) Ramkrishan Bapuji, Maratha.
Alampur	Membership 15 to 20. Important persons are (1) Anandrao Madhaorao Deshmukh, (2) Chahadu Ramu Bhade, and (3) Laxman Tukaram, Kunbi.
Tikodi	Membership 15 to 20. Most important person is Kashiram Motiram Patil, who pays Rs 1,000 land revenue and will keep the village quiet for Government.
Potali	Membership negligible. Important person is Manaji Raoji, Maratha.
Isabpur	Membership 5 to 10. Important person is Bajirao Dattu, Maratha.
Kolasar	Membership 10. Important persons are (1) Ramkrishan Bhojaji and (2) Pandhari Sadu Mali.
Naigaon	Membership 10. Important persons are (1) Sukdeo Punjaji Mali and (2) Trim-bak Nathu, Maratha.
Dahigaon	Membership 10 to 15. Important person is Hari Govind Bhombre.
Khumgaon	Membership 10. Important person is Chandrabhan Sukdeo, Kunbi.
Matoda	Membership 5 to 10. Important person is Pundlik Maroti, Maratha.
Wadner Bholji	Membership 15 to 20. Important persons are (1) Dama Sayaji Mali and (2) Damodhar Gangadhar Joshi.
Nandura	Membership 50 to 60. Important persons are (1) Sampat Maroti Chopde, (2) Wasant Eknath Tare, (3) Premratan Joharmal Marwadi, (4) Yadao Parashram Tamboli, and (5) Premsukh Kanhaiyyalal Marwadi. There are about 15 goondas in Nandura who would be likely to give trouble on behalf of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

Jalgaon Taluq

Jalgaon town	Please refer to the names already given for the organizers in Jalgaon. These men are important. Apart from them Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh activity exists at the following villages.
Asalgaon	Membership 40 to 50. Important person is Ramcharan Hansraj.
Pimpalgaon	
Kale	Membership 30 to 40. Important persons are (1) Dattatraya Gopal Kasture, (2) Anna Bhauji Kasture, and (3) Vishwasrao Ganpatsingh Ingle.
Dadulgaon	Membership 10 to 15. Important person is Bhiku Rama Niwane.
Sangrampur	Membership 20 to 30. Important persons are (1) Kisan Bhagwan Mali, (2) Pandurang Bhagwan Mali, and (3) Abarao Manikrao Deshmukh.

Tunki Jahagir	Membership 20 to 30. Important persons are (1) Trimbak Renukadas, (2) Krishnarao Kadtaji, (3) Devidas Renukadas, (4) Mukunda Parashram, Maratha, and (5) Subhanrao Baliram, Maratha.
Wankhed	Membership 10 to 15. Important person is Maniklal Mulchand.
Eklara	Membership 15 to 20. Important persons are (1) Dadarao Gopalrao, Maratha, and (2) Khushalrao Sitaram, Maratha.
Sonala	Membership 15 to 20. Important persons are (1) Devidas Bhanudas, Brahmin, and (2) Satnarayan Shriniwas, Marwadi.
Jamod	Membership 15 to 20. Important persons are (1) Kalyandutta Lalchand Sharma, Marwadi, and (2) Narayan Gangaram Deshpande, Brahmin.
Warwat Bakal	Membership 5 to 10. Important person is Baliram Nathu Sutar.

There is slight Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh activity at Bhilkhed, Ladnapur, Jastagaon, Kaothal and Durgadait.

Annexure B

1. Buldana district Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh: President – R.V. Deshmukh, landlord of Mehkar. Previously a Congressman and for some time a Hindu Sabhaite. Retired from politics since the last five years. Office – One of the rooms of the Buldana Co-operative Central Bank.

2. Chikhli taluq Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh: President Mr Kavimandan, Pleader-Belongs to no party.

3. Chikhli town: President-Dr R.N. Daga. Previously a Congressman.

4. Mehkar taluq Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh: President – M.R. Saoji, Pleader. Previously a Congressman.

5. Mehkar town: President – L.B. Saoji. Previously a Congressman.

Annexure C

Particulars of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh in Buldana District

<i>Particulars of organization and station-house</i>	<i>Present strength</i>	<i>Financial position</i>	<i>Membership increasing or not</i>	<i>Activities or observance or restrictions</i>	<i>Appreciation of the extent, influence of the organization & whether actually dangerous</i>
Janelal	40	Good	Stationary	Nil observed	No influence. Not dangerous
Amdapur	200	Nil	Increasing	As usual observed	Branches open at Mangrul. Isoli, Vairagad. Warwand and 4 other villages. Has some influence but not dangerous
Shegaon	40	Poor	Decreasing	As usual observed	Has some influence, but not dangerous
Pimpalgaon Raja	100	No funds	Increasing	As usual observed	Branches are at Bosad Bk. Bara Khd. Hiwra BBk and Bhargaon. Some influence over the public but not dangerous

<i>Particulars of organization and station-house</i>	<i>Present strength</i>	<i>Financial position</i>	<i>Membership increasing or not</i>	<i>Activities or observance or restrictions</i>	<i>Appreciation of the extent, influence of the organization & whether actually dangerous</i>
Dhamangaon	188	No funds	Increasing	As usual observed	One Narayan Telang of Akola had come here and increased the membership. Not dangerous
Nandura	371	Good	Increasing	As usual observed	Has got influence. Not dangerous at present. The daily attendance and membership steadily increasing
Deolgaon	215	Good	Increasing	As usual observed	No influence. Not dangerous at present.
Raja Dhad	35	Poor	Slightly increased	As usual observed	Members being small boys have no influence. Not dangerous
Lonar	25	Nil	Recently started	As usual observed	Has some influence May join communal troubles, otherwise not dangerous
Tamgaon	122	Rs 50 fund	Increasing	As usual observed	Branches are at Tunli Bk. Sonala, Jamod, Rudhana, Barwat, Bakal, Wankhed and Eklara No influence and not dangerous
Borakhedi	104	Nil	Increasing	As usual observed	No influence. Not dangerous
Chikhi	155	Nil	Slightly increased	As usual observed	The branches are at Ambasi Sarna and Kinhola. Has influence and not dangerous, but is viewed with some suspicion as it is well armed at Chikhli proper.
Kingaon Raja	60	Ordinary	Increasing	As usual observed	Branches are at Sonoso, Sathegaon, Malkapur, Sindkhed. No influence and not dangerous
Andhera	125	Nil	Increasing	As usual observed	Branches are at Ancharwadi, Shelgaon, Mera Bk. and Isrul. No influence and not dangerous
Khamgaon	300	Ordinary	Increasing	As usual observed	It has got some influence in communal feelings but not dangerous at present. Has dangerous potentialities being well trained and well equipped

<i>Particulars of organization and station-house</i>	<i>Present strength</i>	<i>Financial position</i>	<i>Membership increasing or not</i>	<i>Activities or observance or restrictions</i>	<i>Appreciation of the extent, influence of the organization & whether actually dangerous</i>
Jalgaon	192	Nil	Do	As usual observed	Has got influence At present not dangerous but it is apprehended when Hindu Mahasabha would start movement. Branches are at Asalgaon, Pimpal gaon Kale and Kherda.
Malkapur	300	Good	Do	As usual observed	It has got some influence but not dangerous
Buldana	100	Poor	Slight increase	As usual observed	The members are being enlisted in villages and has got some influence but not dangerous
Hiwarkhed	60	Good	Slight increase	As usual observed	Has got influence and dangerous
Mehkar	450	No funds	Slight increase	As usual observed	Has got influence not dangerous branches are at Dongaon, Anjani Bk. Belgaon, Shelgaon and Deolgaon Mali
Fattekherda	40	Poor	Slight increase	As usual observed	The members are mostly Brahmins and communally troublesome

Yeotmal District

D.O. No. 13-B, dated Camp Gawari, the 5th January 1943 from the Deputy Commissioner, Yeotmal

I enclose herewith my report on the organization membership and the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the Yeotmal district, as required by you in your D.O. No. 1465-890-Con., dated the 19th October 1942. I very much regret the delay.

A Report on the Yeotmal District Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh

1. Its territorial structure-The provincial organization has its headquarters at Akola, and the district organization is sub-ordinate to it. The district organization's jurisdiction extends over the whole of the Yeotmal district except Pusad taluq which is attached to Basim. The district is divided up into three *ilakas*, viz., (1) Yeotmal and Pandharkawada taluqs, (2) Darwha taluq and (3) Wun taluq. Village and town Sanghs are directly sub-ordinate to taluq Sanghs.

2. There are in all 53 branches, spread all over the district. Of these 23 have been organized within the last two years. The largest number of branches is to be found in the jurisdiction of the Wadki and Pusad Station Houses.

3. *Membership* — It is broadly of two kinds, *viz.*, active members and sympathizers. The latter are those who subscribed to the creed of the Sangh and its policies and render financial assistance from time to time. Active members are those who undertake the full training provided by the Sangh and are pledged to carry out the behests of its leader. The total number of members is 1,833.

4. *Office-bearers and Organizers* — The pattern of the organization is based on the Italian Fascist party, and I am told, largely owes its inspiration to Dr Moonje's visit to Italy in 1932. Thus the elective and the committee principles are non-existent. Organizers and office-bearers are appointed by the Sar Sangh Chalak who is now Mr Golwalkar. He appoints the provincial Chalak who is Mr S.A. Sohoni of Akola and the district Chalak who is Mr B.H. Jatkari, Pleader and M.L.A. The Sar Sangh Chalak also appoints the ilaka Chalaks. Mr G.T. Kunte is the Chalak for Yeotmal and Pandharkawada ilakas, Mr M.N. Dau for the Darwha ilaka and Mr D.D. Deshmukh for the Wun ilaka. Mr Shukla is the Chalak for Pusad ilaka. The district Chalak appoints Chalaks for other village and town Sanghs; but it would appear that Chalaks have not been appointed for all the Sanghs in this district.

5. The training of active members is divided up into three sections—intellectual, physical and military. In the past it was usual to place officers separately in charge of each of these sections. Dr S.K. Kane (District Organizer of the National War Front) was, and perhaps still is the district officer commanding in charge of the military section but since the ban on military exercises, separate officers do not appear to have been appointed. Instead, secretaries are assisting Chalaks at important centres, and instructors are nominated to instruct the active members in physical exercises and lathi drills. The names of some of the prominent workers of the Sangh are given below. The District Superintendent of Police has, of course, compiled a list of all the active workers in the district:

(1) Mr I.K. Oke, Pleader, Yeotmal, (2) Dr P.V. Deshmukh, Yeotmal, (3) Mr P.R. Ballal, Pleader, Yeotmal, (4) Mr D.N. Yadwadkar, Instructor, (5) Mr N.G. Deshpande, Yeotmal, (6) Dr V.J. Ghawde, Pandharkawada, (7) Mr Y.G. Shekdar, teacher Pandharkawada, (8) Bapurao alias Ganesh Chintaman. Brahmin, Wadhona, (9) Mr S.L. Bhedi, Wun, (10) Mr N.N. Deshpande, Pleader, Wun, (11) Mr T.R. Pathak, Pleader, Pusad, (12) Mr D.B. Jakate, Mulawa, (13) Moreswar Govind, Brahmin, Mulawa, (14) Ganesh Shankar Pande, Hiwara, (15) Moreswar Mahadeo Pajali, Parwa.

6. *Its Objective* — The organization is imbued with the belief that India belongs to the Hindus and its destinies must therefore be moulded by them. In order to enable the Hindus to do so, it is necessary for them to have a well-disciplined party organized on military lines. The Sangh has no ostensible political affiliations. An ex-Congressman like Mr Jatkari and a National War Front worker like Dr Kane, are both its enthusiastic supporters. Its aim appears to me to organize Hindus in order to prevent political power from falling into the hands of non-Hindus.

7. *Its Activities* — Military drills and exercise have been completely given up. The use of uniforms has been abandoned. 16 branches are completely inactive. The remaining 37 branches hold regular games, lathi drills and physical exercises. All members are expected to attend daily. All members are under an oath of secrecy and they undertake to help members of the Sangh in their difficulties. Discipline is strict and the feeling of *esprit de corps* is strong. Flag salutations are held occasionally and a rally is organized every year at headquarters. The last district rally was held during the Christmas holiday and was attended by 700 volunteers, which is a record figure for this district. Attempts are being made to expand the organization further

into the interior and to open more and more village branches. Emphasis is placed on discipline and training in non-lethal weapons. The Yeotmal, Wun and Pusad branches are particularly well-organized.

8. *Financial resources* — These are negligible. It lives from hand to mouth and raises whatever money it needs from sympathizers. Some Izardars in the Wun area are known to have contributed handsomely but, at headquarters, most of the money comes from Maharashtra Brahmins.

9. *General* — The leadership is almost exclusively provided by the Maharashtra Brahmins. But it appears that the Sangh is now attracting at any rate in its lower ranks, other Hindu castes. Some teachers of the district council are known to be taking an active part and a few pleaders at taluq and district headquarters are taking considerable interest in its activities.

Extracts from Half-yearly Report on Volunteer Organizations from May to November 1942

R.S.S. Sangh — Membership of this organization steadily increased during this period from 25,059 in May to 32,090 in November. Marked increase occurred in the following districts as will be seen from the comparative statement below:

Nagpur:	May 1942-6,400; November 1942-7,000.
Wardha:	May 1942-3,000; November 1942-4,000.
Nimar:	May 1942-1,117; November 1942-2,343.
Akola:	May 1942-2,030; November 1942-3,330.
Buidana:	May 1942-2,194; November 1942-3,222.

As many as 46 new branches were opened during these six months. The number in the women's branch of the Sangh, known as Rashtriya Swayam Sewika Sangh, increased from 500 to 800.

The financial position of the Sangh is believed to be sound. In addition to the permanent deposit of Rs 20,000 in the Provincial Co-operative Bank, funds are collected every year by way of subscriptions and donations from members and sympathizers on the occasion of the celebration of the 'Guru Dakshina' ceremony. This ceremony could not be performed in Nagpur this year due to the disturbances in August 1942 and the consequent ban on meetings. In Nagpur a sum of Rs 17,000 was collected by November 1942. The total amount collected by other branches in the province was Rs 16,181. Activities were mainly confined to the performance of physical drill and lathi-kathi exercises. Officers' training camps were held in the province from 3rd May to 8th June 1942 at Nagpur, Wardha, Raipur, Khandwa and Akola. Volunteers from different parts of India attend the camp at Nagpur as detailed below:

Punjab-100, Delhi-250, Sind-50, Madras-100, Karnatak-100, Maharashtra-, Calcutta-15, Berar-25, and Nagpur-250. Total-990.

The attendance at the Wardha camp was 600, Raipur 330, Khandwa 640, and Akola 690.

The general programme at the various camps consisted of parades, band classes, instructions in lathi drill, physical drill, lezim, swimming and skirmishing. The evenings were generally devoted to discussions and lectures on various subjects such as Hindu unity, enlistment of members, difficulties in training officers and the political situation. On the final day of the Nagpur officers' training camp, members gave an impressive display of lathi, lezim and sword exercises before an audience of 5,000 including 500 women. Explaining the aims and objects of the Sangh, M.S. Golwalkar, the chief organizer, said it was not their intention to come into

conflict with other communities but merely to strengthen the Hindu community and dispel from Hindus' minds the fear of aggression. Public demonstrations of physical exercises were also given on the termination of camps at Wardha, Raipur and Khandwa.

'Dasehra' and the 'Guru Dakshina' ceremonies were performed at Wardha, Jubbulpore, Amraoti, Badnera, Raipur, Khamgaon and Yeotmal.

The ban on the wearing of uniform and the performance of drill of a military nature were generally observed though infringements were reported in Raipur and Hiwarkhed (Akola).

At meetings of the Sangh speakers urged members to keep aloof from the Congress movement and these instructions were generally observed except at Chimur (Chanda), Amraoti and Saugor, where some members were arrested for participation.

An incident of some interest occurred on the 3rd September at Khamgaon (Buldana) when the local branch, complete with a squad of cyclists, divided into three groups and performed an attack on a hill ending with a lathi charge. This was, according to a member questioned, in preparation for the Hindu Mahasabha joining the Congress movement and followed the ultimatum given by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha that they would start direct action if Government did not form a national Government.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh Officers' Training Camp Held at Nagpur in 1943

Officers' training camps are conducted every year by the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in every summer for 40 days with a view to train competent instructors and organizers to carry on the uniform programme of running the branches and to see that they keep well flourishing. These camps are opened at important centres to suit the convenience of the members of the Sangh all over India. This year these camps were ordered to be held at the following places and the centres were increased due to economic condition and transport difficulties:

(1) Nagpur, (2) Jubbulpore, (3) Amraoti, (4) Belgaum, (5) Benares, (6) Poona, (7) Trichinopoly, (8) Indore, (9) Baroda, (10) Meerut, and (11) Nasik.

The third year class was conducted in Nagpur for members all over India and the first and the second year classes were opened for Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda and Andhra (Madras) at Nagpur, while at other centres only first and second year classes were opened and the members residing in the vicinity were ordered to attend the same.

Batches of ten trained volunteers each were sent by the Nagpur head office for the centres outside Nagpur to train the members attending the classes there.

The officers' training camp at Nagpur commenced on the 3rd May 1943 under the direct control of V.D. Kolte, Advocate of Bhandara, who was known as 'Sarwadhikari' (Officer in charge). The following members were prominent to train the members attending the classes:

(1) Shreedhar, *alias* Baburao Sheshrao Pandharipande, (2) Chandrashekhhar Parashram Bhishikar, (3) D.B. *alias* Anna Shesha, (4) Keshao Ramchandra Vakil, (5) Gajanan Joshi, (6) N.A. Udhoji, Pleader, (7) Waman *alias* Appa Shende and others.

The following number of members from all over India received training:

(1) C.P. Marathi and Hindi-200, (2) Bombay Presidency-160, (3) United Provinces - 35, (4) Central India - 20, (5) Madras Presidency - 101, (6) Delhi Province - 20, (7) The Punjab - 30, (8) Bihar - 10, (9) Sind - 4, (10) Bengal - 3, (11) Chanda - 30, (12) Bhandara - 20, and (13) Nagpur (district) - 440. Total - 1,073.

Outsiders were lodged at the Neill City High School, Nagpur, City College Itwar Darwaza Primary School, Mahal Primary School and Hindu Girls' School, under the direct control of

Messrs. W.G. Watwe, D.B. *alias* Anna Shesha, Ram Jamgade, D.B. *alias* Anna Sathe and Hattekar, respectively. Baburao Telang used to supervise all the lodging arrangements.

Medical department was in Udhoji's Bada in Circle 6 under Bhiwgade, teacher, Primary School, Nagpur. Dr L.V. Paranjpe rendered medical aid to sick members with the assistance of Messrs. B.G. Pande, B.A. Vaidya and others.

Messing arrangements were common at Salubai Mohite's Bada (Sangh building) where a pandal for the same was erected. This mess arrangement was directly under the management of Baburao *alias* Kamlakar Vinayak Wagh.

N.G. *alias* Ianasaheb Telang was treasurer. All the outside members were first asked to deposit all valuables including money with him and to draw the amount as per daily need according to the savings bank system. This was done to avoid thefts, etc.

The members attending the officers' training camp were divided into sections of 30 to 35 members each to facilitate training and taking care of them by the member in charge.

The members were given training in lathi, drill, physical exercises, etc., both in the morning and evening at the Reshimbag Sangh ground. The intellectual discourses were arranged and M.N. Kale, general secretary, was in charge of the same.

This year the Sangh had opened a censorship branch and the orders were issued to all the members attending the camp to send their letters through this branch for scrutiny before they were posted for despatch to avoid writing of suspicious or objectionable matter through letters, so that it may not be detected by the Government censor officers at the post offices.

This year the camp was conducted only for thirty days and the closing ceremony was performed privately on the 1st June 1943 at the Reshimbag ground where about 1,500 members including 75 ladies witnessed the function. Prominent among these were:

(1) Krishna Vallabha Prasad *alias* Bhabuaji of Gaya, (2) M.S. Golwalkar, (3) M.P. Jog, (4) M.N. Ghatate, (5) U. Mishra, Registrar, Nagpur University, (6) Tej Narayan, Advocate of Lucknow, (7) Appaji Joshi, Wardha, (8) Baldeo Prasad Mishra, Raipur, (9) Appaji Halde of Mohpa, (10) Sham Rao Deshmukh, Killod, (11) V.P. Kolte, Bhandara, (12) G. Narayen Rao, M.A., L.T., headmaster, Hindu College High School, Guntur (Madras), (13) Dr T. Chitanandan, L.M.P., Guntur (Madras), (14) K. Hunmantrao, teacher, Guntur, (15) Janardhan Rao, M.A., L.T., L.L.B., headmaster, Elementary School, Ongole, district Guntur (Madras).

The closing ceremony was marked with the flag salutation ceremony by M.S. Golwalkar, Sar Sangh Chalak. After that the display of drill, physical exercises was arranged and the function came to an end after about an hour of its commencement, without any speech which used to be made usually. None of the members attended the function in uniform. The Government's restrictions on uniform were duly observed.

On the 2nd morning M.S. Golwalkar delivered a short speech at the Neill City School hall advising the members leaving the officers' training camp after training to utilize the knowledge gained for fostering the brotherly feeling, unity and maintaining the solidarity of Hinduism and to increase the membership of the Sangh. All the volunteers attending the camp dispersed by the 3rd June 1943.

It is learnt that a collected sum of Rs 1,411 was paid to M.S. Golwalkar as 'Guru Dakshana' on the 2nd, by the trainees who had come to receive the training from outside. This money will be utilized for the Sangh propaganda work.

The Sangh had arranged for grain through the leading malguzars, *viz.*, M.N. Ghatate, M.G. Chitnavis and others. The expenses over this camp estimated to about Rs 15,000 (Rs 11,000 over messing and Rs 4,000, miscellaneous expenses).

Every member had to pay Rs 22 each over his boarding and lodging while the member who took his meals at his private place had to pay Rs 3.

During the officers training camp nothing untoward took place except that an accidental fire that broke out in the kitchen on the 31st May was promptly extinguished and there was very slight damage to the pandal.

Minutes of the Fourth Security Conference Held at Nagpur on 8th and 9th March 1943 Extract

Item. 7 – The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh-Provinces, particularly the Central Provinces, Bihar, the United Provinces, Bombay and the Punjab, regard the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh as a harbourage of considerable potential danger. Alliance with the Hindu Mahasabha extending in degree to the latter's control, is not doubted, although this has not been proved. The Sangh has been described as the Hindu answer to the Khaksars; it is anti-British, it has shown signs of pro-Japanese bias; in its organization and behaviour Fascist tendencies are obvious.

Provinces are concerned about the rapid increase in the strength of the Sangh. There is no doubt of its growing appeal to Hindu youth, but the reasons for this are not clearly defined in what is known regarding the organization. So far the Sangh has not provoked authority, indeed the impression clings that it has been careful to avoid conflict. It is felt that the true purpose of its being lies in the future and that the revelation will be to the accompaniment of disorder.

Good grounds do not exist now for taking action against the Sangh and the lifting of the ban on the Khaksars does not make the problem easier in this respect. It was suggested, however, that a ban on the training camps of all such organization would hit the Sangh without having to single it out as an object of attack. It was agreed that any other action must immediately be on intelligence lines aimed at removing the present deficiencies in knowledge and towards this end it was accepted that all the authorities concerned should collect and exchange information of a detailed character about the organization and that all possible means of collecting intelligence, including censorship, should be employed.

Summary of the District Reports

1. *History* – The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh is a militant Hindu Volunteer Corps founded in 1925 at Nagpur by the late Dr Hedgewar, a Maharashtra Brahmin, who was Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha from 1926-31. In 1927 the corps was partly re-organized by Dr B.S. Munje, the Hindu Mahasabha leader. In 1932 the Sangh was officially recognized by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and became an all-India organization. Its leader is at present Mr Madhav Sadashio Golwalkar of Nagpur.

2. *Objects of the Sangh* – Some reports describe the Sangh as a kind of 'pan-Hindu' Boy Scout movement which seeks to protect the Hindu race, religion and culture and regenerate the Hindu community by means of mental and physical training. While some sections of the Sangh still pursue this objective, the Special Branch report for 1942 noticed a swing over to a more militant form of programme. Many Deputy Commissioners report that the main aim of the Sangh is 'Hindustan for the Hindus', i.e., an India free from domination by either Muslims, British or any other foreign elements. The Sangh rejects the view that this objective can be reached by non-violent methods. As Mr Golwalkar said at the Poona Camp in April 1942: 'It was not possible to get Swaraj by begging it from foreigners and this could only be

obtained by strength; and it was therefore their duty to strengthen the Sangh.' To this end the branches of the Sangh practise *quasi*-military drill, enforce strict discipline over their members and employ a uniform very similar to that of the Indian sepoy. The Sangh is not yet completely converted to the new active political programme and many branches and individuals appear to be hanging back. A split of this nature is mentioned at the Gondia (Bhandara) branch. This also is a partial explanation of the varying interpretations of the movement given by Deputy Commissioners and the adherence to the Sangh of many persons such as Mr Kanitkar of Buldana, who are known to be loyal to Government.

3. *Organization* — The organization of the Sangh is based on Fascist principles, the elective and committee systems being absent. The Fascist inclination of the Sangh is supposed to derive from Dr B.S. Moonje's visit to Italy in 1932 and was openly formulated by Dr P.G. Sahasrabudhe at the Poona Camp in 1942. The leaders of the Sangh (sometimes called organizers) are entitled 'Chalak' (the exact Hindi equivalent of the word Fuehrer). The Sar Sangh Chalak of all-India is Mr Golwalkar of Nagpur. The provincial Chalaks are appointed by him, the Central Provinces Chalak being Mr R.N. Padhye of Nagpur. The Central Provinces and Berar appears to be divided into at least three divisions; the Hindi Mahakoshal (Chalak — Eknath Ranade of Nagpur), the Chhattisgarh division (Chalak — M.R. Munje), and Berar (Chalak — S.A. Sohoni of Akola). Next come the district Chalaks, also appointed from above, who in their turn appoint the Sangh Chalaks, who are in charge of the local branches. Some districts are divided into ilakas under ilaka Chalaks. At all stages of the hierarchy the Chalaks are assisted by presidents, secretaries or instructors, about whose employment there appears to be no hard and fast rule. The village branches are reported to be not properly organized.

4. *Distribution* — Mr Golwalkar in a speech at Jubbulpore on 25th October 1942 claimed that the Sangh over all India had 1,500 branches and 200,000 members. Reports show a membership of 32,090 in upwards of 400 branches in this province. Considering the strong Central Provinces predominance in the leadership of the organization it is surprising that the numbers of this province form such a small proportion of the whole and there is probably some inaccuracy in one or other set of figures.

The Sangh has a strong Maharashtrian flavour, evidenced by the use of Shivaji's ochre flag (Bhagwa Jhanda) as a symbol and the predominance of Maharashtrian Brahmans among its leaders. It is therefore strongest in the Marathi-speaking districts of the province: Nagpur (7,000 members), Wardha (4,000 members), Khandwa (2,343), Amraoti (3,750). Akola (3,330), Buldana (3,222), Yeotmal (1,833), Bhandara (1,200 roughly). It is also strong in Hoshangabad (1,000 roughly) and Raipur (1,000 roughly). Apart from these districts the Sangh is felt to be a political menace in other districts where its membership is still fairly small, especially in Saugor (400), Jubbulpore (950), and Balaghat (200). The only districts where Sangh activity is entirely negligible are Drug, Betul and Mandla.

In nearly every district the Sangh is pursuing a programme of expansion, especially in the villages. This is said to be due to the programme laid down by Dr Hedgewar that 3 per cent of town-dwelling Hindus and 1 per cent of villagers should belong to the Sangh. In the quiescent district of Drug the divisional Chalak Ranade attempts to increase activity and other propagandists are sent from Nagpur to places like Mandla and Betul. The movement is aimed particularly at youths and students but comprises also large numbers of adults. Out of the 7,000 members in Nagpur district only 2,000 are reported to be youths. There is a women's branch of the Sangh known as the Rashtriya Swayam Sewika Sangh, but its membership is only about 800.

5. *Funds* — The financial position and arrangements of the Sangh are not easily discovered

because of the secrecy with which most of its activities are carried out. On the whole its finances appear to be sound. They are collected partly from private sources and partly from the annual collections made from members of the Sangh on 'Guru Purnima' day in August. There are divergent accounts of the manner in which these subscriptions are distributed between the local branches and the district, provincial and all-India organizations. There is at any rate no support for the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department's statement that funds are strictly controlled from the centre and that no branch is allowed to keep more than Rs 200. The Khandwa district Sangh is reported to possess Rs 1,000 and Malkapur branch has Rs 300, while Deputy Commissioner, Wardha, states that the local branches keep their entire collections. This is not borne out by the report from Nagpur and Jubbulpore which implies that the Guru Purnima collections there are on a district basis. Headquarter, Nagpur, maintains a permanent deposit of Rs 20,000 in the Provincial Co-operative Bank. In addition the proceeds of the annual collections (in 1942 amounting to Rs 33,181), which are partly devoted to current expenditure, are held separately by individual branches and at Nagpur (where the annual collection in 1942 is estimated at Rs 17,000) in the Provincial Co-operative Bank and with Saukars such as Mr Ghatate and Mr Chitnavis.

6. *R.S.S. Sangh and Other Organizations* — The affiliation of the Sangh to the All-India Hindu Mahasabha is sometimes denied, but as stated above the Hindu Mahasabha accorded recognition to the Sangh in 1932 and leading Mahasabhaites such as Dr B.S. Munje play a prominent part in its activities. It may be noted that the Sangh was used to police the Mahasabha session at Nagpur in 1938. Locally the Mahasabha and the Sangh are often found to be closely connected. Apart from Hindu Mahasabha associations, the Sangh is in places supported by Congressmen and at many places, especially in Marathi-speaking districts, by moderate and pro-Government elements like Rao Bahadur Khare of Amraoti and Mr Kane of Yeotmal. The diversity of supporters is explained by the transitional state of Sangh policy, the extreme tendencies of which have not yet universally permeated the organization. Some branches on the other hand are markedly anti-Congress and some individual members are also anti-Government.

7. *Policy* — On the whole even the extremist elements in the Sangh are not in favour of immediate overt action. Their policy is to wait until they themselves are better prepared and the state of the country offers better opportunities for intervention. Thus the general view of Deputy Commissioners is that the Sangh, though not now dangerous, might become a menace later in times of serious communal disturbance, etc. On the other hand Deputy Commissioners, Akola and Amraoti (both strong branches), report that the Sangh is neither actually nor potentially dangerous. In the meantime the Sangh tries to keep in Government's favour. In spite of some local exceptions the Sangh has on the whole observed the restrictions on military drill and uniform. As a body the Sangh remained aloof from last autumn's disturbances though, as might be expected, individual members and even branches took some part in them at some places. In October 1942 Mr Golwalkar at Jubbulpore went out of his way to claim that the Sangh was completely non-political, a statement quite inconsistent with his speeches at the Poona Camp of April 1942 as reported in Intelligence Bureau, Home Department's Secret Memorandum, Appendix B. It is a part of the Sangh's policy to cover its activities with a cloak of secrecy.

8. *Activities and Training* — Active members of the Sangh (many members are merely passive supporters) undergo a three-year course of training. This includes physical exercise by means of drill and games and weapon training in the use of lathis, daggers, spears and

lezim. Until the orders forbidding military drill the Sangh also practised drilling in military formations, guard mounting, etc. Many branches maintain bands consisting of drums, trumpets, fifes, bagpipes, etc., and orders are given by means of bugle calls. Emphasis is also placed on mental training, i.e., discipline and education in the objects of the Sangh, and in the nature and problems of Hinduism. Many Deputy Commissioners report that a high level of drill, discipline and *esprit de corps* is maintained. A feature of the training is the annual officers' training camps lasting a month or more held on an all-India basis at Nagpur or Poona. Officers' training camps serving 5 or 6 districts are also held, as at Raipur (attendance 330), Wardha (600), Khandwa (640), and Akola (690) in 1942. In addition the districts have their own rallies. An oath is administered to all members of the Sangh by which they swear to gain freedom for the Hindu nation, by keeping intact the Hindu religion and to perform the work of the Sangh honestly and disinterestedly. Deputy Commissioner, Yeotmal, also reports that members are bound to secrecy. Shivaji's ochre flag 'Bhagwa Jhanda' is flown at parades and ceremonial occasions. The Sangh celebrates five main festivals:

- (1) Til Sankrant - January; Hindu New Year - April. (2) Guru Purnima - August.
 - (3) Rakshabandhan - July. (4) Dasehra - October. (5) Ramdas Nawami - Shivaji's Birthday.
- Sangh volunteers also participate in most other local Hindu festivals.

Appendix

Miscellaneous Special Branch reports on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha, 1942.

Hindu Mahasabha, 1942

In January, Dr B.S. Moonje and other prominent leaders advised the Hindus to join the Army in large numbers with a view to learn the use of arms and tactics of war to be able to defend India from external aggression and internal rapacity of the Muslims. Government was accused of spurning the assistance offered by the Sabha and it was alleged that communal tension became acute since 1939 on account of the Government of India Act. Government and not the Muslims, it was averred, fostered Pakistan. Gandhi's theory of non-violence and the idea that Swaraj was impossible without Hindu-Muslim unity were ridiculed. Gandhi by his insistence on Hindu-Muslim unity, it was stated, had 'puffed up' the Muslims and encouraged Jinnah to make the preposterous demand for Pakistan. Bihar Government was subjected to scathing criticism all over the provinces for banning the Bhagalpore Session of the Sabha to be held in December 1941, and satyagrahis who defied the ban were congratulated on their return. Defiance of the ban and fearlessness of the Government authority were advocated to be a mark of victory for the Hindu Mahasabha. At Wardha, Kesheo Chimote averred that branches of Hindu Mahasabha existed in Tokyo and Malaya while M.D. Kolte said that one Harikrishna Verma ordered his volunteers to arrest the District Superintendent of Police and a sergeant who went to arrest him. In Amraoti, B.G. Khaparde stated that the Japanese and Germans were friends of Indians and at Buldana H.N. Gokhale stated that the Hindu Mahasabha did not want to fight against Germany but to expel the Muslims when British Government in India was wiped off by Germany.

In February, at the '*Yajna*' performance at Khamgaon, attended by 30,000 Hindus from various places, Savarkar stated that '*Yajna*' would burn untouchability in its holy fire and that the Hindus would more than ever dominate Indian politics. Pakistan was condemned and Congress was invited to join hands with the Hindu Mahasabha. The audience was urged to

burn their bonds of slavery in the 'Yajna' fire and stated that the function amply demonstrated Hindu solidarity.

In March at the second Yeotmal Hindu Mahasabha Conference, held at Pusad, and attended by Dr S.K. Kale, B.V. Hardas and other provincial leaders resolutions to enrol 5,000 Hindu Mahasabha members in each district and opposition to Pakistan scheme were passed, and it was decided to collect Rs 1,250 for Hindu Mahasabha propaganda work. At a meeting at Darwah, Hardas described the British outrages during 1857 mutiny and stated that the British were more cruel than the Germans, and the Hindus had to fight against the British and the Muslims in order to obtain freedom. In Raipur at a meeting, V.G. Deshpande in an impressive speech invited the attention of the audience to Savarkar's call 'to give your lives and to take the lives of others'.

In April at a meeting at Ballarshah (Chanda) W.S. Aole urged the audience to join the Hindu Sabha and to form Ramsena. At a meeting at Akola, S.W. Kelkar condemned Imperialism and congratulated all the party leaders on their rejection of 'Cripps proposals' which were designed to disintegrate and revolutionize India. In Nagpur at a meeting of 3,000, Moonje appealed to Government to arm the people and fit them for guerilla warfare. The Hindu Mahasabha at Nagpur decided to form Hindu Saurakshak Dal to assist the people in case of air raids and other disturbances.

10th May was observed as the 'Independence Day' and the 'Anti-Pakistan Day' all over the province and several meetings were held to condemn the Pakistan scheme which was alleged to have been fostered by the British Government in order to be able to continue the old policy of divide and rule. On this occasion, in Nagpur, the members of a 'Pheri' carried a Bhagwa flag and placard on which the words 'Defeat the Scheme of Pakistan' was inscribed. Others carried black flags and shouted anti-Pakistan slogans. Speakers reminded the audience that 10th May marked the day in 1857 when Indian sepoys made an effort to overthrow the foreign rule. The Jubbulpore Nagar Hindu Mahasabha was reconstituted in May for the duration of war as the 'war emergency measure'. In Chanda at a meeting, A.M. Siras, the president delivered a defeatist and objectionable speech and said that the Hindus should not allow the Muslims to rule in the Punjab and Bengal. A new branch of Hindu Mahasabha was opened at Lasura Khurd (Buldana) M.S. Tayade, at a meeting at Mehkar, urged the Hindus to join the Army and advised the audience to enlist in the Rakshak Dals, Civil Guards, etc., to be able to deal with lawlessness when chaos prevails. Several meetings were held to celebrate Savarkar's 59th birthday anniversary.

In June, at a private meeting at Nimar, a resolution was passed urging the Hindus to unite and carry sticks for self-defence. At Pusad (Yeotmal) at a meeting, T.G. Pande criticised the Nizam's Government for its treatment of Yeshwantrao, in jail, and warned the Government to behave or else the whole India would offer satyagraha. A resolution to this effect was passed.

In July, R.N. Kolharkar, the secretary of the Hindu Sabha, Akola, was suspected of fixing inside a local press an anti-Muslim poster which caused considerable sensation among the Muslims. He also made a propaganda at Akola that picketing at grain shops should be started if local merchants failed to sell grain at the controlled rates. The Hindu Mahasabha at the outset considered the Congress resolution to be political stunt and opined that it would not bring any good to India. Later, expressed sympathy with it.

In August, Tilak Jayanti was observed in several places in Buldana. and other districts too. The life of Tilak was eulogized and at Malkapur enlistment in the Army was advocated to protect the motherland and Hindu religion.

In September, *Shakti* of Jubbulpore published an article appealing to the people to build up an anti-Pakistan front and called for volunteers for this purpose.

[*Omitted*: A long list of Hindu Mahasabha leaders etc. in C.P. & Berar — Ed.]

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, 1942

Dr B.S. Moonje, the acclaimed leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, frequently visited the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers and repeatedly told them that Hindustan belonged to the Hindus and that it should be retaken from the British. At the annual district camps held at Nagpur, Bhandara, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Amraoti, Yeotmal, Buldana and Chanda, in December 1941, leaders appealed for unity and organization among the volunteers and for increasing the membership and the funds of the Sangh.

In February, at Talegaon Dassasar, Rs 80 were collected and leaders begged for liberal donations.

In March, Hindu New Year's Day was observed in almost all the districts and speeches on the utility of the Sangh service were made and parades and drill exercises were held. At Jalamb (Buldana) at a meeting of 200, S.R. Bhatia of Khamgaon advocated solidarity in the Sangh which was a defensive organization against the Muslim goondas. Some of the miscreants in the Sangh at Khamgaon (Buldana) assaulted a police constable because he happened to be a Muslim. They were prosecuted.

In April, a camp was held from 3rd to 5th at Antarbhel (Chhindwara) and about 800 volunteers attended. M.S. Golwalkar, the chief organizer of the Sangh, in his speech referred to the war and said that Hindu women were likely to be molested and hence to prevent their honour he asked the volunteers to move from village to village forming Sangh and enlisting volunteers.

In May, G.S. Paramarth of Nagpur, at a meeting at Wardha attended by about 600 people, warned the audience to be ready to meet Muslim goondaism during the impending pandemonium due to war conditions. Officers' training camps were held at Nagpur Wardha, Akola, Nimar and Raipur with great enthusiasm. Volunteers from other provinces also joined in Nagpur camp and distinguished leaders and organizers visited the several camps. The object of the camps was to train volunteers and make them efficient organizers for spreading Sangh activities everywhere. This object of the camps was materialized as several branches were opened all over the province and specially in Nagpur district where the total number of branches and membership are 301 and 8,000, respectively. In Nimar the membership was doubled. In Akola camp the volunteers joined in observing Anti-Pakistan and Independence Day.

In June, at the closing of the officers' training camps, remarkable demonstrations in lathi, sword and lezim drill were given at Nagpur, Wardha and Raipur before a considerable gathering, and at Nagpur, Mr Golwalkar while speaking on the aims and objects of the Sangh said that it had no intention of coming into conflict with any other community.

In July volunteers trained at Akola started training a batch of about 200 at Umerkhed (Yeotmal) and convened propaganda meetings in the interior of the district. Villagers and particularly Harijans were persuaded to enlist as volunteers. Rambilas Nathmal Daga of Chikhli (Buldana) in a speech vehemently advised the volunteers not to be content merely with lathi and spear exercises but to learn the ways and means to free the motherland. This speech marked the drifting away of the Sangh leaders into politics, which, they had so far maintained, had no bearing on the Sangh. Leaders hereafter and conspicuously in Buldana district warned

the people that Government was becoming weaker and weaker daily and pointed out to the Sangh as the only organization in the country which would protect the Hindu community and Hindu religion from external aggression and defy goondaism in times of anarchy.

In August, at Nagpur, 'Guru Purnima' was celebrated and Rs 100 were collected. In Bilaspur Rs 8 were collected and R.A. Nulkar, in his speech on the occasion, stressed on the importance of Hindu religion and the absence of caste in the Sangh. At Chikhli (Buldana) a Lohar was prosecuted under the Arms Act for preparing battle-axe type axe-heads and spears for the local Sangh. Dr Ramdayal Daga and Dr Ramchandra Khekade, Sangh leaders at Chikhli, attempted to secretly arm themselves with battle-axes and spears.

In September, 'Guru Dakshina' was celebrated in Jubbulpore under the presidentship of R. Tiwari, the local organizer. Purses to the total value of Rs 2,027 were presented to the Sangh. In Buldana district the membership of the Sangh has considerably increased of late and they have given threats of violence and armed themselves on a large scale. Their activities are kept very secret. It is now alleged that during the recent outburst of the Congress movement the Sangh leaders were instrumental in creating havoc. In Akola Rs 5,000 are being collected for the Sangh by leaders like K.K. Palcole and others.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh Leaders, Organizers and Propagandists

Nagpur District

Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar, Chief Organizer of All-India Rashtriya Swayam Seewak Sangh.

Umakant Hari alias Babesahib Apte, All India Organizer.

Martand Parashram Jog, Commander-in-Chief, All India RAshtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

Eknath Ramchandra Ranade, Provincial Organizer.

R.N. Padhye, Advocate, Chief Provincial Organizer.

Sadasheo Balwant Karkare, Secretary of Provincial Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, 1941.

Govind Sitaram Parmarth, Propagandist.

Punkhraj Oswal, Sangh Chalak, Paraseoni.

Keshav Ramchandra Joshi, Organizer of Kondhali Branch.

Sheshrao Ganpatrao, Organizer of Kondhali Branch.

Narhari Balwant Pathak, Propagandist and Organizer (Mahal Branch).

Nanaji Naik of Umrer, Branch Organizer.

Seth Srikrishna of Kondhali, Branch Organizer.

Ranjorsingh, of Dhapewada, Branch Organizer.

Nathar Balaji Parkhi, Instructor, Summer Camp. 1942.

Mukund Haribhau Munje, Instructor, Summer Camp. 1942.

P.N. Ambekar, Instructor, Summer Camp. 1942.

Moreswar Ramchandra Pingaley Krishna Mulmule, Katol.

Madhav Bapat,

Manohar P. Deo

Manohar Bendre

Balwant Jageshwar Ghate, Katol.

Dattatraya alias Dattu, Organizer

Malharrao Kale, General Secretary

Balasaheb Deoras, Chief Secretary

Gajanand Prabhakar Telang, President, Nagpur Branch, 1936.

Dattopant Bimaye, Vice-President, Nagpur Branch, 1936.
Hanumant Vishnu Kulkarni, Vice President, Nagpur Branch, 1936.
Narayan Yeshwant Telang, Chief Secretary, Nagpur Branch, 1936.

Wardha District

Govind Trimbak Sabhnis, Sangh Chalak, Hinganghat.
Krishna Dajiba Singru, Taluq Sangh Chalak.
Venkatesh Soman, Mehkar
Shridharrao, Professor, Arts College Wardha.
Narayan Laxmanrao Kolte, Organizer.

Chanda District

Narayan Pandurang Bhagwat

Chhindwara District

Sukhnandan Tilakchand, Organizer
Rameshwar Bania, Organizer,
Bhau Maratha Instructor
Gyanchand Sharma of Jamsi Organizer
Krishna Kumar
Ketkar
Govinddeo Koshti, Secretary, Sausor Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, 1940

Jubbulpore District

Kunjilal Dube, District Organizer
Ramprasad Tiwari, City Organizer
Shriram Nanhoria.
Prahlad, Narayan Ambedkar
Bimal Chandra Banerji
Dattatre Joshi
Manoharlal

Mandla District

Nilkanth Shridhar, President
Gangadhar Sheshrao Pande, Vice President
Vasant Gopal Secretary

Hoshangabad District

Govind Krishna Bhuskatte of Timarni
B.K. Mitwalkar
Nimar district
V.I. Bedarkar, Organizer
Dr Badriprasad Mahodaya
Dattaraya Balwant Thoke, Master, Commandant
V.I. Beekar, Branch Organizer
Rajaram Gujar

Narath Gujar
Jashwardas Bania

Raipur District

Thakur Parelalsingh
Tribenilal Shrivastav

Bilaspur District

Ramchandra Anant Nulkar, Organizer
Vithal Ramchandra Kale, Organizer
Gopal Bakare, Instructor
Hagthamal Seth, Organizer

Bhandara District

Vinayak Damodhar Kolte, in charge of Summar Camp, 1942
Au Margu Makade, Organizer,
R.M. Weikar, Secretary, 1939

Balaghat District

Prahlad Rajaram Deopujari, Sangh Chalak
Dattatraya Deshpande, Instructor
Ramkrishan Bholaram, Instructor, of Katangi

Akola District

A hut Madhav Khanzoe, Captain, Akola Sangh
Govind Keshen Sohani
Shankar Gopal Dabir, Basin
Narayan Ramchandra Dhangare
Shrrihar Anant Soni Organizer
G.R. Krindikar
Gujanand Mahadeo Ghate
K.K. Palsole

Buldana District

Prahlad Trimbakrao
Nago Nathu Deshmukh
Dr Janardhan Waman Barrde
Shrawan Narain Patil
Gulabao Bhansi Metkar
Purushottam Vithal Deshmukh
Ramrao Kharrate
Purushottam Sadashiv Khedkar
Madhoraoji Tamboli of Nandora
Kesheo Kashinath Joshi of Jalgaon
Dr Prahlad Madhav Kale
Ramchandra Nathmal Daga

Dr Ramchandra Ganpat Khedkar, Khekadi

Amraoti district

Appaji alias Hari Krishna Joshi District Sangh Chalak.

Ganesh Sheshrao Jadhav, Organizer of Akola Summer Camp, 1942.

G.N. Kanitkar of Paratwada, Organizer of Akola Summer Camp, 1942, and Supervisor, Taluq Amraoti

R.B. Ramkrishna Moreshwar Khare, District Supervisor

Laxman Ramkrishna Mote, President, Local Branch, Amraoti

Shankar Daulat Gupte, Vice-President, Local Branch, Amraoti

Ramrao Raghupat Sardeshpande, Secretary, Local Branch Amraoti

Waman Govind Mali, Organizer, Paleskhed, Chandur

Sumersingh of Kurha

Madhorao Sune.

Yeotmal district

Wasudeo Krishnaji, Organizer of Ghatanji Branch

Vithal Sadashiv, Organizer of Ghatanji Branch.

Shridhar Rambhau, Organizer of Ghatanji Branch

Trimbak Sakharam Shukla, Organizer of Pusad Camp.

Hindu Sabha

In this province, the Hindu Sabha has a greater following in Berar. The Hindu Sabha has a provincial branch and the several districts of the province have district and town branches as shown in the statement below. Total membership of the Hindu Sabhaites in the province approximately is 21,634 excluding Amraoti, Balaghat, Betul and Bhandara, the triennial reports of the political and quasi-political societies of which have not yet been received. There are about 67 branches of the Sabha including the provincial and others.

The amount of funds possessed by the organization is not known. The important offices are at Nagpur, Akola, Amraoti and Buldana where it is very active.

Hindu Mahasabha, September 1942

<i>District</i>	<i>No. of branches</i>	<i>Strength</i>
Nagpur	5	5,125*
Wardha	4	-
Chanda	7	665
Chhindwara	2	30
Betul	-	-
Jubbulpore	2	600
Saugor including Damoh Sub Division	4	141
Mandla	-	-
Hoshangabad including Narasinghpur	5	1,273
Nimar	2	380

<i>District</i>	<i>No. of branches</i>	<i>Strength</i>
Raipur	2	860
Bilaspur	1	800
Drug	—	—
Bhanda	1	—
Balaghat	1	—
Akola	7	6,654
Amraoti	3	—
Buldan	15	876
Yeotmal	6	1,225
Total	67	21,634

* Including Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, nothing to report.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, 1942

In pursuance of its policy of non-participation in politics, the Sangh, till the end of 1941, ostensibly kept itself on the right side of law and far from being embroiled in communal riots. Being a purely communal and secret organization sponsored by the Hindu Mahasabha its final objective is the attainment of 'Swaraj' by violently overthrowing the Government.

During the last six months the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh leaders, organizers and volunteers have spared no pains to open up numerous branches in the various parts of these Provinces and inviting villagers and particularly Harijans to join the Sangh. Rambilas Nathmal Daga of Chikhli (Buldana) in a recent speech vehemently advised the volunteers not to be content merely with lathi and spear exercises but to learn the ways and means to free the motherland. The leaders are continually sounding the warning to the people that the Government is being weakened daily and pointing out to the Sangh as the only organization which would protect the Hindu community and Hindu religion from external aggression and defy goondaism in times of anarchy.

The latest incidents at Chikhli (Buldana) where some axes and spear-heads prepared for the local Sangh were seized from a Lohar and the attempt on the part of Dr Ramchandra Khekade and Dr Ramdayal Daga, Sangh leaders, to secretly arm themselves with battle-axes and spears amply prove its offensive tendency to defy the lawful authority and its association with other rowdy elements of the country.

Memorandum of Government of India, Home Department Intelligence Bureau, No. 60-D, G-42, dated New Delhi, the 18th May 1942.

A copy of a note on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh prepared in this Bureau is forwarded for information.

2. It appears desirable that in future a closer watch should be maintained over this organization than has been the case in the past and that the leaders of the Sangh should be left in no doubt that breaches of the ban on uniforms and drill will not in future be permitted.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (National Volunteer Corps) is a Hindu Volunteer Corps which can best be described as the Hindu counterpart of the Khaksar movement. It was

founded in 1925 at Nagpur (C.P.) by Dr Keshao Hedgewar, a Maharashtra Brahmin, who was Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha from 1926–31. In 1927 the corps was reorganized in the four Marathi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces by Dr B.S. Moonje, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, to defend the Hindus during communal outbreaks. In 1932 it was accorded official recognition by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and became an all-India organization. At the end of the same year the Central Provinces Government debarred Government servants from joining or taking part in the activities of the Sangh.

2. Purpose of the Sangh — A report received in 1941 describes the corps as an organization somewhat on the lines of a 'pan-Hindu' Boy Scout movement with physical training, discipline and public service as its objects. This impression of the innocuous nature of the organization is by no means uncommon. Its real aims and objects, however, are far more significant. Its ostensible object is to imbue Hindus with a spirit of nationalism and inspire them with self-confidence, so as to make them a great national force. Its real purpose, however, goes further than this and is the attainment of 'Hindustan for the Hindus'; to this end it seeks to unify the Hindus, imbue them with a martial spirit, impart military training, build up physique and character and establish a strong and disciplined Hindu militia. It aims at achieving ultimately an India free from both foreign and Muslim domination. Every candidate for admission to the Sangh is made to take the following secret oath standing under the flag of the organization:

'Before the All-Powerful God and my ancestors, I most solemnly take this oath, that I become a member of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh order to gain freedom for the Hindu nation by keeping intact my sacred Hindu religion, Hindu society and Hindu culture. I shall perform the work of the Sangh honestly, disinterestedly, with my heart and soul and I shall adhere to this oath all my life.

'Jai-Bajrang-Bali-Balbhimi-Jai'.

In a speech made at Nagpur during the Dasehra celebrations of 1932, Dr Hedgewar claimed that Hindustan was for the Hindus, that Hindus would dominate the future Government of India and it was for them to say what political rights and privileges were to be conceded to non-Hindu elements. After the Central Provinces Government had issued an order in December 1932 forbidding Government servants to join or take part in the activities of the Sangh, however, Dr Hedgewar changed his tune and during the 'Til Sankrant' celebrations on January 10th, 1933, he asserted that Government had acted on base insinuations made against the Sangh and denied that it was either a political or a communal body. Sir M.V. Joshi, who presided at the meeting held on this occasion, was unable fully to endorse these remarks and admitted that the Sangh was a communal organization although he justified its existence on the ground that the Hindus should be able to defend themselves in times of stress. He further remarked that the Sangh was opposed to the idea of non-violence. Dr B.S. Moonje, who also spoke, went even further by favouring offence rather than defence and advocating a policy of 'strike first'. At a reception given in his honour on December 11th, 1937, in Nagpur, V.D. Savarkar, the Hindu Mahasabha leader, commended the Sangh and the work of Dr Hedgewar. He suggested that the Hindus should keep guard over the 'thief in their midst', i.e., the Muslims, and then expel the 'foreign dacoits'. At the 1939 Dasehra celebrations in Nagpur, R.N. Padhye, one of the provincial leaders of the Sangh, stated that the objects of the Sangh were:

- (i) to organize the Hindus of Hindustan irrespective of caste, colour or creed.
- (ii) to create in them a sense of solidarity, and
- (iii) to defend the honour of the Hindu religion and nation at any price.

A few days later, on November 13th, 1939 Dr N.D. Savarkar, brother of V.D. Savarkar, told 300 Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh volunteers at Nagpur that they were the allies of the Hindu Sabha and the Arya Samaj in the fight against the enemies of Hinduism viz., the British Government, the Muslims and the Congress. During 1940, speakers continued to draw attention to the communal nature of the Sangh and emphasized its aims to protect Hinduism and prepare a useful potential force to deal with an expected Muslim invasion on the attainment of 'Swaraj'. Addressing meetings in the Bombay Province in November 1940 Professor M.S. Golwalkar, the present chief organizer of the Sangh, propounded the pan-Hindu theory of one undivided India under the Hindu rule of the Mahasabha. During 1941 there were many speeches denouncing 'Pakistan'.

3. *Organization* — The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh is ostensibly an open organization but actually a considerable degree of secrecy is observed. Only members are allowed to be present while training is actually in progress and even Police officers have been refused admission to private grounds where such training was being carried out. The constitution of the Sangh does not appear ever to have been published. The rules have not been made public. No advertisement is given to the names of the office-bearers and the posts they hold. Typical of the air of secrecy which surrounds the organization is the fact that no successor appears to have been announced after the death of the leader, Dr Hedgewar, on June 21st, 1940. According to a 1941 report of a conversation with one of the members of the Sangh, the activities of the Sangh are open for all to see but the leaders will never speak to any outsider or to any of their own junior members regarding the internal activities or internal principles of their organization.

The headquarters of the Sangh is at Nagpur and the two main centres are at Nagpur and Poona, both in Maharashtra. The Sangh was at first confined almost entirely to Maharashtra and has always been dominated by the Maharashtra Brahmins. In recent years, however, it has spread all over India and there are now branches in the North-West Frontier Province, Punjab, Delhi, United Provinces, Madras, Bihar, Bombay, Sind, Bengal, Central Provinces and Berar, Gwalior, Indore, Hyderabad, Mysore, the Deccan States and elsewhere. It is a custom of the Sangh to announce publicly each year the number of branches and the number of members the organization claims to possess, but no other details are ever given. These claims have grown progressively larger during the past few years. In 1936, 200 branches and 25,000 members were claimed. By 1938 the figures had risen to 350 branches and 40,000 members. Thereafter the yearly claims were 1939: 500 branches and 60,000 members; 1940: 700 branches and 80,000 members and 1941: 700 branches and 150,000 members. To what extent these figures can be relied on is difficult to say, but it does not seem advisable to take them entirely at their face value. It is difficult to reconcile the claim of an increase of 70,000 members in 1941 over the 1940 figures with the fact that the same number of branches was claimed in 1941 as in 1940. The official estimate of the strength of this organization, made in November 1941, placed the membership at 17,015 in the Central Provinces, 1,360 in the United Provinces, 3,000 in the Punjab and 13,577 in Bombay Province. There has probably been, however, a substantial increase since this estimate was made, and a very recent report from the Punjab places the present membership in that province at approximately 8,000. The only qualification required for membership is that the candidate must be a Hindu. While a large proportion of the members join the organization in early youth, there is no age limit. At a meeting in October 1941 in the Central Provinces it was announced that all Hindus between seven and sixty-five years of age were eligible to become members.

Owing to the secrecy which is maintained, the internal organization of the Sangh cannot at present be described with any degree of accuracy. The Sangh appears to be organized on military lines with a civilian secretariat located at Nagpur. The secretariat consists of the leader of the organization, who is the Chief Organizer and Commander-in-Chief, and a number of organizers with their subordinates. The organizers tour all over India establishing new branches of the Sangh and advising, encouraging and controlling the existing branches. There are also provincial organizers for certain provinces and important cities. From 1925 to 1940, the Chief Organizer and Commander-in-Chief of the Sangh was Dr Hedgewar. Although no public announcement has been made in this connection, there is little doubt that he has been succeeded by Professor Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar of Nagpur, who was assistant chief organizer during the lifetime of Dr Hedgewar. A list of the more important members of the Sangh with the offices they hold is given in Appendix A. This list is by no means exhaustive and is subject to verification.

The volunteers are organized in military formations—platoons, companies and battalions—and strict discipline is maintained. The Sangh has its own saffron-coloured flag bearing the word 'OM' and known as the 'Bhagwa Jhanda', its own oath, which has been quoted above: and its own uniform. The uniform is almost identical with that of Indian troops and consists of a black cap, khaki shirt with shoulder-straps and R.S.S.S. badges, khaki shorts and khaki stockings. Some branches have been seen wearing ammunition boots and putties. Officers frequently wear Sam Browne belts. The volunteers usually carry lathis, which they are taught to use most effectively. They are also taught to use swords, spears and daggers and are given shooting practice with air guns.

4. *Activities and Training* — The most important activity of the Sangh is the annual officers training camp (O.T.C.) held every summer at Nagpur. This camp has expanded rapidly during the last few years; the number of persons who attended in 1938, 1939, 1940 and 1941 was 350, 750, 1,232 and 2,010, respectively. The 2,040 volunteers who attended the 1941 camp came principally from Central Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay and the United Provinces. The camp lasts forty days and the course of instruction includes —

- (a) Squad drill: platoon drill; company drill; battalion drill; sentry duties; guard mounting; musketry with air guns; sham fights and other manoeuvres; physical training; and weapon training in the use of lathis, daggers, spears and swords.
- (b) Band section; special police section; and medical corps—consisting of private medical practitioners of Nagpur.
- (c) Mental training, consisting of lectures on the aims and objects of the Sangh, its national outlook and matters such as Hindu Sangathan and protection of Hindu rights.

Training is also given in such subjects as organization, sanitation, distribution of food and rations, first aid and nursing. The training not only aims at building up good physique and active habits on the part of the volunteer but also at improving and strengthening his character by endeavouring to inculcate in him such virtues as patience, endurance, temperance, discipline, morality, punctuality, bravery, moral courage and determination. Attempts are also made to strengthen his religious convictions by developing a purely Hindu outlook through lectures on Hindu solidarity.

Camps similar to those held at Nagpur have also been held at Poona. In addition to these all-India training camps, district branches of the organization hold annual district camps lasting four or five days during the Christmas holidays every year. Apart from the special camps,

training continues regularly throughout the year. The Sangh keeps four religious festivals-Navami and Til Sankrant. Of these the Dasehra celebrations are the most important and include an arms worship ceremony introduced by Dr Hedgewar in 1932. The celebrations on these occasions are similar in form to a military review. Demonstrations of marching drill, physical exercises and displays in the use of lathi, sword, spear or dagger are given and there are speeches regarding the aims and objects of the Sangh, its progress and development. The leaders of the Sangh are shrewd in their selection of the guest of honour at the more important annual functions. Important Hindu leaders are invariably chosen and each year a different province is represented. In this way widespread support is obtained for the Sangh.

5. *Funds* – The Sangh is believed to be in a sound financial position. In 1938 it was estimated that the funds of the organization amounted to about Rs 20,000. It was reported that these funds were not deposited in any particular bank but that the money was kept at Nagpur with several local bankers in the names [general rule. Firstly, owing to the highly communal nature of fictitious persons.] This arrangement was adopted after the 1930-1 Civil Disobedience Movement, when Government confiscated the funds of illegal institutions. A 1939 report stated that Rs 20,000 was kept as a fixed deposit with two Nagpur money-lenders, Chitnavis and Ghatate. Strict control is maintained over the finances of the Sangh and each branch is normally permitted to retain only Rs 200 deposit. A recent Punjab report, however indicates that the Lahore branch possesses a balance of Rs 5,307. The income of the Sangh is derived from subscriptions and donations from volunteers, supporters and well-wishers, usually collected at the annual Guru Purnima festival. The collections so made are known as 'Guru Dakshina'. Substantial sums are obtained in this way.

6. *Policy* – The policy of the Sangh is influenced to a considerable extent by its association with the Hindu Mahasabha. Exactly how closely the Sangh is connected with the Hindu Mahasabha is not known, as no public reference to its association is ever made by the leaders of either organization. That it is close, however, is clear from the respect with which Hindu Mahasabha leaders such as V.D. Savarkar and Dr B.S. Moonje are treated by the Sangh and the authority with which they make public pronouncements regarding the Sangh. It is also significant that when Dr Hedgewar died, V.D. Savarkar, as President of the Hindu Mahasabha, instructed Hindu Sabhas throughout India to observe June 30th, 1942, as a day of mourning for him. It is, therefore necessary to bear in mind that any radical change in the declared policy of the Hindu Mahasabha will probably effect the policy of the Sangh.

In 1939 a reliable report stated that the leaders of the Sangh were not in favour of taking part in any political activities for some years to come as they were of opinion that to take part in any such activity prematurely would mean an end of the institution. Further, the policy of the Sangh was to prepare the Hindu youth for the future struggle for freedom of the country. They had no faith in democracy and believed that freedom could only be won by violence. In 1940 it was reported that at the end of the annual forty days training selected members of the Sangh are as a rule, tried for a period of three years in different capacities and the most reliable of them are unobtrusively introduced into various departments of Government, such as the army, navy, postal, telegraph, railway and administrative services in order that there may be no difficulty in capturing control over the administrative departments in India when the time comes. This rather sensational inside account of the secret programme of the Sangh

* The Square brackets do not occur in the original text, but it is obvious that some words have been missed out in the portion within them. We have faithfully reproduced the printed text of the document – Ed.

cannot be accepted literally, but it can be stated without exaggeration that the Sangh has been for some years working out a long-term policy of steady preparation for the attainment of its ultimate objective of Hindu supremacy.

7. *Conduct* — In pursuance of its policy of gradual development and preparation the Sangh has as a general rule taken care to keep on the right side of the law and avoid any clash with authority. There have, however, been two exceptions to this¹ the organization it is inevitable that from time to time some of its members should have been involved in communal riots and incidents. The most recent instance occurred in March 1942, at Jalgaon in the East Khandesh district of Bombay Province, when two persons were killed and thirty-seven injured. Secondly the Sangh has given cause for complaint in its attitude towards the ban imposed in 1940 on the wearing of uniforms and the performance of the drill during the year, *viz.*, Dasehra, Rakshabandhan, etc. This ban struck at the very core of the Sangh's existence by seeking to suppress those features of the organization which were its chief attractions in the eyes of its youthful recruits, *viz.*, its uniform and its parade-ground activities. While the official attitude of the Sangh to this ban is one of compliance with Government orders, there have been a number of instances of failure to comply either with the spirit or letter of the ban. Such cases have occurred repeatedly in the Central Provinces and occasionally in Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Sind, the Punjab and the United Provinces. Information on record shows that in only three cases have officers of the Sangh been prosecuted (in Bombay, Madras and the Punjab). The Punjab case was under the Arms Act for unlawful possession of a store of swords and daggers.

From the many instances which might be quoted it is clear that the restrictions on drill and the wearing of uniforms have been publicly disregarded in several provinces. This indicates either an inability on the part of the leaders of the organization to control their members or an attitude of resistance towards regulations which conflict with the interests of their organization. The dangers of such an attitude are obvious. If at any time in the future the Sangh or its political mentor, the Hindu Mahasabha, should decide to follow a policy which would bring them into conflict with Government the leaders of the Sangh would have at their disposal large numbers of well-disciplined and fairly well-trained officers and men capable, as recent years have shown, of rapidly increasing their numbers by training fresh recruits. Apart from repeated disregard of the ban on drill and uniform and occasional precipitation in communal trouble there has hitherto been nothing particularly objectionable about the Sangh's activities, but it is obvious that dangerous potentialities exist. It has been suggested in some quarters that the Sangh has pro-Japanese tendencies. Evidence of this is very scanty and by no means convincing. The most that can be said at present is that the Sangh might be drawn into pro-Japanese activities through its connection with the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, if the latter itself initiates or develops such activities.

Appendix A

- (1) Chief Organizer and Commander-in-Chief — Professor M.S. Golwalkar of Nagpur.
- (2) All-India Secretary and Organizer, Poona City — V.G. Apte of Poona.
- (3) All-India Secretary — Madho Rai.
- (4) Touring Organizer — Vyas Deoras of Nagpur.
- (5) Touring Organizer — Yeshwant Telang of Nagpur.
- (6) Touring Physical Instructor — V.V. Gokhale of Nagpur.
- (7) Chief Organizer for Madras Province — C.S. Paramarth of Madras.

- (8) Chief Organizer for Bengal – Rai J.N. Roy Chaudhry of Nakipur, 24 Parganas, ex-President of the Hindu Mahasabha.
- (9) Chief Organizer for the Central Provinces – R.N. Padhye.
- (10) General Officer Commanding, Poona – N.G. Abhyankar.
- (11) Officer-in-Charge of the Calcutta Branch – Dr Santosh Kumar Mukherjee.
- (12) Organizer, Bombay City – Gopal Yerkuntwar.
- (13) Chief Commanding Officer, Bombay City – Dada Nayak.
- (14) Commanding Officer, Bombay City – V.T. Valawalkar.

Appendix B

Summary of a report on the officers' training camp of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh held in April May 1942 at Poona.

An Officers' Training Camp of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was held at Poona from 23rd April to 27th May 1942. About 1,100 volunteers attended the camp including fifty members of a special adult class which lasted only a fortnight. The volunteers were given physical training, drill instruction, etc., and also attended a series of mental training classes. The Sangh has a three years' officers training course, of which the first and second year courses were held at Poona. The final year's course is always held at Nagpur. A list of the camp's instructors is appended, together with translations of the Sangh's special prayer and marching songs and list of its own literature. A summary of the more important points brought out in the daily lectures given at the mental training classes is given below.

2. Yadavrao Joshi of Nagpur, propagandist for the Karnatic Province, on 24th April 1942 stressed the importance of the mental training classes and asked the Sangh volunteers to give up all ideas of individuality, quoting the example of Japan and Germany, where every individual has identified himself with the ambitions of his nation.

K.D. Joshi of Nagpur on 25th April 1942 declared that to increase the moral strength of the Sangh the following three things are essential:

- (1) Enrolment of more members.
- (2) Loyalty to the Sangh and its principles, and
- (3) Increase in the number of active workers.

3. M.S. Golwalkar of Nagpur, the Chief Organizer of the Sangh, addressed the volunteers on seven separate occasions. On 26th April 1942 he said that the Sangh was training volunteers with a view to make them good officers capable of leading the world in any critical situation. This country belonged to the Hindus whose forefathers spilt their blood for its sake. The Sangh was meant for the whole of India and was therefore termed 'National'; but the Hindus alone had so far proved loyal to the country; therefore they alone were eligible for enrolment to the Sangh. Whoever, forgetting his traditions, joins hands with the enemies should be killed even if he were their own brother, because only he who follows and sticks to their principles would be regarded as their real brother. The mental apathy of the Hindus should be removed and a feeling of hatred towards the men of other religions, who were getting high-handed, should be created in them. The Sangh was doing this work.

On 27th April 1942 he denounced those persons who render every possible assistance to the present Government for their own selfish ends. On 28th April 1942 he declared that the Sangh has resolved to do its duty even though the whole world goes against it and impressed on the volunteers that they must be ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause of the country.

On 29th April 1942 he again denounced selfish individualism, quoting France as an example of its ultimate result.

On 3rd May 1942 he made an important speech in which he clearly revealed the communal and Fascist nature of the organization. He said that the Sangh had been started not only for combating Muslim aggression but for completely extirpating that disease; it was therefore necessary to have proper men at the helm whose attention should be focussed on the achievement of their goal. The Sangh was resolved to stand on its own legs, not minding any opposition. It was not possible to get Swaraj by begging it from foreigners and this could only be obtained by strength; it was therefore their duty to strengthen the Sangh. They would not waste their energy but would reserve it and would make use of it at the proper time. He said that they had nothing to do with what the Japanese or the British were going to do but the question was what they should do. The opportunity for which they had been waiting so long had now come and they should utilise this to their advantage.

On 5th May 1942 he said that he was glad to see the war taking place, as the time of their liberation was fast approaching. They had to worship the goddess of war not by flowers by the sacrifice of lives. They were not afraid of offering sacrifices to the goddess.

4. Dr P.G. Sahasrabudhe addressed the volunteers on three occasions. On 4th May 1942 he announced that the Sangh followed the principle of dictatorship. Denouncing democratic Government as an unsatisfactory form of Government, he quoted France as a typical bad example and, praising dictatorship, he pointed to Japan, Russia and Germany. He particularly praised the Fuehrer principle of Germany. On 21st May 1942 he drew attention to the value of propaganda, quoting Russia and Germany as examples, and again extolled the virtues of the Leader principle, citing Mussolini's success as a further example.

5. Dada Parmartha of Nagpur on 6th May 1942 said that the opportunity, for which they had waited so long, had now come and they should consider the slogan: 'Their difficulty is our opportunity'. They should hope for a better future and prepare for the worst. This was an opportunity to prove that India belonged to them and this spirit should be created in the community.

N.G. Abhyankar of Poona, while closing the special adult classes on 10th May 1942, said that they must stand on their own legs and not depend on the British Government as this led to a demoralization of society with every individual merely caring for his own comforts.

Bapurao Joshi on 11th May 1942 told the volunteers that in Shivaji's time many persons sacrificed their lives for the Bhagwa flag and the Sangh was preparing thousands of volunteers to do the same; they should consider the organizer of the Sangh as the representative of the flag and respect him as their 'Guru'.

6. V.G. Apte addressed the volunteers on 12th and 19th May 1942. Referring to the ban on uniforms, he said this would not destroy their martial spirit but it was their duty to see that their organization was kept alive as their lives were meant for the Sangh. They should respect the martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the cause of Hindudom.

Dr Lele of Lucknow on 19th May 1942 painted a lurid picture of a pan-Islamic conspiracy spreading half way round the world, whose object is to convert the non-Muslims to their faith. Among other things he asserted that all Muslim organizations in India have one common object and posses huge funds, that the nations which are assisting Japan in the war are mostly Muslims, that half the Far East is under the green flag of the Muslims, that the Muslims have a fighting force of 55,000 and that in Africa 500 savages are being converted to Islam every day.

7. Lectures on similar lines were also given by the following:

Bhaurao Abhyankar.
Balasaheb Rege of Nagpur.
Balwant Narain Bhide, Pleader of Poona.
G.M. Joshi.
Appaji Joshi of Wardha.
Appa Pendse.
Vasantrao Deokuli.
Professor S.M. Mate.

List of Instructors (1942)

(1) Kanade, V.K.	(28) Deshmukh, G.	(55) Patwardhan, K.
(2) Gautam, V.D.	(29) Marathe, V.	(56) Gole, P.
(3) Pethe, G.V.	(30) Bapat, D.M.	(57) Gokhale, R.K.
(4) Ahtavale, V.G.	(31) Gadre, H.V.	(58) Bap. Parsuram.
(5) Natu, M.	(32) Date, H.V.	(59) Mhalgi, R.K.
(6) Oke, V.G.	(33) Vaidya, S.G.	(60) Nirgude, A.D.
(7) Gokhale, P.K.	(34) Joshi, G.A.	(61) Athavale, A.G.
(8) Solapure, M.N.	(35) Latkar, M.	(62) Mahajan, M.
(9) Batn, S.P.	(36) Pendse, V.V.	(63) Bhat, R.D.
(10) Mehendale, P.V.	(37) Mahajan, V.	(64) Bhadsavate, S.
(11) Joshi, V.G.	(38) Sovani, D.V.	(65) Kaujlgikar, P.
(12) Dharap, R.	(39) Vaishampayan, M.V.	(66) Bapat, R.
(13) Chitale	(40) Pimpalkhare, M.	(67) Kale, M.
(14) Deshpande, V.S.	(41) Bhau, M.	(68) Jogdeo, N.
(15) Palsule, Bal	(42) Barve, A.	(69) Suryavanshi, S.
(16) Barve, Madhu	(43) Gadgil, V.	(70) Geet, V.
(17) Gosavi, S.S.	(44) Dave, B.V.	(71) Kulkarni, V.
(18) Deshpande, M.D.	(45) Joglekar, J.	(72) Joshi, P.
(19) Gadgil, P.V.	(46) Matange, M.	(73) Gayakwad, G.
(20) Apte, M.D.	(47) Marathe, A.V.	(74) Barve, K.
(21) Page, Vamanrao	(48) Athavale, N.T.	(75) Jamdagani
(22) Thatte, Y.	(49) Godbole, D.G.	(76) Goddbole, K.
(23) Inamdar, M.	(50) Lele, B.G.	(77) Modak, A.
(24) Saswadkar, P.	(51) Deshpande, R.D.	(78) Kothavale
(25) Joglekar, G.	(52) Deshpande, G.B.	(79) Gosavi, Ram
(26) Rajput, V.	(53) Gautam, S.D.	(80) Kelkar, Balasaheb
(27) Kulkarni, R.K.	(54) Date, S.	(81) Kanade, No.

Sangh Prayer

(1) I bow always to my dear motherland, which has brought me up in happiness. Oh great auspicious and holy land, may my person have the honour of being sacrificed for your cause!

(2) Oh Almighty! We who form part of the Hindu Rashtra, respectfully bow down to you. We have girded up our loins for your cause, and may you bless us in that undertaking!

(3) Endow us with a divine and invincible power, whereby the whole world would be humble and friendly. May you please make our path passable, which (path) we have accepted voluntarily and which is learnt to be strewn with thorns!

(4) We have taken a heroic vow which is the means for universal progress and salvation. Let our firm belief in that goal increase, and let our minds be ever watchful.

(5) Let our glorious and organized strength be sufficiently able to protect our religion and raise the nation to a high level, with your blessings.

Success to Mother India

March Song

We are Hindu line brigade with our muskets and blades.

And we are going to a country that's far.

We will shout, hear and sing.

Like true soldiers of the realm.

And we have marched to meet the foe in days of yore.

On march on march, we are on march.

Soldiers of R.S.S. are on march.

Hindustan the motherland.

Hindustan the fatherland.

Hindustan the holy land.

Literature to be used for Sangh Organization

Lives

1. Life of Chhatrapati Shivaji
2. Life of late Dr K.B. Hedgewar
3. Life of B.G. Tilak
4. Life of V.D. Sawarkar
5. Life of Shradhanand
6. Life of Dayanand Saraswati.
7. Life of Lala Lajpattraj
8. Life of Agarkar
9. Life of Ramdas Swami
10. Life of Swami Vivekanand
11. Life of Hitler
12. Life of Mussolini
13. Life of Lenin
14. Life of Garibaldi
15. Life of Mazzini
16. Life of De Valera
17. Life of Chiang Kai shek

Volumes

1. Japan's Reorganization

2. 'Unity of Cultures' by Prof. D.K. Kelkar
3. 'Sawarkar's Literature'.
4. 'Hindutva' by Sawarkar
5. 'Sawarkar's Lectures'
6. 'Literature on Hinduism' by Hindu Bhandar, Nagpur
7. 'History of the Sikhs'
8. 'History of Vijayanagar'
9. 'History of Turks', by Bhave
10. 'History of Congress' by Pattabhi Sitaramayya
11. 'Caution to Hindus' by Savitri Devi.
12. 'Danger of Pakistan' by Karandikar
13. 'Harijan Problem' by Prof. Mate
14. 'History of Ireland' by Kelkar.

1 This word must be a misprint because to make sense there should have been a semicolon and some words here. However we have printed the text as we found it in the Archives.-Ed.

65 Government of C.P. & Berar to the Government of Bihar

Govt. of C.P. & Berar Pol. & Mil. Dept., File No. 207/1943
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

Secret

No. 1156-647/Con.

Government of Central Provinces and Berar,
Political and Military Department.

From

T.C.S. Jayaratnam, Esq., CIE, ICS,
Chief Secretary to the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar,
PATNA,

Nagpur, the 22nd September, 1943.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter No. 2297-U.249/43, dated the 16th August 1943,¹ regarding the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and to forward herewith two copies of a pamphlet² which contains detailed information regarding the organisation of the Sangh in this province. This Government has so far not placed a ban on the activities of the Sangh, except in respect of uniforms and drill of a military nature which are prohibited by the Central Government's notification dated the 5th August 1940. No grounds exist at present for dissolving the Sangh, since it has not identified itself with any political movement so far, although individual members

have been concerned in the congress disturbances which took place last year. The Sangh has also not shown any disposition to ignore the prohibitions and restrictions prescribed in the notification mentioned above and its organizers have always been willing to give effect to any instructions issued on the subject. The Provincial Government regards the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh as a potentially dangerous organisation which requires, and is receiving, very close watch.

2. As regards students and teachers associating themselves with the activities of the Sangh, the position is that Government servants are debarred from joining the Sangh. Students in Government schools have, however, not been so debarred and some of the students and teachers in aided schools are known to be members of the Sangh.

I have the honour to be Sir,
Your most obedient servant.

T.C.S. Jayaratnam

Signed

Chief Secretary to Government.

Doc. 52.

2. Doc. 64 above.

66: Government of Bombay to the Government of India (Volunteer Organizations)

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

No. S.D. – 2556

Home Department (Political)

Secret

Council Hall, Poona, 9th October 1943

From

H.V.R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

To

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department

Subject: *Volunter Organization*
Restrictions on the –

Sir,

I am directed to reply to your Express Letter No. 28/3/43–Poll (I), dated 10th August 1943,¹ drawing attention to the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and emphasizing the

importance of adhering strictly to the terms of the Government of India, Home Department, Notification, No. 74/3/40-Poll (I), dated 5th August 1940.²

2 On the issue of the above Notification this Government issued a Press Note explaining how the orders about volunteer organizations would be worked in this province. A copy of this Press Note was forwarded to the Government of India with this Government Express Letter No. S.D. 3006, dated 24th August 1940.³ Subsequently the Sangh discussed with Government certain difficulties which they felt regarding these orders, and full agreement was reached as to what was and was not permissible. Copies of a demi-official letter addressed to District Magistrates together with a summary of the discussion with the Sangh as also of a subsequent press note amplifying it are enclosed. The Commissioner of police, Bombay, and the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., report that the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has not in any way infringed Government Orders and that it has always shown willingness to comply with the law.

3. I am to add that the salute to Mr V.D. Savarkar referred to in the Intelligence Bureau's note was not of a military character but was performed by the volunteers holding the palm of their hands horizontally over the breast.

Your obedient servant,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

(1) Copy of demi-official letter to all District Magistrates No. 4310, dated 2nd December 1940 and its accompaniment.

(2) Copy of Press Note dated 11th February 1941.

D.O. No. S.D.-4310,
Home Department (Special),
Bombay, 2nd December 1940

Enclosure - 1

Dear Sir,

I am to enclose a copy of notes of conversations held between Mr Abhyankar and others on behalf of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and Secretary, Home Department.

It is now to be expected that many members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh will come forward to join the Civic Guards.

As the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh does not maintain an organization of volunteers who do duty in public, it is unnecessary that candidates for the Civic Guards who belong to the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh should give the declaration referred to in the second paragraph of Home Department Confidential Circular No. 3513/4-III(b), dated the 23rd November 1940.⁴

Yours sincerely,

Signed
Louis G. Pinto,
For Secy., H.D.

To All District Magistrates.

Summary

Simple drill is permitted so long as it is done with the intention of facilitating physical exercises, that is to say, so long as it is of a non-military nature. No drill of a military nature is permitted.

2. In these physical exercises nothing capable of being used as a weapon may be used, except articles accepted as useful in physical exercises such as skipping ropes, Indian clubs, or lezims. These articles must not be used in exercises as weapons.

For example a light bamboo may be used for physical exercises, but the exercise must not go beyond the exercises ordinarily in use at Akharas and gymnasiums.

3. Government has permitted physical exercises and simple drill on private premises, but if organizations use this concession to make ostentations displays of their strength and importance, this concession will have to be withdrawn.

When the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh intends to hold a joint gathering of local centres as for example at the time of festivals, at which large numbers will be present, or in any place to which objection might be taken, it should give intimation in good time to the local police.

4. No objection will be taken to the wearing of a khaki shirt and khaki shorts with a waist belt and a black cap and khaki turban.

Sam Browne belts or cross-belts of military pattern are open to objection. If the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh uniform is modified to omit these articles no objection will be taken to it.

5. The Sangh would be well-advised to confine its activities to classes intended really and solely for physical training and to encourage its members who wish to obtain training in drill as members of a disciplined force to join the Territorials or the Civic Guards, in which they will be trained to perform useful services to their country.

On behalf of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh Mr Abhyankar gave an assurance that the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh had no intention of offending against the orders of Government. He promised to issue orders to the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh leaders throughout the province to desist from any activity that Government considers to be objectionable.

It was understood that members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh joining the Civic Guards accepted their allegiance to the Civic Guards as paramount.

Press Note

The Press Note issued on the 23rd August 1940 stated the manner in which the orders of the Government of India prohibiting drill of a military nature would be enforced in this Province. To clear up misapprehensions it is now announced that marching in column formation in the public streets whether uniform is worn or not is considered to be drill of a military nature and so not permitted.

Doc. 50.

2, 3. Not Printed.

4. Not Printed.



67

Report on the R.S.S.S. activities

File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret
Serial No. 118.
13/10/43.

Intelligence Bureau,
(Home Department),
Government of India.

Daily Summary of Information

Miscellaneous

On the 7th October during Dasehra, some 4,000 volunteers of the R.S.S. Sangh performed the annual ceremony of arms' worship at Nagpur and on the following day gave an exhibition of lathi and sword exercises.

E. LEIGHTON

13-10-43.

H.M. Home (Sir R. Maxwell).

68

The Indian Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill Central Legislative Assembly, Debates 13.11.43 (extracts)

C.L.A. Debates - Vol. IV, 1943
[NMML]

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani (Tirhut Division: - Muhammadan): No doubt there are great difficulties in the recognition of Unions. Particularly in the case of Muslim unions. Sir, I will at once come to the point in view and refer to clause 28D of the Bill, part (c). It is stated:

'(c) that its rules do not provide for the exclusion of members on communal or religious grounds'.

It is good, but in case any union is not joined by members of other communities because that union started with a majority of its members belonging to certain communities, it is no fault of that particular union, and on this very ground the Muslim Unions are not given recognition. They do not bar any other community from joining that union, but simply because it is almost composed of members of the Muslim community it is not joined by non-Muslim employees and it is very unfair on the part of particularly the Railways and the Post and Telegraphs Departments not to recognize the Unions organized by the Muslim employees

under them. If you look at the figures of the Muslim employees in the Railways—the latest figures available to us are for the year 1941–2 — You will find

Total number of employees in all the Railways. 7,57,674

Muslim employees out of this number 1,72,519

Similarly in the case of posts and Telegraphs Department, the figures for the year 1940–1 are,

Total number of employees excluding extra departmental persons. 83,677

Muslim employees out of this number 19,758. From these figures it will be seen that there is fair number of Muslim employees and they form their own associations or any unions, recognition should be given. But it is denied.

An Honourable Member: Pakistan,

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: There is no question of Pakistan. Why do some Honourable Members resent when the word Muslim is used here, it apparently pinches my friend. It is the misfortune of this country that only the Mussalmans are the targets . . .

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division Muhammadan Rural): Why do you get excited? Let them resent.

Mr Chairman (Mr K.C. Neogy) Order, order,

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: I think the provisions of 28D are ambiguous. Part (c) should be made clear, and it should lay down that if any association is not joined by members of other communities then there should not be any bar in its recognition. If Muslim unions, are formed and if they do not debar other communities from joining it. I do not think anything should stand in their way of recognition.

An Honourable Member: Why do you call Muslim unions?

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: I am a Muslim and shall remain for ever a Muslim; I have to call myself a Muslim. This is the mentality which forces people to have their own unions. As I was saying this Bill is going to be circulated for opinion and I think the opinion should be had on the amendment of clause 28D in a way so that Muslim unions may not be denied their recognition. I have just pointed out that there is a fair number of Muslim employees under the two departments. Similarly in factories also, where there is a fair number of Muslims. If these Muslims, being tired of the hardships and of their failure to get redress of injustices done to them, form their own unions, I think such unions should not be denied recognition.

It is said that Muslims can join these so called national unions and can have their grievances redressed there. The fact is that when Muslim employees raise their voices against injustices done to them, in the first instance it is not heard in such common unions, and in the second place the misfortune is that those voices are not heard because the injustices done to that particular class most often had been done by the members dominating that association. The majority of the members are such that if some of them do any injustice or wrong no grievance can easily be heard. So the Muslim employee generally suffers, and hence they do not like to take part in the common unions. If they do not take part in the common unions, it does not mean that if they form their own unions and air their grievances through that union that union should not be heard because those unions are denied recognition. This is the right time when we should urge the Government that the Act should be so amended as to give opportunity for the recognition of unions formed by Muslims; and this is a very opportune moment, when fortunately the matter is in the hands of the Honourable Member in charge who knows what are the grievances of Muslims particularly, and of the depressed classes as well.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

69: Note on R.S.S.S. dt 30.11.1943 (Intelligence Bureau)

File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (III)

Secret

Objective

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has continued to make rapid strides towards becoming an all India body of very considerable importance, though already there are signs of sectionalism asserting itself in the preference shown to Mahrattas and the areas in which they occupy a predominant position. It is significant also that R.S.S.S. activity has been particularly noticeable in the Chattisgarh and Deccan States - a development which suggests that the leaders realise the advantage of consolidating the position of the Sangh in the Hindu States where they believe they can legitimately expect to obtain a substantial measure of help and support.

2. R.S.S.S. spokesmen have continued to explain that their primary object is the attainment of Hindu unity. A keen Madras worker has described the Sangh's aim as helping 'our nation, society, culture and land to attain the position of highest glory. Unless we meet, play, talk and think together daily and feel for each other as a brother from North to South, the idea of unity is a dream'. At a meeting at Lahore in November, 1943, M.S. Golwalkar stated that the object of the Sangh was to remove untouchability and to unite all classes of Hindus.

3. But not all members of the Sangh subscribe to these seemingly innocent objectives and intentions. Even M.S. Golwalkar, speaking at the closing ceremony of the Poona Officers' Training Camp, said that martyrdom was the highest type of sacrifice and quoted a verse of Ramdas which says that Hindus must die for their religion but before doing so they 'should kill as many of their opponents as they could'. Other speakers mentioned that a lathi and a strong wrist could work wonders and that Hindus would recall how Afzal Khan met his death and how the fingers of Shaista Khan were cut off. At another camp in the Central Provinces, volunteers were told that they had been brought there to experience a soldier's life and that the time was fast approaching when their strength would be measured against the foreigners who have caused the Hindu community much hardship and privations. (Another speaker at Jubbulpore hinted that the aim of the Sangh was to drive the British out of India - a statement which was repeated by Gajja Dhar of Nagpur at a private meeting in Amritsar on May 23rd. Recently, a R.S.S.S. organizer exhorted an audience in the Wardha district to prepare to die for India's liberation; he alleged that the annual output of foodgrains in India was sufficient to feed India's population for seven years and yet there was a famine as all the grain was being exported.) At a Gurudakshina meeting in Jubbulpore on September 12th, Baba Saheb Apte remarked that the behaviour of the British in India was becoming intolerable and he advised his audience to prepare to free their country. (He had stated in Allahabad a month previously that Hindus might have to fight Islam after the war and that it was, therefore, important to instil courage and spirit in volunteers). The Sangh is clearly intent upon enlarging

its sphere of influence and early in the year enlisted the aid of Tukdoji Maharaj, the well-known religious leader of the Central Provinces, for conducting propaganda on its behalf. The C.P. branches of the Sangh have recently been displaying remarkable energy.

Organisation

Strict secrecy about the Sangh's internal affairs continues. For the first time in the Sangh's history, a special censorship branch was opened at the Nagpur summer camp and all outward mail was scrutinized. At the Bombay headquarters, a system of Visitors' Passes has been organised. Lectures at the Officers' Training Camp at Meerut last May were held behind closed doors and only those with special passes were admitted. The same precautions were taken at the Officer's Training Camp at Benares where students were also forbidden to reduce anything to writing. As a meeting in Rawalpindi on August 4th. L. Kundan Lal Kakar advocated caution in enlisting members lest police informers should be able to find their way into the Sangh. On August 12th, twelve boys of the Cawnpore Sangh threw stones at a constable who was watching their drill. When important Berar organizers met in Akola last September to chalk out the Dussehra programme, special precautions were taken to safeguard the secrecy of their names and of the proceedings. A plain cloth police officer was refused admission to the D.A.V. High School, Gorakhpur, where a camp was being held in October; two plain cloths officers were not allowed to attend a Sangh meeting in Bhandara on the ostensible pretext that the proceedings were 'religious'.

5. Membership¹ figures have continued to rise. In the Central Provinces the number has increased from 32,090 to 33,344; in Bombay from 18,092 to 20,476; and in the Punjab from 10,000 to 14,000. A new feature of sangh activity in the Central Provinces is the establishment of branches in the Gun Carriage Factory, Jubbulpore, and the Ordnance Factory, Khamaria, while several employees in the Ordnance Factory at Katni are said to belong to the local branch of the Sangh. The leaders of the branches in the first two installations (which are controlled by the Supply Department of the Government of India) have been warned to cease their activities but it is doubtful if the warning has had any real effect. M.S. Golwalkar is reported recently to have advocated the secret enrolment of reliable Government servants, teachers and clerks in order to spread the influence of the Sangh in official circles. Last April it was reported that 175 student volunteers had been sent from Nagpur to districts all over India to organise new branches and to increase the Sangh's membership. In July, 100 students of the Benaras Hindu University were seen drilling regularly with lathis inside the compound. Narsingh Yeshwant Telang, a teacher employed in the New English High School, addressed a class of students in Akola on August 25th when he asserted that if all Hindus joined the Sangh they would gain independence within a short time. In some ten districts of Bihar the organisation has been making noticeable headway of late; Bhagalpur, where the membership has risen from 20 to 300, is cited as an instance. In this district a large proportion of the members are students who circumvent the restrictions on students joining political organisations by claiming that the aim and activities of the Sangh are not political but cultural. Another new approach is to the villages. At the Eastern Camp at Wardha, M.S. Golwalkar urged the importance of extending the movement to rural areas and, on March 26th, the Akola branch decided that its members should visit villagers during the summer. Tej Narain, a U.P. organizer, expressed the hope that he would soon see the influence of the Sangh spreading into the countryside.

6. Important organizers from headquarters frequently visit subordinate branches to stimulate

interest, impart secret instructions and strengthen the local organisation. As an instance may be quoted the extensive tour made by M.S. Golwalkar, the present head of the movement, during the current year. Last April he was at Ahmedabad, in May at Amraoti and Poona, in June at Nasik and Benares, in August at Chanda, in September again at Poona in October in Madras and the Central Provinces and in November in Rawalpindi. Baba Apte toured the United Provinces in July and August.

Women's Organisation

7. During May, reports were received that the officers' training classes of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevika Samiti held at Wardha and Poona were attended by 150 and 100 girls respectively. A similar class was held in Buldana and at the closing ceremony on May 24th, demonstrations of sword, lathi and lezim were given. Fifty girls gave a drill exhibition in Amraoti on June 29th.

Activities and Training

8. Officers' Training camps were held in May and June at eleven places in India. The most important camp was perhaps the one held at Poona where 2,000 volunteers from the Maharashtra districts assembled for training and instruction. Some 6000 persons witnessed the closing ceremony presided over by V.D. Savarkar, who received a 'non-military' general salute and witnessed a demonstration of lathi drill and physical exercises. About 600 volunteers attended another officers' training camp at Nasik. In the Central Provinces, camps were held at Nagpur (1,000 volunteers), Jubbulpore (300 volunteers) and Amraoti. At the Nagpur camps, training in drill lathi and physical exercise was imparted to squads, each consisting of 30 volunteers, and the closing ceremony included flag salutation, displays of drill and sword and lathi exercises in the presence of 1,500 visitors. A display of sword and spear exercises was also given at the Jubbulpore camp. Another camp at Meerut was attended by about 800 volunteers, some of whom came from Delhi, the Punjab, Ajmer, Jaipur and Jodhpur. Special features were a band and the training equipment which included lathis and twin swords and daggers. On the arrival of M.S. Golwalkar, accompanied by Sir Sita Ram and Birla, (presumably J.K. Birla), the volunteers sprang to attention, the band played as ceremonial parade followed on military lines. Previously a local camp of 100 volunteers had been held, probably as a rehearsal, and its interesting features were a sham fight, a military court of enquiry and bridge-building. Another 800 volunteers, some of whom came from Bengal, Bihar, Gwalior and Bombay, attended the Benaras camp, where the daily programme included drill and marching, physical training and lathi and sword exercises. M.S. Golwalkar presided over the closing ceremony which included a ceremonial parade at which he took the salute. Training camps were also held in Trichinopoly, Belgaum, Indore, Shahapur (Deccan) and Baroda. Instructors' camp were reported from Masulipatnam (Kistna), Rajahmundry (West Godavari) and Lucknow.

9. Not a great deal of information is available regarding the nature of lectures given at training camps, but in the reports received there is sufficient indication of the militant and potentially dangerous character of the teaching given to the many hundreds of volunteers who attended. At Jubbulpore, members of the Sangh were informed that their organisation was a militant body whose object was not only the preservation of Hindu culture but also the establishment of a Hindu raj in India. It was added that when the Sangh became strong and well established, the fight with the British for freedom from slavery would commence. Deeds

of such Hindu historic personages as Shivaji were recouped and their exploits were frequently held up as an example to be followed by members of the Sangh (Among the pictures of Indian leaders displayed at a meeting in Badaun, UP there was one of Raja Mahendra Pratap, the well-known revolutionary who is at present residing in Japan. At a secret meeting in Nagpur on September 20th, it was decided to divide the city into four circles, each in charge of a Chief Organizer who would be responsible for increasing the number of volunteers and for protecting Hindu women and property during any communal strife which might follow a Japanese invasion. M.N. Kale, an important member who attended this meeting, admitted that there had been discussion on the Sangh's duty in the event of a Japanese invasion. (In a Punjab district, handbills were secretly distributed among R.S.S.S. members in November and in these handbills, it was stated that the objects of the Sangh included the provision of a military corps to protect Hindus and the creation of a mutual spirit among Hindus. Dictatorship was described as the only suitable form of Government for India.

10. The Sangh frequently takes advantage of important Hindu festivals to advertise its existence and strength. For instance, special demonstrations were held at Poona on the Hindu New Year Day. 'Raksha Bandhan' was observed by the Sangh at Delhi (Where a demonstration was held by 2,000 volunteers) and also in several districts of the Central Province, the most important being at Nagpur where some 2,000 volunteers took part. The Sangh displayed considerable activity during the Dussehra celebrations in which its members took a prominent part at various places in the Bombay Province and also at Lahore (1,500 volunteers) Amritsar (1,000 volunteers), Jubbulpore and Nagpur (4,000 volunteers). In the latter two places, the Government restrictions on the wearing of uniforms and semi-military displays were, however, scrupulously observed.

11. The financial position of the Sangh continues sound. That funds are not lacking is indicated by the free distribution of uniforms to the poorer members of the Sangh in Badaun last October. At the Nagpur Camp (which cost Rs 15,000), each outside volunteer was charged Rs 22 and local men Rs 6. Guru Purnima Days were made the occasion for collecting such substantial amounts as Rs 22,000 in Nagpur, Rs 11,000 in Lahore, Rs 9,500 in Hyderabad (Sind), Rs 9,000 in Poona, Rs 5,247 in Lucknow and Rs 4,500 in Karachi. It is understood that funds continue to be retained by individuals and are not deposited in banks to avoid confiscation.

12. (The Sangh's policy continues to be ostensibly non-political. In fact, M.S. Goiwalkar told an Amraoti meeting to steer clear of politics and gave this as his reason for refusing Dr B.S. Moonje's invitation to Sangh volunteers to attend the guerilla warfare classes at the Bhonsle Military School, Nasik. The reason suggested for this open abstention from politics is that any announcement of political aims would almost certainly invite controversy which may lead to the Sangh's early disintegration. For the present the Sangh is content to appeal to youthful swash-buckling, flag-waving instincts and a part of its attraction is believed to lie in the intriguing secrecy that surrounds its activities. The wording of the pledge signed by members of the Sangh is of interest: 'I pledge this day that I will remain a member of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh throughout my life. I shall carry out unhesitatingly any orders given by the Sangh. I shall go for work wherever required. Whatever secrets of the Sangh I shall come to know, I will never disclose them before any person not connected with the Sangh even at the cost of my life. I shall be true by behaviour and conduct towards not only Swayam Sewak Sangh but to all Hindus and will unhesitatingly serve them. In the end I swear that I shall serve Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh with all my body, heart and money for in it lies the betterment of Hindus and the country.'))

13. Further evidence is available of the Hindu Mahasabha sympathy and support for the R.S.S.S. movement. Mention has already been made of the visit to the Poona Camp of V.D. Savarkar. He also inspected about 500 members of the Sangh and Rashtriya Sewak Samiti at Amraoti on August 1st and urged them to strive for Hindu unity. It is significant that the Sangh's collections in Badaun for Bengal famine relief were sent to the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha. Members of the Bihar Hindu Mahasabha are said to be particularly interested in furthering the growth of the Sangh. (On the other hand, it was reported in August last that since the Delhi branch had for various reasons refused to identify itself with the Mahasabha, the latter had adopted a somewhat hostile attitude towards the Sangh and had refused permission to hold daily parades in the Mahasabha Bhawan.)

14. (That all parties do not welcome the growing strength of the Sangh is shown by a decision of the All-India Pratinidhi Sabha which has forbidden the use of its premises by the Sangh on the ground that the Sangh advocates idol worship which is against the tenets of the Arya Samaj. On the other hand, the Lahore Pratinidhi Sabha is reported to have organised lathi fighting for the Jullundur branch of the Sangh.) In March last, some tension was reported between members of the Sangh and the Muslim League in the Ahmednagar district over the use of the municipal grounds for parades and exercises.

15. On April 29th, M.S. Golwalkar issued a circular letter to all R.S.S.S. branches announcing the indefinite suspension of military training. Golwalkar's own words are worth quoting: 'You are aware that since August, 1940, in view of the (Government) orders which came into existence then we have discontinued that part of our training which for want of a more suitable and expressive word used to be denominated as 'military'. Indeed the training we used to impart under that head was quite preliminary and such as served us to inculcate the spirit of brotherhood and a high sense of civic discipline. But even this we discontinued to keep our work clearly within bounds of law, as every law-abiding institution should. . . Hoping that circumstances would ease early, we had in a sense only suspended that part of our training. Now, however, we decide to stop it altogether and abolish the department wholly without waiting for the times to change. If they do change, we will certainly adjust ourselves then, but now we do not wait. The department being abolished, all posts concerning it naturally cease to exist.' The 'military' department of the Sangh was, thereupon, formally closed down and M.P. Jog, the officer in charge of military training, was relieved of his appointment. (It is, however, evident from reports received that the quasi-military activities of the Sangh have by no means been abandoned despite the formal abolition of the 'military' department.)

Conduct

16. (There has been persistent non-observance of the ban on the wearing of uniforms and the performance of drill of a military nature. The Sangh's activities during the first part of 1943 led the Government of India to address Provincial Governments in August last on the Sangh's distinct tendency to disregard the ban and the considerable variations from province to province in the latitude allowed to members of the organization.) It was suggested that the desired uniformity could only be obtained by a strict adherence to the terms of the notification of August 5th, 1940, and by allowing no deviation whatever from the ban on military drill and uniform. Local warnings and action by the district authorities appear to have had some effect on the Sangh's objectionable activities though it is extremely doubtful if the result is anything but temporary. In certain places the Sangh's leaders have advocated a 'go slow' policy. For instance, at a private meeting in Rawalpindi on August 21st, L. Kundan Lal Kakar

urged caution in staging physical displays and the avoidance of marching and carrying of 'staffs'. As a result of instructions from the 'Divisional Commander' at Multan, volunteers confined their activities in Montgomery to physical training. At the beginning of October, Tej Narain warned an Instructors' Training Class in Lucknow that for the moment it was essential to avoid trouble and that members of the Sangh should not, therefore, wear uniform at any public meetings or processions. Some prosecutions of Sangh members for defiance of the law have also been reported. In Madras City, two organizers named G.S. Paramarth and V.V. Gokhale persisted in defying the ban on drill and were successfully prosecuted. Eleven spearheads were recovered from the house of Ram Rokha Mal, a member of the Lahore branch in February last. In Amritsar, Gajja Dhar of Nagpur was prosecuted for a seditious speech delivered at the end of May, and the number of Sangh volunteers attending P.T. parades dropped steeply. In October, eighteen volunteers of the Sangh were arrested in Ajmer for violating the ban on drill but they later apologized; their activities are now practically confined to physical exercises, and attendance are declining. (Since September the Punjab Sangh has confined its activities mainly to physical training and it is small wonder, therefore, that M.S. Golwalkar expressed his disappointment at the results at a meeting in Lahore two months later. On the other hand, U.P. reports indicate that, in August, activities continued all over the province on a considerable scale and included lathi fighting, that in September there were parades and lathi drill in many districts and that in October, 300-500 volunteers paraded daily in Lucknow alone.) The Sangh in Meerut had to be warned in July for illegal drilling but during the next month there was a fairly strong revival of activity. Warnings in two other districts of the United Provinces resulted in a suspension of activity for only two months. Recent celebrations in Benares were reported to be developing into 'sham fights' on the Khaksar model. In Budaun, about 175 volunteers attended a meeting in full uniform (black woollen cap, white shirt, khaki shorts, red leather belt, white shoes and socks), and in Delhi there have been definite, though minor, breaches of the ban on military drill. In Bihar, members of the Sangh are wearing a uniform pattern of clothes in an attempt to by-pass the Government order prohibiting the wearing of uniform.

30th November 1943.

1 The total estimated membership of the Sangh in British India is 76,000 approximately. No reliable figures for Indian States are available.

70 Official Notings on R.S.S.S. (dt 13.12.1943) (extracts)

File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret

(Intelligence Bureau, H.D.)

A further note on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh is forwarded to the Home Department for information. Copies are being sent as usual to all Provincial Special Branches and Residencies, S.G.G., D.N.I. and the Political Department.

It would be seen that the Sangh is rapidly expanding its sphere of influence and its branches now exist all over the country, including several Indian States. Its membership — our figures are by no means completely accurate — is probably larger than has been estimated and, in any case, considerable. Members of the Sangh are believed to exist in Government services and (according to an unconfirmed report, intentionally omitted from the survey pending verification) in the armed forces as well. In the Central Provinces, the Sangh claims among its members a number of employees serving in certain security installations. Such information as we have been able to collect of its secret activities suggests that this organisation is both intensely communal and anti-British in outlook and that its tone is becoming increasingly militant. The Hindu Mahasabha is evidently anxious to take the R.S.S.S. under its wing but it is still not clear if M.S. Golwalker will agree to subordinate his personal ambition to those of the Mahasabha leaders by merging his organisation into the larger body, although he will probably have no objection to lending the services of his volunteers to the Hindu Mahasabha if and when required for any specific purpose. Although Golwalker seems shrewd enough to recognise the disadvantage of coming into an open conflict with Government, he and his followers have time and again *defied the Government ban on the wearing of uniform and performance of drill of a military nature*. The additional time given to Provinces to bring this organisation under strict control and for the organisation and its branches to respond to Provincial correction has quite obviously not produced the desired result; and it is clear from summary of the Sangh's more recent activities that Golwalker's outward compliance with Government orders is no more than a smoke-screen behind which to carry on secretly or in a modified form the very activities that he has renounced.

3. On the basis of available information, however, it would be difficult to argue that the R.S.S.S. constitutes an immediate menace to law and order and, therefore, it is doubtful if a case can be made out for banning the organisation under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. At the same time it is clear that Golwalker is rapidly building up a strong body of volunteers, sworn to secrecy and implicit obedience to orders, and prepared to serve 'wherever required' and presumably in any capacity (subversive or otherwise) that the leader may choose to assign. The whole set-up suggest the Khaksar model, the main difference being that while Inayatullah is an unbalanced and blustering megalomaniac, Golwalker is a wary, astute and, therefore, by far the more capable leader. Although on the face of it the danger arising from Golwalker's activities may at present seem comparatively remote, it would be incurring an unnecessary risk to leave his activities unchecked and to allow him to establish himself as the undisputed leader of a disciplined corps capable of being used in a manner subversive to the public peace.

4. Assuming that proscription under the Criminal Law Amendment Act is ruled out, it is suggested that action may be considered on the following lines.

(a) A formal warning should be administered to Golwalker through the C.P. Government that if the objectionable features of R.S.S.S. activity, including the non-observance of Government orders prohibiting uniforms and drill, are not abandoned forthwith, Government would be compelled to take suitable action against him and his organisation. What this action may be, we should leave it to Golwalker to infer. (Warnings have not proved very effective in Inayatullah's case, but there is reason to believe that they will have a different effect on Golwalker.)

(b) The attention of Provincial Governments should once again be drawn to Home Department letter No. 28/3/43-Poll (I), dated the 10th August 1943, and they should be requested to enforce existing orders with the utmost strictness.

(c) The holding of all camps by any organisation whatever should be prohibited by an order under the Defence of India Rules. This will hit the R.S.S.S. most, since its main activity is the organisation of camps in which with their bands, displays of physical drill and sham fight effects have a particularly stimulating influence on impressionable minds. It is in these camps that training in corporate work, military drill and quasimilitary tactics is imparted to volunteers in addition to academic training of a largely undesirable character. 'Camp' may be a little difficult to define. It could perhaps be described as a gathering of (shall we say) more than five persons belonging to a political, communal, or volunteer organisation collected for the purpose of receiving training, or taking part, physical exercises with or without arms, or theoretical instruction for such a purpose. But a more comprehensive definition can probably be evolved in consultation with the law officers.

(G. AHMED).
13.12.43.

1. Doc. 50.

71: Official Note (dt 22.12.1943) commenting on Intelligence Bureau's note¹

Home Department (Mr Olver) File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

D.I.B. u/o No. 37.D.G./43. dt./14.12.1943.

Submitted.

I confess that D.I.B.'s note on the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh leaves me still far from clear as to the ultimate objectives of the Sangh. Para 12 of the note refers to the Sangh's policy as 'still ostensibly non-political', but this is at best a negative description. There are various references to anti-British tendencies, and seditious remarks by various leaders of the Sangh, but the general bias of the organisation seems to remain communal. If this is correct, the relations with the Hindu Sabha are somewhat puzzling; one would have expected more or less open co-operation between the two unless there was some underlying cleavage in aims. We should, I think, ask D.I.B. to do all he can to clarify the real aims of the Sangh.

2. Meanwhile, the material supplied gives ample indication of the militant activities and expansion of the Sangh, though in connection with the remark in Mr Ahmed's note that branches exist all over the country, I would observe that membership figures (para 5 of the note) indicate that the C.P., Bombay and Punjab supply nearly 68,000 out of a total of 76,000 members in British India. I have noted above the difficulty of ascertaining the Sangh's real aims. If I am correct in supposing that it is still fundamentally a communal body, then any action we propose taking against the Sangh as a whole would have to be based on a reasonable anticipation that continuation of its activities would give rise to communal trouble. In fact, there seems to have been a marked absence of communal reaction to its expansion and the only communal note that I can find is the report in para. 14 of the note of tension between members of the Sangh and the Muslim League in Ahmednagar. I would accept, therefore,

the view in para 3 of Mr Ahmed's note that we have at present no basis for action against the Sangh as a whole.

3. In his minute of 17-4-40 in file No. 74/3/40-Poll (I) from which issued our ban of 5-8-40 on the performance of military drill and the wearing of military uniforms, H.M. has said 'I should regard all organisations which adopt a regular uniform and drill and use any kind of weapon such as a lathi as potentially dangerous to public order'. I have no doubt that the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh falls under this head and that apart from their militancy, the secrecy surrounding their aims and activities justifies us in regarding them with suspicion. Action must at this stage, however, remain with Provincial Governments and all we can do is to keep on prodding them (para. 4 (b) of Mr Ahmed's note) and to make things easier for them to take action by closing existing legal loopholes. I would certainly accept the proposal in para. 4 (c) of Mr Ahmed's note. There is, I think, no difficulty in defining 'camp' sufficiently precisely for our present purpose. We should also consider whether either of our notifications of 5-8-40 could not be tightened up. I doubt whether anything can be done further to restrict drilling without encroaching on legitimate activities and notification No. 74/3/40-Poll-I will have, I think, to stand. Notification No. 74/3/40-Poll-I at present only hits the wearing of uniform resembling service dress; it does not, for instance, hit the wearing of the uniform of the Sangh described in the penultimate sentence of D.I.B.'s note and there is no doubt that most volunteer organisations are continuing to wear uniform which does not attract our notification and in respect of which a successful prosecution could probably not be entertained. I am inclined to think that we should, in war-time, be perfectly justified in prohibiting the wearing of any form of uniform by any non-official body without the express sanction of Government.

4. I would propose, therefore, immediate action

- (a) to address Provincial Governments as recommended by Mr Ahmed; we might include the proposed request to the C.P. to warn Mr Golwalkar, though I am not optimistic about the result of any vague warning in these terms;
- (b) to issue an order under Defence Rule 56 prohibiting the holding of camps of any sort by non-official bodies without the express permission of Government. (I presume that a camp can legitimately be held to be a 'meeting or assembly' for the purposes of this Rule); and
- (c) to amend our order of 5-8-40 so as to make illegal the wearing by members of non-official bodies of any form of uniform whatever without the express permission of Government.

If these proposals are approved, I will put up drafts.

Signed
22-12-43

(S.J.L. OLVER)

1. This document is a continuation of Docs. 69 & 70. References are to Ahmad's note - See Doc. 70.



72 Official Notings (dt. 22.12.1943–28.12.1943) (extracts)

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 21/44
[Bengal State Archives]

. . . I have discussed this case as desired by H.C.M. H.C.M. reminded me that the Government of Bengal in 1940 brought up this question of drill and uniform and that it may perhaps be to some extent, as a result of their representations that the orders prohibiting, the military drill and uniform were issued in August of that year by the Government of India [ten words are undecipherable. . . . — Ed.] of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and also in the case of all organisations which are mentioned on a similar footing, viz. as continuing organisations formed with the more or less evident intention of establishing a private army or sectional militia and holding more or less regular camps of instructions, etc. This would hit organisations like the Khaksar and all-Volunteer corps formed with the object of furthering political ends. He thinks, however, that a distinction should be drawn between such organizations and others which come into existence merely for the purpose of display at conferences, political rallies, meetings, etc. — an instance of such a body would be the volunteers organized ad-hoc on the occasion of a session of the Muslim League. H.C.M. desires that we should address the Government of India in these terms and has directed me to submit the case to S.G.B.¹ before a reply in these terms is sent.

Signed 23.12.43.

I have no very strong views on the above suggestion but if the concession contemplated by HCM extends (as it seems to) to e.g. Congress volunteers, I think the Government of India will receive it coldly.

A Dec. Williams
28.12.43.

1. S.G.B = Secretary, Governor of Bengal

73 Annual Report on Volunteer Organisation Pol & Military Dept.

Government of the C.P. & Berar Pol. & Mil Dept., File No. 93/1944
[Madhya Pradesh Secretariat Records]

Annual Report on Volunteer Organisations for the period from May 1943.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh

During this period membership increased from 33,344 to 34,010 and 44 new branches were started in the province. The comparative statement below gives the membership figures in important districts for the last two years:

	<i>May 1943</i>	<i>April 1944</i>
Nagpur	8,000	8,500
Wardha	4,000	3,000
Jubbulpore	1,000	1,350
Nimar	2,433	2,183
Amraoti	2,764	2,079
Akola	3,790	4,681
Buldana	3,673	4,158
Ycetmal	1,889	1,856
	<i>27,549</i>	<i>27,807</i>

Organization

M.S. Golwalkar, Umakant Hari Apte and Eknath Ranade toured extensively in the province to stimulate interest and they, along with other speakers at propaganda meetings, invariably stressed the need for expansion and for secrecy in view of the vigilance of the police and military and to prevent the Sangh from coming into conflict with Government.

The reason for making a fetish of secrecy is not definitely known, but it may be an effort to sustain interest in the Sangh as part of its attraction lies in the intriguing secrecy that surrounds its activities. For the first time in the Sangh's history, a special censorship branch was opened at the Nagpur Summer Camp in 1943 and all outward mail was scrutinized. More recently all correspondence, both outward and inward, of members attending the Akola Officers' Training Camp held from 5th May 1944 was rigidly examined. An instance also came to notice in which a report on a branch's activities was sent to the district organizer through a cover address. When important Berar members met at Basim (Akola) on the 18th and 19th September 1943 to chalk out the Dasehra programme, special precautions were taken to safeguard the secrecy of their names and of the proceedings.

Two plain clothes constables were not allowed to attend a meeting at Bhandara on the ostensible pretext that the proceedings were private and religious. The organizers of a propaganda meeting held at Guradia (Nimar) objected to the presence of a constable but eventually permitted him to remain as he was not in uniform. In the same district a propagandist from Nagpur objected to the presence of a constable at a meeting held at Pandhana on the 8th April. He added that if the Hindus were united the police would not seek to enter their grounds but would respect them.

At a secret meeting held at Bhandara on the 9th October 1943, M.S. Golwalkar advised the secret enrollment of reliable and honest young Government servants, particularly teachers and clerks so as to spread the influence of the Sangh, presumably in official circles. In view of the growing inquisitiveness of the police and the likelihood of the Sangh being declared an unlawful association, it was decided at a secret meeting held at Jubbulpore in May 1944 to regard the Bhagwa flag as a religious symbol and not, as hitherto, as a mentor or 'guru'. According to a reliable source the organizers are not perturbed about the ban on the wearing of uniforms and the performance of military drill but on the other hand are quite prepared to obey any other restrictions which the Government may consider it necessary to impose in future. Military training, it is contended, can be imparted in the space of six months but what the organizers aim at creating is an esprit de Corps and reverence for the Sangh which will

have a life long influence on members. For this reason the training which could be completed in one year is spread out over a period of three years so that members may thoroughly imbibe the ideology and doctrines of the Sangh.

The object in holding 3rd year classes at Nagpur only is to foster the same regard for the place as the Muslims have for Mecca.

The Sangh has its own parade ground known as the Resnimbagh ground and its own building named 'Hedgewar Bhawan' at Nagpur. In the latter are located the offices, stores and guest rooms. About five years ago it was decided to create a larger and more imposing edifice on this site and a building fund was started.

As far as can be ascertained the Sangh has Rs 20,000 in the Co-operative Bank and Rs 30,000 in the building fund. Money received annually in 'Guru Dakshina' in Nagpur proper is placed at the disposal of the Headquarter to be used for propaganda, to defray the expense of organizers and to meet the cost of holding Officers' Training Classes at Nagpur. The amounts collected by branches are utilized entirely by them in their own jurisdictions. Surplus amounts in the possession of branches are remitted to Head Quarters and are utilized for propaganda and to meet the cost of officers' Training Classes at other centres. The unspent balance is credited to the building fund. So far as is known Rs 22,000 were collected in Nagpur as 'Guru Dakshina' and Rs 12,791 by other branches in the province during the year.

Spokesmen continued to explain that the primary object was the attainment of Hindu Unity. M.S. Golwalkar, the Sangh chalak, speaking in this connection of the closing ceremony of the Nagpur Officers' Training Classes on the 1st June 1943 advised members to utilise the knowledge and experience gained for promoting unity and maintaining the solidarity of Hinduism. V.D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Maha Sabha, during his visit to Amraoti inspected about 500 members of the Sangh and Sewak Samiti on 1.8.1943 and urged them to strive for Hindu unity. Rajabhau Sathe of Nasik, who presided at the closing ceremony of the Officers' Training Classes at Amraoti on the 3rd June 1943, explained that the main function of the Sangh was to strengthen the Hindu community by holding them together. Continuing he said that the Hindu had a right to live in India and other communities could only do so with their permission.

All members including M.S. Golwalkar however go further and many have in the course of their speeches exposed the militant nature of the organisation and its ultimate object. Members of the Officers' Training Classes held in Jubbulpore in May 1943 were told that the Sangh was a militant body whose object was not only preservation of Hindu culture but also the establishment of Hindu rule. Addressing these members on the 13th May 1943, P.N. Ambekar explained the importance of discipline and exhorted members to be ready to sacrifice their lives to achieve independence. Addressing the volunteers attending the Jubbulpore Officers' Training Classes on the 8th, 9th and 10th June 1943, M.S. Golwalkar appealed to them to build character, strive for unity and make the Sangh a powerful body capable of resisting internal and external aggression. The same speaker at a private meeting held at Chanda on 20.8.1943 advised Hindus not to allow themselves to be dominated by other communities or religions and to this end stressed the need for being physically, morally and politically prepared. Speakers at a meeting held at Chikhil (Buldana) in July 1943 in observance of 'Guru Purnima' appealed to Hindus to defend their religion and country against their enemies, the Muslims, and made other objectionable communal remarks.

Addressing a class of students at Akola on 25.8.1943, a master of the New English High School asserted that if all Hindus joined the Sangh they would secure independence in no

time, a feat which the Muslims and Christians, even if united, could never accomplish. At a 'Guru Dakshina' meeting held at Jubbulpore on 12.9.1943 Umakant Hari Apte stated that the Hindu religion had suffered greatly at the hands of Muslims and foreigners and urged volunteers to strive to restore the prestige of their religion. He added that the behaviour of the British in India was becoming intolerable and advised his audience to be prepared to free their country. A speaker at a propaganda meeting held at Karanja (Wardha) on 16.10.1943 described the Chimur 'atrocities', said that the export on grain from an essentially agricultural country like India was the cause of the Bengal famine and advised his audience to unite to fight for their freedom. Ramprasad Tiwari, Nagar Sangh Chalak and Assistant Public Prosecutor, Jubbulpore, speaking at a propaganda meeting at Jubbulpore on 18.12.1943 said that Hindus would establish their rule in the near future just as Rajputs had done in the past. The same speaker talking at an intellectual class held during the Jubbulpore Christmas Camp affirmed that their ultimate object was to establish a formidable Hindu empire for which purpose it was necessary to rouse Hindu society to drive out the British from their holy land, adding that Indians could achieve independence like other nations if they made up their minds to do so. At another propaganda meeting held at Jubbulpore 1 January 1944, the audience was informed that Hindu society had benefited greatly through the Sangh and it was urged to organise Hindus for the establishment of a Hindu empire. The audience at a meeting held on 28.4.1944 to celebrate the anniversary of the Patan (Jubbulpore) branch was urged to inspire Hindu society with fresh zeal and vigour so that it could defend itself when life and property were in danger.

The following Officers' Training Classes were held.

May 1943

Jubbulpore from 11th May to 9th June.

Nagpur from 3rd May to 1st June.

Amraoti from 5th May to 3rd June.

The Nagpur class was attended by 1,073 volunteers from various parts of the country. Training in drill, lathi and physical exercises was imparted to squads, each consisting of 30 volunteers. At the closing ceremony a display of drill and lathi and sword exercises was witnessed by 1,500 persons. The Jubbulpore class was attended by 271 members from Mahakoshal. Here also as at Amraoti an exhibition of sword and spear exercises at the concluding ceremony was well attended. Arms' worship and 'Guru Dakshina' were celebrated with enthusiasm at most centres in October 1943 when speakers concentrated on the themes of unity and expansion and there were demonstrations of physical exercises and semi-military parades at several places. On the 9th October in honour of M.S. Golwalkar's visit, members of both sexes of the Bhandara branch marched to the Sangh ground where the late Dr Hedgewar's photograph was worshipped and a flag salutation ceremony held followed by a parade on military lines. During the visit of R.K. Patil, ex-I.C.S. and S.A. Sohani, Berar organizer, to Buldana on the 21st November and again on the 25th November members at the local branch paraded in uniform and marched with lathis in military formation on a public road. The celebration at Bina (Saugor) was attended by a few trainees of the Railway Military Training School.

Christmas Camps were held at several centres in the province. At most of these, activities consisted of flag salutations ceremonies and physical training and intellectual classes consisting of lectures on the aims and objects of the Sangh. The camp held at Khedi (Betul) was conducted on military lines, discipline being strictly endorsed, bugle calls sounded and pickets posted.

An army clerk on leave from Bombay evinced inordinate interest in this camp and helped in the arrangements. At Hingangut (Wardha) the campers were taken out for an excursion. On leaving the precincts of the town they were marched in military formation and on reaching their destination were divided into two sections for a sham fight. Some of the volunteers were in uniform with Sam Browne belts while others wore white shirts and khaki shorts. The Jubbulpore Camp was attended by 156 boys of the Bal Sangh and 240 adults. The activities of juveniles was confined to Indian games and lectures. Three military personnel were attached to the staff of the adult camp. Except for the fact that military drill was excluded from the programme, this camp also was run on military lines. Discipline was good, defaulters were tried by Court Martial and permits were checked. Among the organizers of the Katni (Jubbulpore) Camp, which was attended by 110 members was an I.A.O.C. clerk. A G.I.P. Railway clerk, who was also an organizer, was awarded Rs 10 by a visitor for an excellent display of drill. At Saugor, Burhampur (Nimar) and Khandwa parades with or without lathis were daily features, the member at Burhanpur being in addition in uniform. At the camp held at Bir (Bhandara) it was explained that the purpose in holding the camp was to accustom members to hardships and to instil in them a sense of discipline.

At a Porgana Camp held at Deulghat (Buldana) from the 14th to 16th January 1944, members were put through a course of lathis drill and were initiated into stratagems of guarding and defending territory.

From the 28th to the 30th January a Camp was held at Mahuli (Amroati). The camp was guarded, bugle calls were sounded and admission regulated by passes. At a similar camp held at Loni in the same district volunteers wore white shirts and khaki shorts and in some cases puttees. District camps were held at Buldana, Akola and Amraoti from the 6th to the 13th February at which Indian games were practised and physical training given. The Amraoti camp was for boys. Admission was regulated and defaulters were punished with fatigue duties. The boys marched to camp in column of threes led by a bugle band. In March a series of camps were held in the Akola, Amraoti, Buldana, Yeotmal, Chandas and Hoshangabad districts and call for no particular notice as activities were restricted to Indian games, and lathi and physical training except perhaps at Palsi (Yeotmal) where uniform was worn and a march past held. On the 24th April 150 volunteers were taken for an outing to the suburbs of Jubbulpore and instructed in skirmishing. the volunteers were divided into two groups and while one group defended the Bhagwa flag the other attempted to capture it.

Officers' Training Classes in 1944 were held at the following centres in the province.

Nagpur from 8th May to 7th June.

Akola from 5th May to 4th June.

Harda (Hoshangabad) from 12th May to 10th June.

Owing to rationing and travelling difficulties attendance was restricted to 500 at each camp. The Nagpur class was attended by 500 members of whom 258 belonged to other provinces, 80 to other parts of C.P. and 162 locals. The daily programme consisted of flag salutation, prayers, physical training, lathi drill, intellectual classes, group meetings and discussion on organizational letters. Lathi, spear, dagger and sword drill are each divided into 100 exercises of which 30 are taught in the 1st year, 30 in the 2nd year and remainder in the 3rd year. In the 1st year the volunteers are expected to handle these weapons efficiently and to be able to defend themselves. In the 2nd year they are expected to defend themselves against 4 persons and in the 3rd year they are required to qualify themselves in offensive and defensive tactics against a mob.

At Group meetings members from different provinces meet and exchange views.

In Intellectual Classes lectures were delivered on the following subjects, when, more or less, form the basis of official lectures throughout the country.

Ideology of the Sangh. Why Hindustan is for Hindus only and why other communities cannot claim India as their mother-land. What is Hindu religion, culture and philosophy and why every member of the Sangh should be proud to be a Hindu. Important lessons from Ramayana, Mahabharata and Gita, ancient Hindu History with particular reference to traitors who betrayed the nation and the Hindu cause.

As was done in 1943, correspondence of all volunteers was again closely scrutinized so that it should not contain anything to which the police could take objection or which could cause suspicion.

The class concluded on the 7th June when about 600 spectators witnessed a display of lathi drill and physical exercises by 500 volunteers. The Akola class was attended by 300 volunteers from C.P. Marathi and Berar. Outsiders were charged Rs 20 for boarding and lodging while locals were required to pay Rs 5. Strict secrecy was observed, all inward and outward letters were examined and members were cautioned not to mention anything about their activities in the camp in their letters. Discipline was strict and offenders were punished with extra guard and fatigue duties. Volunteers were debarred from leaving the camp without permission and outsiders were required to produce passes before they were admitted. Uniform consisted of black woolen caps, white shirts and knaki shorts and volunteers were armed with lathis. Training consisted of physical training, lathi, spear and squad drill, cautions being given in Sanskrit. At the Intellectual Classes lectures were delivered on the bravery and prowess of Maratha kings vis-a-vis the treachery of the Moghul rulers, the importance of the Bhagwa flag which stood for unity and strength and under which all should unite to protect the Hindu religion and culture and Shivaji's efforts to establish Hindu Independence.

The Harda camp was attended by 500 volunteers, 292 being from Sind, Gujrat and Central India and 208 from Mahakoshal districts of this province. Rs 50 were charged for boarding and lodging. Those living out of the camp were required to pay a training fee of Rs 6/8. Volunteers wore black caps, white shirts, khaki shorts and leather belts. Training consisted of drill (probably squad drill), physical training lezim, spear and lathi exercises, Indian games, lectures and group meetings. Bugle calls were used, outsiders were prevented from entering the camp and sentries were posted at night. On the final day important persons of the town were invited to witness the usual demonstration in lathi, lezim, spear and physical drill. M.S. Golwalkar personally supervised this camp for four days and during this period delivered two lectures on secrecy, unity, and usefulness of camps.

To Berar Provincial Workers' Camp was held at Akola from the 19th to the 22nd May at which it was decided to collect funds for propaganda in villages.

Women's Organisation

In May 1943 Officers' Training Classes were held at Buldana and Wardha. At the conclusion of the Buldana class members gave a demonstration of lathi, sword and lezim exercises and at the meeting which followed women were enjoined to become members to protect Hinduism. On the 19th December about 50 women attended a camp held by the Bhandara branch. On the 1st and 2nd January 1944, a conference was held at Wardha, attended by representatives from other districts, at which it was decided to intensify work and attract women of all castes.

An Officers' Training Camp was held at Akola from the 5th to 26th May 1944. 100

volunteers from Nagpur, Wardha, Berar and Northern India attended. Outsiders were charged Rs 15 for meeting and locals Rs 3 for training. Mrs Kamlabai Sohnoni w/o Shridhar Anant Sohoni of Akola was in charge of the camp. No uniform was prescribed. Volunteers could not leave the camp without permission nor were they permitted to receive visitors. Training was given in Indian games, lathi and lezim drill and flag salutation ceremonies.

At the Bhouddhic Classes the importance of training was drilled into members and they were advised to attain physical fitness for their own protection.

The Sangh steered clear of politics but from the innumerable speeches it is clear that the organizers regard the organisation as a private army for the emancipation of India when the time arrives.

In April 1943 a circular was issued to subordinate branches ordering the indefinite suspension of military training. Although the military department was formally closed and M.P. Jog relieved of his post as General Officer Commanding quasi military activities continued to be indulged in. The real purport of the circular, it is understood, was merely to get rid of Jog who had become embroiled in a case of theft of arms committed by members of the Hindustan Red army during the Congress rebellion.

In February 1944 it was decided at Jubbulpore to exclude anti-British propaganda from intellectual classes in accordance with orders received from Nagpur headquarters. It has not been possible to verify whether or not any such orders were issued from Nagpur, but this seems unlikely as speeches recently have tended, particularly at Jubbulpore to be more anti-British than ever.

Apart from occasional warnings, no action has been taken during the year against any branch or individual in any of the cases in which drill etc., of a military nature was performed.

Khaksars

Khaksar activity was mainly noticed in the Jubbulpore, Nimar, Amraoti, Akola, Yeotmal districts and except at Amraoti, was more or less negligible. Membership decreased from 1226 to 1096 and the movement lost influence due to its in reconcilable attitude towards the Muslim League and the attempt by a Khaksar on Jinnah's life. In fact feelings were so strained between the League and the Khaksars at Amraoti over this incident that it was considered prudent by the latter to suspend activity for a time. The refusal to allow Khaksars to participate in 'Jinnah Day' meetings further tended to exacerbate feelings between the Khaksars and the Muslim League. Several members of Burhanpur also resigned owing to an article in the *Inquilab* which referred to the Khaksar movement as anti-Muslim.

Propagandists from Lahore, Bhopal and Hyderabad including Muhammad Saddique Rafiq Sabri, Jinnah's assailant, visited the province to stimulate interest and renewed activity was noticed for a time in places visited by them. On their departure, however, branches reverted to the usual perfunctory activities. In June 1943 nine Salars and five Salar-e-Idaras were appointed to work in the wards in Amraoti City.

In January 1944 the Nazim-e-Ala, C.P. and Berar, Muhammad Ibrahim Sharar of Ellichpur, made a special appeal for the enlistment of Hindus and Muhammadans and as an incentive announced the conferment of titles on those who succeeded in enlisting large numbers of members. Shortly after, under the orders of Allama Mushriqui, all office-bearers at Amraoti were reduced to the rank of Khaksars for three months for slackness and indifference.

In January 1944 M.A. Muatadir Khan of Hyderabad was appointed Hakim-e-Ala, Hyderabad and Berar and in March appointments to the posts of Nazim-e-Berar and Nazim-e-Zilla

were to accelerate enlistment and revive enthusiasm. The Salar-e-Sahar, Amraoti was warned for his apathy and slackness at a private meeting held in March and he was eventually suspended and replaced by a dismissed head-constable.

A head-offices was opened at Nagpur on the 25th April 1943 in a rented house but was closed down in September for want of funds, no rent being paid from the date of occupation.

In June 1943 instructions were received from Lahore ordering Khaksars to wear red badges when attending Isha prayers but these were countermanded by others issued at the end of July forbidding the wearing of badges, ilashes, pagris, caps and uniforms, carrying of beichas, marching and drilling in military formation in Camps and holding camps at fairs.

In November 1943 the Burhanpur branch received instructions from the Naib Hakim-e-Ala, Indore to the effect that letters should not be sent through the post but through reliable messenger, that secret camps should be held monthly in jungles to avoid attracting the attention of the police, that drill should be done in private places or compounds not open to view and guards posted to be on the look-out for the police, and that members should renew their oaths not to disclose secrets.

In November 1943 further orders in respect of areas was issued by Ailama Mushriqui from the Idara Aliya Hindia, Lahore. Khaksars and Salars were required to wear Khaki shirts, without pockets and shoulder-straps, Khaki pyjamas and boots. The head-dress was to consist of a white piece of cloth, a one and half yards square, worn in the 'Arabi' or Haji fashion secured by a cord $3/4$ ' thick, the colour of the cord varying according to the rank of the wearer. They were also required to carry a copy of the Quran in a Khaki bag slung from the left shoulder. There orders also required Khaksars to have in their possession the prescribed uniform, belchas, Nishane Akhuwat, red circular shoulder Badges, dagger sheathes, boots and puttis and to hold certificates of proficiency in drill. A Junior Khaksar branch known as the Khaksar Nau Jawan Tulaba was started at Burhanpur by a student in May 1st since when there have been no further developments.

A new office was opened at Amraoti in February and the Khaksar flag flown from it.

At most of the private meetings members were reminded of the religious aspect of the organisation which strictly conformed to the tenets of the Quran and urged to attend prayers regularly, to enlist members including Hindus and to perform social service. The Muslim League was characterized as a body of fanatics and Jinnah's leadership was criticised and it was suggested that as he had failed to bring about a compromise with the Hindus, Allama Mushriqui, the Khaksar leader, should be invited to solve the political deadlock.

In May the Burhanpur branch observed Tunisia Day and marched through the town in single file. Two Khaksars of Burhanpur attended a camp held at Indore in May 1943 and a Khaksar of Jubbulpore attended another camp organised at Ajmer in July 1943. On the 7th June 1943, eighteen Khaksars of Burhanpur encamped on the bank of the river Tapti. They formed into two rows and on the arrival of the Salar, gave him a salute. No uniform was worn nor were 'belchas' carried. The campers were instructed to maintain unity and to pray regularly in public to focus attention on their movement. They returned to Burhanpur the following day. On the 23rd October members of the Burhanpur branch attended another camp. About ten locals and two Khaksars accompanied Matiullah Khan Usufi of Bhopal to the Asirgarh Fort where they spent the night. It was proposed to hold similar camps monthly.

On the 9th July 1943 sixty Khaksars, all of whom wore red badges, attended a meeting at Amraoti at which they were advised to settle disputes mutually rather than go to court.

In compliance with instructions received from Allama Mushriqui regarding the demand

for a Gandhi-Jinnah meeting to solve the Hindu-Muslim question for the achievement of Dominion Status, private meetings were held at Amraoti in July 1943 and seventy post-cards were dispatched from Amraoti and eight telegrams from Burhanpur to H.E. the Viceroy and Jinnah urging the need for the meeting. Matiuliah Khan Usufi of Bhopal held a secret meeting at Burhanpur on the 23rd October 1943 at which he explained how the organisation should function and how it could be expanded. Members present were made to take oaths not to disclose information to the police if questioned. In Amraoti and Akola arrangements were made for supporting destitutes from Bengal and four Khaksars were sent to Bengal to make preliminary arrangements for despatching destitute to various centres in the province. The Bengal Government ordered the dissolution of Khaksar camps in Bengal and nothing further could, therefore, be done in the matter. Leaflets criticizing the action of the Bengal Government were circulated in Amraoti and Burhanpur and the Muslim League was held responsible for the closure of the camps.

The 19th March 1944 was observed as 'Lahore Day' in Burhanpur, Amraoti, Ellichpur, Akola and Darwha (Yeotmal). In Burhanpur grain was distributed to beggars and in Amraoti 100 Khaksars fasted and the flag over the office was flown at half mast. In Akola twenty-two Khaksars in uniform fasted and prayed for the release of the Khaksars still undergoing imprisonment at Lahore. Later a Khaksar of Amraoti fasted during day time in sympathy with the Lahore Khaksars still in jail but gave up the practice after a few days on grounds of ill-health! On the 13th and 17th May two private meetings were held at Amraoti at which Hindus and Muslims were urged to unite under the Khaksar flag. Jinnah was warned that if he refused to see Gandhi Muslims would be compelled to seek a new leader and the Punjab Government was condemned for its indifference towards Khaksars convicted at Lahore.

Muhammad Salim of Pesnawar informed the audience at a private meeting held at Jubbulpore on the 23rd May that the Khaksar organisation was a militant, non-communal, non-political body whose policy had undergone a change to avoid clashing with Government. The same speaker addressed private meetings at Jubbulpore on the 27th and 30th May when he explained the principles and mission of the movement and maintained that Khaksars were true followers of Islam. He instructed a few Khaksars in simple drill movement and averred that Government's restrictions on drill of a military nature was, in no way, an impediment and they should deny having done drill.

The warning given to Allama Mushriqui in July 1943 had an effect and Khaksars generally are abiding by the terms of the agreement.

In August 1943 Khaksars of Paratwada (Amraoti) wore red badges and had to be warned before they desisted. In Burhanpur also Khaksars had to be warned for wearing red badges and drilling in the mosque compound.

Hanuman Vyayam Prasarak Mandal, Amraoti

Membership in the province decreased still further during the year and is reported to be about 430. In July 1943, the membership at Amraoti rose from 260 to 685 but subsequently fell to 370. Except at Amraoti, the branches in other parts of the province function purely as 'Akhadas' and did not come to notice particularly. In June 1943 lectures on physical culture were initiated at the Amraoti centre to attract new members and in July 1943 five branches were opened to counteract the growing influence of the R.S.S. Sangh. On the 4th July 1943 a meeting was held in memory of the late Dr L.J. Kokerdekar and a committee was formed to collect funds to erect a statue of him at Amroati. A display on drill and Indian games was given at Amraoti

in celebration of Dasera on the 8th October. R.B. B.D. Datar of Nagpur presided and spoke on the subject of physical fitness. The 29th anniversary of the Mandal was celebrated on the 5th March 1944, when a demonstration of physical exercises and drill was given. The District and sessions Judge presided and about 700 persons attended the function. The annual summer training class was held at Amraoti from the 2nd to 31st May. About 65 members from this province and from Gujarat, Bombay and Hyderabad, Kotah, Kolhalpur and Boricil States attended, and were accommodated in tents. They were divided for the purpose of training into 1st, 2nd, and 3rd year classes. Uniform consisted of Khaki Shirts and Shorts and Shoes. Training was given in squad drill, rifles and aiming exercises with dummy guns, physical training, lathi, sword and spear drill, wrestling, first aid and scouting. Discipline was reported to have been good and permission was necessary to leave the camp. Reveille and Retreat were sounded and a guard was mounted on the armoury tent. One of the instructors was a member of the 7th Urban Infantry. Intellectual training consisted of lectures by various persons. On the final day certificates of proficiency were granted to about 60 members. The organizers were warned for infringing the restrictions on drill of a military nature.

In the Bombay Province several members of this institution were arrested for sabotage during the Congress rebellion the others came to notice as Japanese contacts. Minute enquiries were made in this province but no fresh discoveries were made regarding pro-Japanese sympathies on local members.

74. Government of India to all the Provinces

Govt of Madras, U.S. Files - File No. 56/1943
[TNA]

Express Letter

Govt. of India
Home Department.

From
Home, New Delhi.

To
All Provincial Governments and
Chief Commissioners, Delhi and Ajmer - Merwara

No. 28/3/43 - Poll (I), New Delhi, the 1st Jan. 1944

Please refer to our letter No. 28/3/43-Poll (I) dated 10th August 1943¹ forwarding a note by the Director, Intelligence Bureau on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. Since the issue of that letter, we have noticed references in certain Fortnightly Reports to increased activity on the part of this organisations and we have also seen a further note dated 30th November 1943 by the Director of the Intelligence Bureau (copies of which have been forwarded to all Provincial Criminal Investigation Departments) describing its expansion and certain

objectionable features in its activities. It appears in particular that some branches of the Sangh continue to evade with success the ban on military drill.

2. We should be grateful for your comments on the activities of this organisation or your Province and for your views whether the strict enforcement of our notifications No. 74/3/40-Poll - I and II prohibiting the performance of military drill and the wearing of military uniforms, should suffice to control its activities or whether any further general action e.g. a ban on the holding of camps of the type organised by the Sangh, would be desirable at present.

Signed

R.C. Tottenham

Addl. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

1. Doc. 50.

75: Official Notings on Muslim League National Guard (dt 2.1.1944-6.1.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The C.G.S. has heard demi-officially from the G.O.C. -in-C, N.W.F. Army that he has been informed by the G.O.C. Sind District that, in connection with the Muslim League Conference now proceeding in KARACHI, certain Muslim League National Guards have been formed in KARACHI and are wearing mazri uniforms and have been performing a form of drill, despite the various prohibitions on the subject. The G.O.C. Sind District reports further that the Chief Secretary, Mr Sladen, has issued an order drawing attention to the fact that drilling is prohibited but that the latter has also informed him that the Home Member, who is a leader of the Muslim League is likely to override this order.

2. While no actual trouble is expected in Karachi, the danger of inaction may well form a precedent and may be used by other parties of a more subversive character on future occasions.

3. The information is passed to Home Dept for such action as may be considered necessary.

A.W.S. Wakely.

Maj.-Gen.,

D.M.C.

2 Jan 44.

Home Dept (Sir R. Tottenham),

Through War Dept (Mr Wright)

U.O. No. 42/II/M.O.2.

We have recently drawn the attention of the Provincial Govts. to this matter in connection with R.S.S. Sangh. But I think we should also ask Sind about the M.L. National Guards.

Signed

R. Tottenham,

3/1

A draft express letter to Sind¹ is put up. The letter about the R.S.S.S. issued on the 1st January 1944¹ and reference to it would be inappropriate, instead we may invite attention to the letter issued last year in consequence of marches of M.L. Guards in Delhi.

Signed V. Sahay
6/1

Signed R. Tottenham
6/1

Enclosure

Personal & Secret
Karachi, Sind.
1st January 44.

Extract

I attach a Special Intelligence Report I have sent in. The serious thing is Guzdar, the Home Minister, and Haroon, a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly, disregarding their undertakings and appearing in a form of military uniform themselves. I grant you it was probably more like comic opera national guard during the week.

I have sent the attached letter to Sladen; this follows an interview I had with the Governor on the 27th when he informed me that he thought that the wearing of uniform and marching in formation to words of command would be best disregarded. I did not know at that time that his Home Minister was responsible for defying the law and his undertaking.

In view of the happenings at Amritsar, it is quite likely that comparisons may be drawn with the action of the civil authorities here.

Signed Godfrey Hind.

Lt.-Gen. H. Finnis, CB., MC.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. G.S. 1237/16
HQ Sind,
Karachi, 1 Jan 44.

Copy

To
H.Q., N.W. Army.

Enclosure to Godfrey Hind's letter

Subject: *Special Intelligence Report.*

The All India Muslim League conference finished on Monday, 27 Dec. 43, and passed off without any undue incidents.

The procession staged on the arrival of Mr Jinnah was a grandiose affair, and a disturbing feature was the semi-martial appearance of the Muslim Guards. Not only did they wear a Mazri uniform and carry lathis, but they marched in formation and used normal words of

command though given in Persian. Swords were carried by several of the leaders and also by both the A.D.Cs attending the President, who wore complete 'comic opera' uniform.

The question of these national guards had been discussed beforehand by the District Commander and the Chief Secretary, who stated a guarantee had been given that they would not over-step the regulations. This guarantee however was not kept and such gentleman as Mr Gazdar, the Home Minister and Mr Haroon were well aware of this as they took part in the procession. Mr Gazdar was responsible both for law and order and enforcement of regulations. He allowed these to be transgressed and is reported to have worn uniform himself.

All the speeches made during the Conference including those by Mr Jinnah mentioned nearly every subject except the furthering of the War Effort. This is reflected in the local press, who relegate war news to side columns.

Signed G. Hind.
Major-General
Commanding, Sind District.

D.O. No. GH/S

Secret & Personal
1st January 44.

Dear Sladen,

I am informed that Mr Guzdar, the Home Minister of the Sind Govt., and as such responsible for Law and Order and for seeing the Govt. orders are not infringed, wore uniform and took part in a semi-military procession during the recent Muslim League Conference.

I understand that his attention was drawn to D of I Rule 58 regarding unlawful drilling, and Rule 50 regarding the wearing of unofficial uniforms. His action appears to be a flagrant defiance of these orders.

While I quite appreciate the difficult position you are placed in, I feel it is my duty to ask you to bring this to the notice of H.E., particularly as I understand the undertakings given by Mr Guzdar and Mr Haroon in this connection were not observed.

Yours sincerely,
Signed G. Hind.

J.M. Sladen, CIE., ICS.,
Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Sind,
KARACHI.

1. Not printed.
2. Doc. 74.



76

Govt. of Bengal to the Govt. of India

Government of Bengal (Home) File No. 21/44
[Bengal State Archives]

To The Additional Secretary to the Govt. of India, Home Department

Dated the 6th January, 1944

Express Letter

Reference your Express letter 28/3/43 – Poll (I) dated the 10–8–43.¹ The Govt. of Bengal agree to uniformity in the treatment of voluntary organisations in the Province is desirable in enforcement of the provisions of the notifications of the 5th August 1940 prohibiting the performance of military exercise and the wearing of military uniforms. They are entirely in favour of enforcing prohibition vigorously in the case of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and also in the case of all organisations which are maintained on a similar footing, namely, as continuing organisations formed with the more or less evident intention of establishing a sort of private army or sectional militia and holding more or less regular camps of instructions etc. This would hit organisations like the Khaksars and all volunteer corps formed with the object of furthering political ends. This Govt. thinks, however, that a distinction should be drawn between such organisations and others which come into existence merely for the purpose of display at conferences, political rallies, meetings etc. – such for instance as the volunteers organised *ad hoc* on the occasion of a session of the Muslim League.

Signed C.S.

6–1–44

1 Doc 50

77.

Government of India to the Government of C.P. and Berar

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret

D.O. No. 28/3/43–Poll (I),
Government of India,
Home Department.

New Delhi, the 7th January 1944.

My dear Jayaratnam,

You will have seen our letter No. 28/3/43–Poll (I), dated 1st January,¹ 1944, regarding the

activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. A suggestion made here was that an express warning should be given to Golwalkar in order to keep the activities of this organisation in check, but it was noted that he himself appeared to be anxious not to offend and we decided not to pursue this suggestion. In fact we must leave it to you to handle Golwalkar in any manner you consider desirable. Some sort of guidance given to him from time to time might not come amiss, but it is for you to decide.

Yours sincerely,
Signed R. Tottenham.
(R. Tottenham).

T.C.S. Jayaratnam, Esq., CIE., ICS.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar,

Nagpur.

N: 6/1.

1. Doc. 74.

78 Government of United Provinces to the Government of India

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

H.Q.Dy. No. 297/44–Poll (I)

Dated 18.1.44.

From
D.S. Barron, Esqr., I.C.S.,
Secretary to Government,
United Provinces.

To
The Secretary to the Govt. of India,
Home Department,
New Delhi.

Lucknow, Jan. 13, 1944.

Sir,

With reference to Sir Richard Tottenham's Confidential Express letter No. 28/3/43–Poll(I), dated January 1, 1944,¹ about the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, I am directed to say that a recent note, apparently by the Director, Intelligence Bureau, on this organisation which was received by His Excellency the Governor suggests that the Government of India have fairly full information of the recent activities of this organisation in the U.P. In the circumstances, it appears to be unnecessary to repeat this. I am to enclose for the information of the Government of India a copy of instructions issued recently by this Government on the subject and to say

that the Governor does not consider that any further general action is required at present, as there is no reason to believe that the action already taken will not suffice to check the Sangh's undesirable activities.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant
Signed
Secretary

Enclosure

Confidential
No. 7317 - C.X.

From
G.L. Vivian, Esq., I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to Government,
United Provinces.

To
All District Magistrates,
United Provinces.

Dated Lucknow, December 17, 1943

Sir,

In recent weeks the Governor has seen reports of increased activity on the part of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in a considerable number of districts in the Province. In this connection, I am directed to draw your attention to the orders issued from time to time in regard to drilling and the wearing of uniforms, particularly to Mr Mudie's letter No. 4663 - C.K., dated June 28, 1943. When the Government of India issued order in 1940 under rules 58 and 59 of the Defence of India Rules prohibiting the performance of exercises, movements, evolution or drill of a military nature and the wearing of any dress resembling a uniform required to be worn by Member of His Majesty's Forces or a police force, or any force constituted under any law for the time being in force, they published a communique in which they drew attention to the dangers of non-official volunteer organisations, members of which make a practice of training or drilling and wearing some distinctive uniform. While recognising that in certain exceptional cases disciplined organisations are maintained for useful purposes, they held that it was impossible to suppose that the majority of these volunteer bodies existed for any legitimate or peaceful purpose and that it must generally be assumed that they were being drilled either for communal conflict or for the purpose of supplanting the existing administration. It cannot be contended that the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh is anything but a communal organisation and that its main object is to intensify Hindu feeling. As lathis, and also other weapons such as swords, spears and daggers, are carried, the impression on the minds of the public can only be that the organisation is preparing to attain its objects through some form of coercion. Although, therefore, the exercises indulged in by the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh may in present conditions appear to be harmless, they are nevertheless undesirable and potentially dangerous, and it is essential that a uniform policy should be adopted in all districts in regard to them. The information in possession of the Governor suggests that the officials of the organisation have no desire to defy the authorities and that a warning from the District Magistrate will be sufficient to put a stop to the undesirable features of the drilling. The carrying of swords, spears, daggers, or any similar weapons, should clearly not be tolerated

at any such drills and even the use of lathis is to be discouraged, as is also the wearing of any distinctive uniform. I am, therefore, to ask that if any activities of the kind dealt with in this letter are being carried on by the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in your district, you will send for the local leader and warn him against them; and if the warning does not have the desired effect, then you should consider enforcing the orders under rules 58 and 59 of the Defence of India Rules by means of prosecution.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant.

Signed Chief Secretary

No. 7317 (I) – C.K.

Copy to Commissioners of Divisions, U.P., for information and guidance.

Copy with 10 spare copies forwarded to the Inspector General of Police, United Provinces.

Copy forwarded to the Asstt. Insp. Genl. of Police, C.I.D., U.P. for information.

By order,
Signed
Chief Secretary.

1. Doc. 74

79

P.S. to the Viceroy to the Home Department

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

D.O. No. F. 133(7)/GG/43

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi

18th January 1944

Most Secret

My dear Sir Richard,

H.E. has received from H.E. the Commander-in-Chief copies of correspondence and reports about the wearing of uniform by Muslim League supporters including the Home Minister of the Sind Government during the session of the Muslim League in Karachi recently.¹

2. H.E. the Governor mentioned the matter in his last letter to H.E. the Viceroy and I enclose extracts both from the Governor's letter and from H.E.'s reply.

3. H.E. the Commander-in-Chief in his letter to the Viceroy says

In my opinion, unless some action is taken, this incident is liable to create a dangerous precedent, which may encourage other political bodies, such as the Khaksars, to extend their activities in a similar direction.

4. H.E. has left on tour this morning but I am sure he will wish to have the advice of Home Department.

Yours sincerely

(G.E.B. Abell)

Sir Richard Tottenham, CSI., CIE.

Enclosure 1

Extract from fortnightly report No. SG. 6/FR/44 dated the 12th

Extracts from fortnightly report No. S.G.6/F.R. dated, the 12th January 1944 from H.E. the Governor of Sind to H.E. the Viceroy.

2. The All India Muslim League session in Karachi passed off without any untoward incident. The local police officers were a little perturbed at the concessions by which the Ministry allowed the orders against wearing uniforms and drilling to be disregarded, but the Muslim League were not very straightforward about the matter, and the Ministry were not entirely at fault. E.G., as regards the uniform, Yusif Haroon represented that they had in stock the old Khaki uniforms, 500 in number, which were generally worn by the volunteers at the Haj camp and that these would be utilized; but having got permission on this basis, he afterwards had uniforms of blue mazri cloth, to the number of 2000 it is alleged, made at his own expense. The extent to which the permission given had been 'stretched' could not be ascertained till the actual procession took place, when interference would have caused serious disturbance; and it seems to be agreed by all who saw the tamasha that the whole show, with the exception of a few units from other provinces, was so unkempt and ill-disciplined, that there was nothing either militant or military about. The so-called Muslim guards slouched along in irregular order, chatting and smoking cigarettes, and inspired more ridicule than apprehension.

Enclosure 2

Extract from letter dated the 17th January 1944, from H.E. the Viceroy to H.E. the Governor of Sind.

2. I had noticed in a military intelligence report some mention of the wearing of uniforms by Muslim League volunteers during the session in Karachi, and I am glad you have commented on it. We shall have to keep an eye on the Muslim League in this matter when they hold future sessions. It would not do to allow them to develop any of the tendencies of the Khaksars or to think that they will be specially privileged by Government.

[Official Notings on the above - Ed.]

I have mentioned this matter, including P.S.V.'s letter of January 18th, to H.M. and have prepared a draft reply to P.S.V. Copies of the two notifications of August 1940 should be attached to the reply. I have asked D.I.B. to confirm the view expressed in the draft that the day-to-day activities of the Muslim League Guard are comparatively unimportant and the draft should not be issued until his reply is received.

R. Tottenham

19-1-44

(R. Tottenham)

Addl. Secretary.

D.S.(I)

D.I.B. has confirmed. Draft may be finalized for issue and submitted to Addl. Secretary with file first thing tomorrow morning.

S.J.L. Olver
19.1.44
Signed

1. Doc. 75.

80: Reply from Home to the letter dt 18.1.44 (Doc. 79)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Dated 20th January 1944

To

G.E.B. Abell, Esq., OBE., ICS.

D.P.S.V.

My dear Abell,

Will you please refer to your most secret D.O. No. F. 133(4)–GG/43 dated 18th of January¹ 1944, forwarding certain correspondence regarding the activities of the Muslim League Guards at the recent session of the Muslim League in Karachi? (Incidentally, the security marking 'Most Secret' seems hardly necessary in this case). We had already received reports on this subject, both in this Sind Fortnightly Report for the second half of December and also in a note from the General Staff dated January 2nd; and we called for a further official report from the Sind Government in an express letter dated January 7th. We cannot help being a little surprised it should have been thought necessary to bring this matter to the notice of His Excellency the Viceroy without ascertaining from us beforehand what we were doing about it.

2. The whole of this matter is governed by two notifications issued by the Home Department in August 1940 under Defence Rules 58 and 59. Copies of these two notifications are attached.² The whole object was most exhaustively discussed at that time and the conclusion was reached that these notifications went as far as it was possible to go effectively under the law. You will see that the second notification under D.R. 59 only prohibits the wearing of uniforms resembling military uniforms. It was felt impossible to prohibit the wearing of any kind of uniforms since the term is so wide and such a last number of 'legitimate' exceptions would have to have been allowed. Whether the blue *mazri* uniforms worn by the Muslim League Guards in Karachi did resemble military uniforms is a question of fact; but it seems rather doubtful whether they did. On the other hand, photographs I have seen show that Jinnah's personal staff at any rate wore uniforms that were obviously intended to be like those of A.D.Cs. and included a sword. There is another Defence Rule – No. 48 – which prohibits the wearing of uniforms calculated to deceive, and this is also an offence under section 171 of the Indian Penal Code; but I

imagine that neither of these provisions would have applied to the present case. An order under D.R. 59 can only be passed when the Government is satisfied that the wearing of the uniforms in question is likely to prejudice the public safety, the maintenance of public order, the defence of British India or the prosecution of the war: and we have no doubt that the continuous wearing of semi-military uniforms by unofficial bodies combined with other activities of a military nature would be likely to cause apprehension to sections of the public and, therefore, comes fully within the scope of the rule. On the other hand, it must be a matter of opinion whether the display in Karachi was of that character. The reports both from the Governor and also from General Hind seem to indicate that the Guards were generally regarded more as a laughing-stock than as a menace. The order under D.R. 58 about military drill is somewhat different. It is absolute and does not depend either on the uniform worn or on the satisfaction of Government that it is calculated to produce a certain result. The two orders or notifications combined represent the determination of Government not to allow anything in the nature of 'private armies'.

3. In the light of these orders we have to determine —

- (a) Whether the activities of the Muslim League Guards in Karachi constituted a clear breach of either or both of them, and
- (b) Whether the Sind Government ought to have stopped these activities, even at the last moment.

As regards (a), subject to further information regarding the character of the uniforms worn, it seems pretty clear that there was at least a technical breach of both the orders. As regards (b), the matter is more difficult and I think we should wait to hear what the Sind Government has to say officially in reply to our letter of January 7th. I may mention here, as you will probably remember, that very much the same thing happened at the meeting of the Muslim League in Delhi in April 1943, although on that occasion the military authorities made no reference to us on the subject. We took the matter up with the Chief Commissioner. He was doubtful whether the activities that then took place would have been held by a court of law to constitute a breach of the Government notifications, but held that in any case the police authorities were right not to interfere. He made the suggestion, however, that on future occasions it should be made a condition of any licence granted for a procession or conference that nothing in the nature of military drill should be allowed. We accepted this view and issued a circular letter accordingly to all Provincial Governments, No. 28/2/43-Poll(I) dated May 26th, 1943, a copy of which was endorsed to PSV. Subsequently, in our letter No. 28/3/43-Poll(I) Aug. 10th, 1943, a copy of which was also enclosed to PSV, we had occasion to circularize Provincial Governments regarding the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and drew their attention to the necessity for enforcing the two orders under Defence Rules 58 and 59. This again was followed up with a further circular letter No. 28/3/43-Poll(I) dated 1st of January 1944 of which I enclose a copy on the same subject.¹ I mention all this to show that we have kept a watchful eye on all these kinds of activity.

4. So far as the Muslim League Guards are concerned, the action of the authorities, both in Delhi and in Karachi was obviously influenced by the desire to avoid any direct conflict with the League at an awkward moment and, possibly, on grounds of no great actual importance. The Muslim League Guard, so far as we know, is not a body that has any very vigorous existence in between the big meetings at which they appear mainly for purposes of display. They are, in fact, quite different from the Khaksars, whose daily activities were of a

militaristic nature; and there is the further point that the prohibition of these activities in the case of the Khaksars was not based on the two orders which I have quoted, but was part of the conditions on which the ban on that Association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act was removed and its leader, Allama Mashriqui, was released from custody.

5. I have written at this length not in order to condone the attitude of the Sind Ministers, but to show that there are two sides to the question. We think that His Excellency will agree that it would be undesirable to come into open conflict with the Muslim League except on the most urgent and compelling grounds, and also that there is a difference between turning a blind eye to occasional comic opera displays and tolerating day-to-day activities of a militaristic character. At the same time we agree that even comic opera may have its dangers and that connivance at these displays may increase the difficulty of taking action later on either against the organisation responsible for them or against other organisations for activities of a somewhat similar nature. In that view, some further action may now be necessary to prevent a recurrence of these Muslim League activities. If so, our own view is that the action should be taken by the Government of India and that the first step should be a clear warning either to Jinnah himself or to some responsible officer of the League. It is difficult to expect a Muslim League Government to take action against members of its own party and in any case sudden action at the time of a big meeting, without any previous warning, would almost certainly produce a more serious situation. If His Excellency agrees generally, we will proceed accordingly as soon as we have received a reply from the Sind Government. If, however, his Excellency does not think that a direct approach to the Muslim League is necessary at present, we would be quite content to leave the matter as it stands for the moment. In fact, that is course we ourselves would be inclined to recommend.

Yours sincerely

R. Tottenham
Addl. Secy.

-
- 1 Doc. 79
 - 2 Not printed.
 - 3 Doc 74.



81: Government of Punjab to the Government of India

File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

No. 503 BDSB

From

F.C. Bourne, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department, New Delhi.

Dated Lahore, the 21 January 1944

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your secret express letter No. 28/3/43-Poll(I), dated January the 1st, 1944¹ and to enclose a note on the recent activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in the Punjab. Last year there was a noticeable increase in the membership of this organisation which now has 108 branches in 25 out of the 29 districts in the Punjab. The Sangh is financially well off and is becoming increasingly popular among Hindus, but at present the militant side of its activities is not very strong. Its danger lies more in the invitation it holds out to the growth of volunteer organisations of other communities and in the disturbing effects which estranged communal feelings must have on the internal situation and consequently on the war effort of the Province. Communal and party volunteer organisations are in the nature of private armies and constitute at all times a threat to peace and tranquillity. The Punjab Government, are therefore, in favour of restricting their activities as far as possible and strongly support the suggestion that a ban should be placed on the holding of camps not only by the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh but also by all communal and party volunteer organisations.

2. I am also directed to say that the Punjab Government do not consider that notifications No. 74/3/40-Poll (I & II) are in themselves sufficient to control the semi-military activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and other communal and party volunteer organisations, and therefore, recommend that the ban on wearing uniform resembling police or military uniform should be extended to prohibit entirely the wearing in public of any dress of a specified colour or pattern worn by members of a communal or party volunteer organisation.

Signed Chief Secretary to Govt.,
Punjab.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh

The present strength of this organisation is about 14,000. There was a drop in membership following action under the Defence of India Rules in February and May 1943 against two organizers in Lahore and Amritsar, but subsequently many new branches of the Sangh were

established in the province. Regular volunteers, who consist chiefly of students, shopkeepers and shop assistants, number about 6,500. The financial position of the Sangh is sound and it is estimated that at least Rs 30,000 were donated in 1943 on the occasion of 'Guru Dakshina'.

Training in lathi-fighting and physical drill was given to volunteers at various centres and in Amritsar some volunteers were also trained in sword fighting. Physical exercise classes by special instructors trained at Nagpur and Ambala were held throughout the province during the month of August and large rallies were also occasionally held, at Krishna Nagar (Lahore) on September 1943 about 3,000 volunteers from 48 local branches were present at a flag-hoisting ceremony, which was followed by a march past by 50 volunteers. Lathi and dagger-fighting and offensive and defensive exercises were held and a torch light procession was also taken out. Other rallies attended by 1,500 and 1,000 volunteers were held at Lahore and Amritsar in October in connection with the Dussehra festival when flags were hoisted and volunteers gave exhibitions of physical drill and games. On two occasions RSSS volunteers interfered with plain clothes police officers deputed to report on their parades and rallies at Lahore and Amritsar.

A one day camp attended by about 50 volunteers was held near Model Town (Lahore) in August 1943 and the proceedings included physical training, lathi – and sword-drill and sham fighting. The provincial organizer of the Sangh wanted to hold a Christmas camp at Lahore in 1943 and was warned by the Deputy Commissioner that, if the Government notifications banning military drill, the wearing of uniform, etc., were infringed, prosecution would follow. The provincial organizer promised not to hold the camp, but subsequently he thought better of this and secretly and suddenly arranged two camps at Lahore attended by 140 adults and 225 school boys. There were however no infringements of the notifications and the activities consisted of physical exercise and games. Other camps were held during the Christmas holidays at Alawalpur (Jullundur), Gujrat, Rawalpindi, Chiniot (Jhang), Amritsar and Bhopalwala (Sialkot). The attendance at these camps varied from 60 to 350 volunteers and the members played games and performed physical exercises. At Rawalpindi offensive and defensive exercises were also held.

The tendency of the Sangh to contravene the notifications led the Punjab Government to issue circular instructions in October 1943 to district authorities, asking them to ensure that in future volunteers of the Sangh complied strictly with the requirements of the notifications. In December, the Punjab Government also debarred Government servants from joining this organisation.

Early in November 1943 the All India Sangh leader, M.S. Golwalkar, visited the Punjab on an organizational tour during which he expressed disappointment with the work of the provincial Sangh. The two chief organizers of the Sangh in the Punjab also toured frequently and visited various branches. At Sangh meetings, speeches were made stressing the non-political character of the organisation and stating that its main object was to organise Hindus, improve their physique and promote social service. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh is communal in character and is becoming increasingly popular among Hindus. Its leaders feel that it is necessary to exercise the greatest caution in working for the Hindu domination of India and the activities of the organisation are conducted with great secrecy.



82. I.B. Report on R.S.S.S.

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 21/44
[Bengal State Archives]

I.B. Report

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has its supporters in Calcutta, Mymensingh, Maldah, Rajshahi, Pabna, Nabadwip (Nadia), Howrah, Berhampur, where they are trying to organise branches. Of these places, Calcutta, Mymensingh and Maldah have some branches, where the activities are confined to boys who are being encouraged in India games and lathi play.

We have no information as yet about their wearing uniform and holding parade in Military fashion. The enforcement of notification No. 74/3/40-Poll I and II referred to in the India Govt. Express letter No. 28/3/43-Poll (I) dated 1/1/44 will be sufficient to control the situation at present.

This notification may also do in respect of the Khaksars in Bengal, who used to resort to such Parades occasionally and Quietly).

Signed 21/1
For D.I.G., I.B.,

83 Suptd of Police to the Under Secretary, Government of Madras

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files - File No. 184/44
[TNA]

S.B.C.I.D. Office,
Mylapore,
Madras, 23rd January 1944.

My dear Govindan Nair,

Please refer to your D.O. No. S/46-1/44 Public Department dated the 11th January 1944¹ regarding the activities of the R.S.S. Sangh.

I enclose an addendum, up to the 31st December 1943, to the note sent with my D.O. No. 5388/C of the 4th September² 1943. For the present I think the strict enforcement of the ban on drilling should suffice, but as Congress loses ground, we must expect the Sangh to gain ground. District Officials' attention might usefully be drawn to this.

Yours sincerely,

Signed
(W.F.A. Hamilton)

P. Govindan Nair, Esq., I.C.S.,
Under Secretary, Public Department,
Madras.
CWC 23/1.

Addendum up to 31st December 1943, to the note on the R.S Sangh sent to Government with S.B.C.I. D.D.O. No. 5385/C of the 4th September, 1943.

The main activities of the R.S.S. Sangh from September 1943 up to the end of December 1943 have been the opening of new branches, enlistment of members and the holding of camps where instructions are imparted to the members and training given in squad drill, games and the use of spears. At the Instructors' training camp held at Masulipatam in October 1943 lathi drill was performed with uniforms (Khaki shorts and shirts). The instructors and members of the R.S.S. Sangh in the various branches in West Godavari district were warned against drilling in October 1943 by the D.M. West Godavari with salutary effect. G.M. Thakoor, the district organizer of the Sangh in Kistna, was warned by the D.M. Kistna in the beginning of December 1943, after which drilling was stopped in most of the branches in that district. Winter camps were held, in Bezwada on the 24th December 1943, in Kuttalam (Tanjore) on the 25th December 1943, in Calicut on 27th December 1943, and in Vannarpet (Tinnevely) on the 31st December 1943. In the camp at Bezwada the members performed drill with and without *lathis*, while in the camp at Calicut drill and the physical exercises performed are reported to have been on military lines. Sunday parades are being held in Madras by the Sangh Members.

1 & 2 Not printed.

84 Official Notings on Muslim League National Guards (dt 24.1.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Intelligence Bureau (Home Dept)

Secret

A copy of Sind C.I.Ds report No. S.B. 8380 of 1943 dated the 29th December 1943 is enclosed for information.

A copy of Sind C.I.Ds report No. S.B. 3380 of 1943 dated the 29th December 1943.

No. C/7367 of 1943
Office of the Supdt. of Police,
Karachi & Tatta Districts,
Karachi, dated 28-12-43.

Confidential

Subject: The All India Muslim League Presidential procession.

The above procession was due to take place on 23-12-43 starting from the Lea Market, Previous to the date of the procession, the following orders were issued by the Govt. of Sind:

1. No. S.D. 275 dated 13-12-43
2. No. S.D. 275/1. dated 18-12-43
3. No. S.D. 275/1, dated 20-12-43.

These orders were duly communicated to the organizers of the Muslim League Conference.

On the 23rd instant, I proceeded in company with the District Magistrate, Karachi to the place where the procession was forming up. It was immediately apparent that wholesale disregard of Govt. orders was taking place, The Muslim National Guards were parading in military formations under military words of command, marching in step with the pace actually being called out by the 'Officers' in-charge; many of the National Guards were carrying lathis and performing drill with them; and other persons taking part in the procession were armed with a varied assortments of weapons including lathis, daggers, spears, swords, airguns and even few revolvers. (It may be mentioned that the precision with which the drill of some of the National Guards from other Provinces was executed indicated long practice and much instruction.)

A few of the National Guards discarded their lathis on the personal orders of Hon. Mr Gazdar, the Minister for Law and Order (himself wearing the uniform of an officer), but the general spirit of the procession was of defiance.

The procession was, however, allowed to proceed and finally reached its destination without any serious incident.

I would also report that a similar defiance of Govt. orders occurred at the Rally of the Muslim National Guards held on the 25th instant, details of which have been furnished in my daily report.

The above report will indicate that a very unsatisfactory state of affairs exists, in as much as a procession attended by the Sind Premiers and Ministers and the Premiers and Ministers of other Provinces, openly defied the orders of Govt. as well as the provisions of the Indian Arms Act. It is understood that a similar situation arose on the last occasion of the Muslim League Conference at Delhi. The Govt. of Sind have ordered that the offenders against the above orders should be prosecuted. If this is to be done, I would solicit orders as to against whom the prosecution should be made. In my personal view, the prosecution of a few individuals in this case will not meet the situation. The prosecutions of numerous individuals who mostly reside outside Sind as also impracticable.

It is, however, apparent that this situation will require the earnest attention of the Govt. of India, and I would suggest that it is for serious consideration whether the *Muslim National Guard* should not be declared an unlawful body, at least for the duration of the War.

Signed D.F.P. Reid,
Supdt. Police, Karachi & Tata Dists.

The Muslim League would appear to have produced this display by the 'National Guards' specially for the Karachi Session, in the same way as was done for the Delhi Session. Normally

the 'National Guards' do not bring themselves to notice to the same extent as the Khaksars and R.S.S.S. This state of affairs may, however, not continue for one of the main functions of the newly constituted Muslim League 'Council of Action' is to be the reorganization of the 'National Guard'.

Signed
(G.A.J. Boon)
Assistant Director (L)
24-1-44.

85 Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara to Home
Dept, New Delhi

File No. 8/3/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

H.D. Dy No. 553/44 - Poll (I), 29-1-44

Secret

From
The Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara

To
Home, New Delhi.

Dated Ajmer, the 27th January, 1944.

Reference: Government of India, Home Department express letter No. 28/3/43 - Poll (I) dated the 1st January 1944.¹

I forward an extract from memorandum No. M/28/47/SA/40 dated the 11th January 1944 from the Superintendent of District Police, Ajmer-Merwara to the address of Deputy Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara regarding the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. I agree with his views.

Signed
Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara.

An extract from Secret Memorandum No. M/28/47/SA/40 dated the 11th January 1944 from the Superintendent of District Police, Ajmer-Merwara to the Deputy Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara.

A branch of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was opened in this district by Mr Uma Kant Apte of Nagpur in December 1941, V.N. Limaye being appointed the Chief Organizer. There are now eight branches of the Sangh in this district namely six in Ajmer, one in Nasirabad and one in Beawar. The total number of volunteers is about 500.

From January 1942 members of the Sangh were regularly instructed in physical exercises and lathi practice. By March 1942 the membership had reached about 90 and at a meeting

held on March 16, 1942 to celebrate the Hindu New Year, the Hindus were urged by the principal speaker who included Chand Karan Sarada, Ghisa Lal Advocate, and Vasant Rao of Delhi to patronize the Sangh. In June 1942 seven local men attended the camp of the All India Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh held at Nagpur; here it is reported that they received training on military lines. By July 1942 the membership had increased to about 200 volunteers between the ages of 5 and 25 in December 1942. A number of volunteers commenced doing lathi exercises by words of command and at the end of that month there was a Sangh Flag Salutation ceremony attended by about 125 volunteers in plain clothes. A salutation song was sung and after this ceremony the volunteers did some exercises with lathis, words of command being used. At the end of December 1942 a camp was held at Ajmer attended by about 400 volunteers from Jodhpur, Udaipur, Jaipur, Kishangarh and Berawar in addition to the local volunteers. The activities in the camp were confined to physical exercises, flag salutation ceremony, singing of national songs and propaganda speeches to popularize the Sangh and increase the membership. This was followed by a lull in activity until May 1943 when V.N. Limaye made strenuous efforts to counter the decline in his influence due to a story circulating regarding his doubtful morality. From June 1943 the influence of the Sangh increased as it was opposed by other Arya Samaj organisations which had become jealous of its growing influence. In July 1943 V.N. Limaye left for Delhi largely on this account. In August 1943 Arya Nagar Branch of the Sangh was closed but in September 1943 a new branch was started in Jonesganj and October 1943 the return of V.N. Limaye from Delhi led to increased activity. On October 3, 1943 the Sangh organised celebrations in connection with the Dasahara festival which were attended by about 250 volunteers and 200 others. Words of command were used and drill movements carried out. So a case was registered under the Defence of India Rules and 18 volunteers were prosecuted. Unfortunately, V.N. Limaye and the President, Daya Shankar Vakil could not be prosecuted as they had not taken part in drill and had carefully abstained from giving any word of command. The 18 volunteers arrested were all youths who tendered written apologies and the case against them was dropped. The monthly rally held in November 30, 1943 was attended by about 300 volunteers and the annual camp from December 24 to 26 again was attended by about 500 volunteers from Ajmer, Beawar and Kishengarh. Activities were confined to physical exercises and country games and nothing objectionable took place. A recent report however indicates that on January 9, 1944 about 40 volunteers again performed drill at a flag salutation ceremony. Unfortunately there were no witnesses and no action could therefore be taken. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh appears to be treading in the foot steps of the Khaksars. The Notifications prohibiting the performance of military drill and the wearing of military uniform are not entirely effective in preventing the enrollment of the volunteers and their training to acting together through the medium of physical exercises and instructions in the use of the lathis. The holding of camps facilitates this. I consider that the sooner the holding of camps of the type organized by the Sangh can be banned the better.

1. Doc. 74.



86 P.S. to the Viceroy to the Home Member, Govt. of India

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret

D.O. No. F. 133(4) GG/43

21-1-44

The Viceroy House,
New Delhi.

My dear Sir Reginald,

His Excellency discussed with you this morning the Karachi affair about which the Commander-in-Chief had written to him. I enclose for your information a copy of a letter I have just sent to the Commander-in-Chief embodying His Excellency's decision. My reference to earlier correspondence concerns only an *ad interim* reply sent to the Commander-in-Chief.

Yours sincerely,

Signed

The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Maxwell, GCIE., KCSI.

Jinnah will have to be warned off in good time before such a performance is expected.

R.M. Maxwell

Signed 1/2

Addl. Secretary.

31st January 1944

The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi.

My dear General,

I write in continuation of my d.o. letter No. F. 133/4/66/43 dated 28th/30th January 1944 to let you know that His Excellency has now discussed with the Home Member the wearing of uniform by Muslim League supporters in Karachi. His Excellency has decided that the Government of India had better now leave the Karachi affair alone, but he agreed with you that the matter is important and that immediate action must be taken against any future infringement of the rules.

Yours sincerely,

Signed E.M. Jenkins.

His Excellency,
General Sir Claude Auchinleck,
GCIE, CB., JSI,

87 Government of Madras to the Government of India

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of Madras
Public Department.

Secret.

Dated, 4/2/1944.

No. S/46-3/44.

From
G.W. Priestley, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Fort St George, Madras.

To
The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department,
New Delhi.

Sir,

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh – Ref. Home Department letter No. 28/3/43 – Poll (I) dated 1st January 1944.¹

I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of a note prepared by the Provincial C.I.D. on the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in this Province, together with a copy of an addendum thereto.² It will be seen therefrom that the activities of the Sangh have mainly been confined to the opening up of new branches, the enlistment of members and the holding of camps for imparting instructions to the members and training in drill, games and use of spears. The District Magistrates of West Godavari and Kistna have found it necessary to warn the organizers of the Sangh in their districts against drilling.

2. The Government of Madras, however, consider that, for the present the strict enforcement of the Government of India notifications No. 74/3/40-Poll – I and II – is sufficient to control the Sangh's activities though it is likely that, as the Congress loses ground, the Sangh may be expected to gain in its influence. The attention of the District Magistrates has been drawn to this aspect of the matter and they have again been told that the ban on drilling and wearing of uniforms should be strictly enforced.

Your obedient servant,

DJ.C. Crawley
For Chief Secretary to Government.

¹ Doc. 74.

² Not printed, being merely repetitive of earlier reports – see Doc. 54.

88

Government of Bengal to the Government of India

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 21/44
[Bengal State Archives]

4th February 1944

To
The Home, New Delhi
Subject: Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh

Express Letter

Reference Home Deptt. Express letter No. 28/3/43-Poll (I) dated the 1-1-44.¹

It is reported that the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has small branches in Calcutta, Mymensingh and Malda, where the activities are confined to boys who are being encouraged in Indian games and lathi play, and that its supporters in Rajshahi, Pabna, Nobadwip (Nadia), Howrah and Berhampore are trying to organise branches. We have no information as yet of its members wearing uniform and holding parades in military fashion. The Provincial Govt. however consider that the enforcement of Home department notifications 74/3.40-Poll (I) and (II) dated the 5-8-1940 will suffice to control activities at present.

Addl. Secretary.

1 Doc. 71.

89:

Government of Sind to the Government of India

File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

No. S.D. 275
Govt. of Sind, Home Deptt.
Karachi, 12th Feb. 1944.

Serial No. 9
From
'Sind', Karachi
To
'Home', New Delhi.

I am directed to reply to your Express Letter No. 28/2/43 - Poll (I) dated 7th Jan. 1944¹ in

connection with the performance of military drill in uniform by the Muslim League 'National Guards' during the recent Muslim League session in Karachi.

2. The first matter to be dealt with in this connection was the request made by the Anjuman-e-Mussalman-e-Punjab, Karachi, for permission to wear 'Khaki' uniform coats with belts. As Govt. were informed that the volunteers of this Anjuman already had in their possession old 'Khaki' great coats which they used to wear when attending on the Haj pilgrimage at the time of embarkation and disembarkation and that they did not resemble military uniforms, Govt. granted the permission asked for. I append a copy of it. (Enclosure 1 and 4)

3. Subsequently, reports were received from the S.P., Karachi, of which I attach copies, showing that the Muslim League 'National Guards' of Karachi had been provided with uniform and were parading in the streets and being trained in drill. (see under para 5) Orders were consequently issued to the D.M., Karachi, instructing him to direct the Muslim League leaders to desist from drilling their volunteers under pain of prosecution. I append a copy of the letter issued to the D.M. (Enclosure 2)

4. Two days later, the Hon'ble Minister, Home Dept., was pressed by some leading men of the Muslim League to permit some relaxation of these last orders. He agreed to permit drill to be performed within the limits of the Muslim League pandal and he permitted the volunteers to form part of the welcome procession to Mr Jinnah on December 22nd, provided they did not march in step or move as a body under a word of command. He made it clear that the carrying of 'lathis' by volunteers was altogether prohibited. A copy of the order issued by the S.P., Karachi, in connection with this decision is appended; and also a copy of the permit for the procession granted by the S.P. (Enclosure No. 3)

5. However, even these orders were disregarded almost entirely by the volunteers. The S.P., Karachi reported as follows:

On the 23rd instant, I proceeded in company with the D.M. Karachi, to the place where the procession was forming up. It was immediately apparent that wholesale disregard of Govt. orders was taking place. The Muslim National Guards were parading in military formations under military words of Command, marching in step with the pace actually being called out by the "officers" in-charge; many of the National Guards were carrying lathis and performing drill with them; and other persons taking part in the procession were armed with a varied assortment of weapons including "lathis", daggers, spears, swords, airguns and even few revolvers. (It may be mentioned that the precision with which the drill source of the National Guards from other Provinces were executed indicated long practice and much instructions. A few of the National Guard discarded their lathis on the personal orders of the Hon'ble Mr Gazdar, the Minister for Law and Order (himself wearing the uniform of an officer), but the general spirit of the procession was of defiance. The procession was, however, allowed to proceed and finally reached its destination without any serious incident. I would report that a similar defiance of Govt orders occurred at the Rally of the Muslim National Guards held on the 26th instant.

A detailed report received from the S.P. in regard to the incident mentioned in the last sentence is also enclosed. (Enclosure 5)

6. The uniform commonly worn by the Muslim League 'National Guards' consisted of grey slacks, grey shirts and forage caps made of 'mazri' cloth. They somewhat resembled A.R.P. and Civic Guards uniform and also the uniform worn by some Army recruits.

7. This Govt. considered the question of ordering the prosecution of the those who had disobeyed their orders, but in view of the difficulty of prosecuting persons coming from all over India, whose names were not even known, and since to prosecute leaders of the Muslim League would lead only to bad blood between the Muslim League and Govt., it was decided

that it was unnecessary to prosecute any one for infringements of the orders in regard to drill. The question of the uniform was considered to be of less importance and Govt. decided that it was unnecessary to prohibit the wearing of the grey 'mazri' uniform described above.

8. The delay in replying to your letter is regretted.

Signed J.M. Sladen,
Chief secretary to Govt. of Sind.

Government of Sind,
Home Deptt. (Special)
Order No. S.D. — 275
Sind Secretariat,
Karachi. 13th Dec. 1943.

Enclosure 1

Order

In exercise of the powers conferred by the orders issued in the Govt. of India, Home Department, Notification No. 75/3/40-Political (II) dated the 5th August 1940, the Government of Sind are pleased to authorize the wearing of uniform consisting of a Khaki coat with a belt by the volunteers of the Anjumn Mussalmanan — E — Punjab, Karachi, from the 22nd to the 27th December 1943. During this period they will be performing various services in connection with the Muslim League Conference at Karachi.

By order of the Governor of Sind,

Signed J.N. Sladen
Chief Secretary to Government.

To
The President, Anjumanan Mussalman-E-Punjab, Karachi
The I.G. Police Sind,
The D.M., Karachi
The S.P. Sind, C.I.D.
The S.P. Karachi & Tatta Dists.

Enclosure 2

Express Letter

No. S.D. 275/I,
Government of Sind,
Home Department (Special),
Sind Secretariat, Karachi.
18 Dec. 1943

From Sind, Karachi

To The District Magistrate, Karachi.

Subject: Drilling, etc. Prohibition against the

It has been brought to the notice of Govt. that the volunteers of the Muslim League have, of late, been performing exercises and drill of a military nature in contravention of the orders

contained in the GOI, Home Dept., Notification No. 74/3/40 -- Political -- I, dated the 5th August 1940. In this connection, I am to refer to Govt. Home Department (Special) letter No. S.D. 141/I, dated the 2nd July 1943 and to request that the S.P. should be instructed to tell the Muslim League leaders to desist from drilling their volunteers under pain of prosecution. Corporate movements on a word of command must be considered to be drill of a military nature and thus to infringes the Govt. of India orders referred to above.

A copy of their letter is being sent to the S.P. direct for necessary action.

Signed J.M. Sladen,
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Sind.

Enclosure 3

No. C/7262
Office of the S.P. Karachi & Tatta Dist.
Karachi.

21st December 1943.

From
The Superintendent of Police,
Karachi and Tatta Districts.

To
Mr Mahmood Sir Haji Abdulla Haroon,
In-charge, the Muslim National Guards,
Karachi.

I have the honour to inform you that the Government of Sind have agreed to allow the Muslim National Guards to perform drill within the limits of the Muslim League Pandal. Drill in public places and the carrying of 'lathis' by their volunteers is altogether prohibited.

2 The volunteers of the Muslim National Guard may form part of the procession on the 23rd instant, but they should not march in step nor should they move as a body under a word of command. They may, however, be organized in column of fours while moving in the procession.

Signed D.F.P. Reid,
S.P., Karachi & Tatta Dist.

Enclosure 4

No. C/7294,
Office of the S.P. Karachi & Tatta Dists., Karachi
Dated the 21st December 1943.

To
Mr Yousif Sir Haji Abdulla Haroon,
General Secretary, Reception Committee,
All-India Muslim League Conference
KARACHI.

Reference your application, dated the 19th instant, permission is granted to take out a procession of Quaid-e-Azam Mr M.A. Jinnah on the 23rd December 1943, at 3 p.m. from the Lea Market

and passing along Napier Road, Bundar Road, Preedy Street, Freze Road and terminating at the Pandal, provided —

- (1) That the whole procession is organized in column of fours so as to take up as little space as possible;
- (2) That the processionists are kept on the left side of the road so as not to obstruct other traffic;
- (3) That the processionists do not carry 'lathis';
- (4) That the Govt. of Sind's instructions regarding the Muslim National Guards, copy herewith attached, are adhered to;
- (5) That the processionists comply with the reasonable directions of the Police on duty regarding traffic.

Signed D.F.P. Reid
Superintendent of Police,
Karachi & Tatta Districts.

Enclosure 5

The All India Muslim National Guards Rally

Mr Jinnah arrived at about 6 p.m. at the Bab-ul-Islam Gate of Haroonabad from the District local Board Office to receive a salute by the National Guards who had rallied in large numbers. Mr Jinnah accompanied by his two A-D-Cs, Mr G.M. Sayed, Usif Haroon and Mahmood Haroon, went upto the platform of the Bab-ul-Islam Gate. About 800 Muslim National Guards had already fallen in on Road A.M. 23 in front of the Gate wearing their respective uniforms, including bands of Karachi National Guards, Aligarh Muslim Scouts and Frontier National Guards. The National Guards of Baluchistan, N.W.F.P. and Cawnpore about 80 in number, carried 'lathis' and one Salar of Cawnpore National Guards carried a sword. 28 Delhi National Guards carried aluminium water mugs and one carried a first aid box.

From about 5 p.m. Muslim National Guards of various provinces started pouring in at the place and by 5.30 p.m. almost all of them fell in by Companies on Road A.H. 23, the Delhi Band leading. Thereafter the Guards paraded in strict Military formations under Persian as well as English words of command on Road A.M. 23, Frere Rod, passing by the Allies Cafe Queensway and back to Road A.M. 23. This commenced at 5.30 p.m. and before the arrival of Mr Jinnah the whole parade had marched — past the saluting base (Babul-Islam Gate) twice by way of rehearsals.

Immediately on arrival of Mr Jinnah the parade was formed up according to military formations and the same marched-past the saluting base once again, this time saluting Mr Jinnah. The band of Karachi National Guards was leading. The Cawnpore Salar carrying sword offered a salute with his naked sword in the military style and thereafter the whole parade formed up on Road A.M. 23.

Usif Haroon then announced that every year two silver cups were being awarded, one to the best band team of the National Guards and the other to the most smartly turned out National Guards. Accordingly, he announced that the band team of the Karachi National Guards won the first cup and the second cup was won by the Ahmedabad National Guards. Consequently Mahmood A. Khan the Band-master, was awarded the first cup and the Salar of Ahmedabad National Guards was awarded the second cup. About 4000 spectators witnessed the Rally.

Note: This is the first open defiance of law by the Muslim National Guards who by their above rally contravened the Government order prohibiting drill of military nature in a public place, carrying of 'lathis' and parading under one word of command. Some of the Salars of the different provinces wore strict military uniforms (tunics, breeches, gaiters, siding shoes, forage caps, cross-belts, etc.) Some of the National Guards wore Khaki bush shirts of the military pattern. The Guards confined to parade as above till about 7 p.m. to the playing of the bands and words of commands of their respective Salars, even after the departure of Mr Jinnah. They began to disperse after 7 p.m. some going to Haroonabad and parading inside the Pandal, some going to the Pakistan Colony where they are staying and the rest going to their respective lodging places. The National Guards of Cawnpore, Ahmedabad, Baluchistan and of the Aligarh University looked almost like military on parade.

1 Not printed.

90 Official Noting on M.L.N.G. — (dt 12.2.1944 to 17.2.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

. . . No reply has been received so far to serial No. 4 from Sind.¹ Draft reminder put up.

12/2/43.

It will be seen that despite three telegraphic reminders² we have still had no reply from Sind. I put up a D.O. reminder which may be signed by Additional Secretary.

2. According to the '*Dawn*' cutting at flag 147³ Jinnah on his recent arrival in Delhi was welcomed by a Guard of Honour of the Delhi Muslim National Guards. We should, I think, ask Delhi whether these volunteers were in uniform and armed, I put up a draft.⁴

17.2.44

(S.J.L. Olver)

S.C. (I).

Addl. Secy.

1. Sec Doc 89 (Reply from the Govt. of Sind).

2 & 3. Not printed.

4. Not printed.



91

Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab

File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Punjab

1st half

Feb. '44.

Communists

Whether or not Communists have been influenced by increasing Akali propaganda announcing them as atheists, they have begun to realise that their methods of tackling the Akali problem and their attitude of opposition to the Azad Punjab scheme are producing no results and it appears that they are now thinking of revising their policy towards the Akali party with a view to using the Akalis as a weapon for their own end. This policy, if adopted, will accept the Sikh demand for self-determination and the previous Communist slogan of Congress-Muslim League unity will be expanded to include the Akalis. The Communist aim will be to make the Akali party, which they recognize as the most powerful Sikh party in the Punjab, into a strong democratic national organisation of the Sikhs and they will presumably employ familiar methods of selecting suitable members to do propaganda and make contacts, enter the party through sympathizers and finally capture it by overthrowing the present leadership. In this last endeavour they will probably have the sympathy, if not the active assistance, of the Nagoke group and of other nationalist Sikhs who are showing signs of dissatisfaction with Master Tara Singh's leadership and who are jealous of the influence of his chief lieutenant, Giani Kartar Singh.



92 Government of Bombay to the Government of India

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

No. S.D.344

Home Department (Political).

Bombay Castle, 16th February 1944.

From

H.V.R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

To

The Additional Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Subject: *Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.*
Restrictions on the. . . .

Sir,

I am directed to reply to your Express Letter, No. 28/3/43 – Poll (I), dated the 1st January 1944 on the subject of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh. The membership of the Sangh is increasing, but its activities are at present limited to training in lathi and physical drill and to holding of annual camps, where instructions are given in skirmishing and in methods of lathi defence, while occasionally classes are held at which lectures on Hindu organisation, discipline and such like subjects are given. No complaints have been received regarding any breach of Government orders banning the wearing of uniforms or the holding of parades in public, nor has any report been received of anti-Government preaching in instructional classes. As the Sangh has scrupulously kept itself within the law and, in particular, has refrained from taking any part in the disturbances that broke out in August 1942, the Government of Bombay is of the opinion that the strict enforcement of the present restrictions should suffice to control its activities and that it is unnecessary to impose any further restrictions on it. The activities of the Sangh are of course, being watched carefully.

Your obedient servant,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department



93: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political

The activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh various districts continue to be watched closely. There is nothing specific to report beyond that there are weekly class of physical culture in Madras city itself. There have been no further important repercussions resulting from any celebration of Independence Day. The banning of the National Students Union and affiliated associations is still causing some agitation, but the recent restrictions imposed on Mrs Sarojini Naidu is taking precedence over this ban in the list of grievances of the press and political bodies during the fortnight under review. A recently released detenu and three others are reported to have broken up an Extra Assistant Recruiting officer meeting in Cuddapah district and are being prosecuted. Madura is much quieter now than it was reported to have been during the previous fortnight. The only specific incident was that on the 9th of February when three Congressmen caused a disturbance near the Tirumal Naick's palace. These were arrested under the Town Nuisance Act and two were bound over under section 106, Criminal Procedure Code as they admitted the offence. The third who would not admit anything is being prosecuted. The Collector of Madura reports that one Kakka of Melur, ex-Treasurer of the District Congress Committee who was recently released from Jail, is suspected to be one of the leaders behind the recent Independence Day celebrations in Madura City which were reported in my last letter. The Collector of Malabar reports that the Malabar Bomb Conspiracy case is now almost concluded and it is expected that most of the accused will be committed to Sessions. The only notable Congress meeting reported is that at Kumbakonam in Tanjore Dt. when U.N. Pillai, the president of the District Board and others spoke. The speeches were innocuous, dealing mainly with the subject of cottage industries. A local meeting of Khaksars is reported from the North Arcot district.

Communists

The communists continued to make propaganda with reference to the present condition of Bengal. They are now attempting to gain popularity with the public by intensive agitation as regards Government's firewood rationing policy notably in Madras city itself and in Coimbatore district. Five communists in West Godavari are being prosecuted for violating the Independence Day ban order. The All India Kisan conference is programmed to take place on the 14th and the 15th at Bezwada; but it is not yet known for certain whether it will take place. In the people Volunteer Brigade school at Navaduru in West Godavari, 25 youths were trained from the 1st to 8th February with the purpose of themselves training 700 more volunteers for keeping order at the above mentioned conference. At Nidadavole, West Godavari the communists are stirring up trouble between the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and the local Muhammadans with the purpose of gaining influence for the local public in general. No specific incidents have however been reported. In Guntur district the First Guntur District Mahila Conference was held on the 9th and 10th February and about 2,000 communists attended. The meeting

was peaceful and Government was urged to release the political leaders at present in Jail. At Nidubrole there was a meeting of followers of C.S. Banga where a resolution was passed protesting against the ban on National Youth League. The Tamil Nad Kisan Sabha held a meeting in Madras. The third Andhra Provincial Radical Democratic Party Conference was held in Guntur on the 12th and 13th of February and the Kasuragod Kisan Conference was held on the 29th January at Karuvellur in Malabar District. Dange, president of the All India Trade Union Congress spoke at a Labour conference at Mangalore.

Students

The third Annual Conference of Madras Students took place on the 30th of January in Madras under the Presidentship of Prasant Sanyal, Secretary of the All India Students Federation. It was well attended from Andhra and Tamil districts. The City Students Union in Guntur have published a pamphlet entitled 'Independence Day pledge' with reference to the communist programme and pledge. Among others the Hindu College Students Union of Guntur has passed resolution protesting against the ban on the National Students Union. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh who have been mentioned above are reported to have founded a Students branch in Vizagapatam.

94 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I)

[N^A 1]

Muslim League

During the first week of this month two Muslim League Committees appointed by Mr Jinnah visited Lahore; (1) the League Election Enquiry Committee, to enquire into a petition objecting to the election of the Nawab of Mamdot as President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and to the nomination of Punjab representatives to the All India Muslim League Council; (2) the Muslim League Committee of Action, to discuss the reorganization of provincial activities. The questions for examination by the two committees were really not of vital importance, but they provided a convenient excuse for Mr Jinnah to send enquiry agents into the Punjab in order to ascertain his chances of forming a Muslim League Ministry. Hitherto, the trouble in the Punjab for Mr Jinnah has been that his adherents have been men who are generally considered to be looking for personal advancement and who cannot claim any wide Muslim support. There is no reason to believe that this position has changed. Little interest was taken by the Muslim public in the proceedings of the Election Committee, which served to accentuate the differences between the contending parties and to weaken the already unstable Punjab Muslim League organisation, while the Committee of Action provoked even less interest. A cynical view is that only the hotel keepers, who benefited from the lavish entertainments given to the members of the Committee, knew of its presence in Lahore.



95: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Communal

No incident of particular importance to report, Urdu day was observed on the 4th of February in many parts of the province, and scores of telegrams were sent to His Excellency deploring the alleged encouragement of the Hindustani language as opposed to Urdu. The formation of an Arab Federation has aroused the interest of Muslims in the Province, who consider that in view of the aid rendered by Muslim countries it is the bounden duty of Britain to look to the Muhammadans now and in the postwar period. At a meeting held at Muzaffarpur protests were registered against the recent orders restricting the slaughter of goats and cattle as likely to impose an undue hardship upon the farmers, meat-eaters and butchers.

Depressed Classes

At a meeting of the Working Committee of the all India Depressed classes held in Patna at the end of January, there was a resolution pleading for settlement of the present deadlock, and the release of the Congress leaders. Another resolution also deplored the activities of the non-Hindu missionaries and the manner in which they attracted depressed classes to leave the Hindu faith, and the missionaries were alleged to be inspired by political motives.

96 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

9. The Mahakoshal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha held its sixth Annual Session at Ranpur in the Bilaspur district, Dr. Moonje presiding. In his speech Dr Moonje expressed his unshakeable faith in the indivisibility of India and urged that one member of each Hindu family should get military training. Amongst the many resolutions passed at the Session, one demanded the release of Congress detenus and another pressed for a 75 per cent enlistment of Hindus in the Army.



97 The Central Legislative Assembly Debates (extracts)

C.L.A. Debates – Vol. I, 1944

[NMML]

Thursday, 17th February 1944.

His Excellency the Governor General's address to the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

On the main problem of Indian unity, the difference between Hindu and Muslim, I can only say this. You can not alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit. What arrangements you decide to make for two great communities and certain other important minorities as well as the Indian States, to live within that unit and to make the best use of its wealth and opportunities is for Indians to decide. That two communities and even two nations can make arrangements to live together in spite of differing cultures or religious history provides many examples. . . . [examples of England, Canada, United States, Soviet Union . . . etc. Ed.] These examples are before India for her constitutionalists to study. It is for her to say which most nearly fulfill her own needs. . . .

We cannot settle the future of this country without the full co-operation of the British and Indian peoples and the co-operation within the Indian people of Hindus, Muslims and other minority groups and of the Indian States.

I have no desire to make invidious comparisons but I do feel it worth while to point out that Coalition Government by Indians for Indians is not an impossible ideal. It is being carried out at the Centre without friction, it has been carried on for nearly seven years with conspicuous success in Punjab. Thanks to the leadership of men of good sense, goodwill, and good courage, the affairs of that Province have prospered with the minimum of communal friction; they have administered their province in the interest of the province, but also with regard to the interests of India and of the war effort of the United Nations, to which the Punjab has made so striking a contribution. I will make bold enough to say that had all provinces worked the 1935 Act in the same spirit and with the same efficiency India would now be very close to complete self – Government.



98 Intelligence Report on R.S.S.S. (Patna)

File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Intelligence Bureau
(Home Department).

Extract from Daily Situation Report No. 18, dated 16.2.44, received from the Central Intelligence officer, Patna.

According to information available from police and independent sources the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh has further extended its organization in this province. The Sangh now covers eleven districts all lying in the northern half of the province along the Ganges. In addition to the headquarter branches in each district, there are also altogether 30 other muffassil branches. Some of these muffassil branches are of recent formation. Last October the local Government drew the attention of district officers to the growth of this movement and Government orders affecting the use of certain uniforms and the performance of exercises of a military nature. The Government specifically noted that lathi exercise in formation, of the type being performed in the province fell under the latter category. In November the Director of Public Instruction also informed educational authorities that the Sangh is a political organization and that students and teachers should not be allowed to participate. These measures, intended to discourage the growth and activity of the movement, have been imposed with varying effect in the districts concerned and reports indicate that in a number of districts full effect has not yet been given to them. The uniform dress mentioned in the report referred to above still continues to be worn and district officers appear to be in doubt as to whether the wearing of this dress contravenes the Central Government's notification on the subject. Lathi drill is still being continued in several districts and, at least in one district, students are said to be continuing to participate actively. There has, however, on the whole been a reduction in the overt activity of the Sangh for which the tightening-up measures of the district has increased. Two training camps were held in October and one in December last year. There is very little information available regarding these camps and although the Government drew the attention of district officers to D.O.I.R. 116 for insisting on the presence of officers at such camps, full advantage does not appear to have been taken of these powers.

For information.

(G. AHMED)
Dy. Director (A)
18.2.44.

Home Dept.
D.I.B. u/o No. 37/D.G./43 date the —.



99

Official notings on M.L.N.G. (dt 21.2.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

... The enclosures to the Sind letter¹ are very interesting. It is clear from the detailed report at pages 15–19 that training of the Karachi Muslim National Guards was allowed to proceed on military lines with little check for a period of about one month prior to the Muslim League session; even though they did not apparently wear a very military uniform (see page 19²) there is no doubt that they did perform drill. Coming to the actual session, the orders of December 13th permitting the Anjumane Muselmanan-e-Punjab to wear military greatcoats and of December 21st permitting drill in the Muslim League Pandal proved the thin end of the wedge. On the day of the procession the authorities appear to have been faced with a parade of about eight hundred National Guards mostly dressed for avowedly military uniform, carrying a variety of weapons and backed by a crowd of some four thousand spectators. This parade in defiance of the order of 21st December and of the license for the procession openly performed movements of military drill. (I note that both the order and the licence for the procession, while prohibiting the carrying of 'Lathis' did not prohibit the carrying of any other forms of weapon; it is possible that there is some general order in force prohibiting other weapons in Karachi.)

2. One cannot help sympathizing with the Sind authorities and the Sind Government in the predicament in which they found themselves and in view of P.S.V.'s D.O. to H.E. the C. & C. of 31.1.44,³ it seems doubtful whether there is any further action to be taken on this particular incident beyond possibly expressing our displeasure. Nevertheless, it is I think, necessary to attempt to assess the responsibility of the provincial Government and the local authorities and I have the following comments on the various aspects of the affair:

(a) I think first of all that the initial – and possibly the most serious mistake – was to allow the preliminary drilling by Karachi National Guards to continue unchecked through the latter half of November and December up to the conference. An early warning coupled with immediate prosecutions if the warning was not fully obeyed would have avoided the wide political implications of action at the time of the actual session and might very possibly have had the effect of reading warning to the organizers of the session.

(b) I am perhaps being wise after the event in objecting to the Sind order of 13th December but in fact in thus allowing uniform of a clearly military type to be worn by part of the volunteers, the Sind Government made their position difficult – if not impossible – should it later become necessary to consider prosecution. Our order of 5.8.43⁴ does in fact empower Provincial Governments to permit relaxations in respect of particular political organizations but in case of obviously all-India political importance such as a this, we might I think have expected the provincial Government to seek our advice.

(c) Similar considerations apply to the Superintendent of police Karachi's order of 21.12.43,⁵ except that here – as indicated by para. 4 of the Sind letter – in this case the provisions of sub-para. (3) of our order of 5th August,⁶ which lays down that any relaxation must be made by order in writing of the provincial Government.

(d) In the events on the actual day, direct responsibility shifts from the provincial Government to the authorities on the spot, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of police. As indicated in the preceding paragraph they were met by *fait accompli* and it needs little imagination to grasp the formidable difficulties of their position. We are not told what was the size of the police force on duty but I have no doubt that they were heavily outnumbered and they were faced with a situation in which intervention would certainly provoke not only a riot of staggering dimensions with a possibility of all-India repercussions but also a political disturbance of the first magnitude; they must further have been fully aware that any action they took to intervene would receive no support from the Ministry and indeed one at least of the Ministers apparently took part in the parade; finally they appear to have had no specific instructions from the Sind Government for dealing with what was obviously more than a local matter unless one is to regard the Sind letter of 18th December as intended to cover the conference, in which case it is I think a very feeble affair.

3. On the balance therefore, I have no hesitation in acquitting the *local* authorities of any responsibility. The Sind Government, however, do not I think come out of the affair very well; I have drawn attention to weaknesses at

(a) — failure to take early action against drilling in Karachi,

(b) — and (c) — their partial relaxations of the orders against drill and the wearing of uniforms; and

(d) — the fact that no specific orders appear to have been issued for dealing with the session itself since I cannot believe that there was not direct consultation between the local authorities and the Sind Government on this matter.

That the Sind Government were in a difficult position, with their Muslim League Ministry, cannot be denied; It might be argued that in fact their policy of *laissez-faire* on this occasion was justified by result; this will depend on whether the Muslim National Guards are encouraged to further defiance by this attitude but they cannot shelter behind the difficulty of their position for it was open to them, — and it might have been expected of them — to consult the Central Government. I think, therefore that we should be justified in addressing Sind and complaining of their failure to secure observance of our orders of August 5th 1940 and possibly bringing out the above weaknesses in their position. Any such letter might well have repercussions on the Sind Ministry however and S.G.G.⁷ (public) should therefore see before issue.

4. The incident also contains a moral for us I think; for specific guidance from the centre would doubtless have strengthened the Sind Government's hand. I think that we should make a point of ascertaining when future important functions of first rank political organisations are to take place whether there are likely to be any complications of an all-India nature on which guidance from us is desirable. We are equally I think entitled to expect from the Intelligence Bureau before such sessions an indication of trends likely to be exhibited in the session and of directions in which guidance might profitably be given. In this incident adequate intelligence should, I think, have been able to predict a mass uniformed rally; and had this been brought to our notice I have no doubt that we should have considered addressing the Sind Government.

5. Further consideration of the general question of whether action should be taken to prevent the Muslim National Guards from drilling and wearing uniforms may await C.C., Delhi's reply⁸ to our letter at serial No. 8. I doubt whether in fact we shall have any further serious trouble until the next annual session when — unless the political scene has changed considerably — we may expect a repetition of this year's events on an even grander scale. It would appear obvious common sense to try and settle amicably with Jinnah meanwhile.

Whether, in the event of his not proving amenable it would be worth forcing a show-down before the next session seems doubtful; but there is no need to cross that bridge until we get to it.

21.2.44
(S.J.L. Olver)

D.S. (I)

1. Doc. 89.
2. In this volume the pagination naturally is different (see enclosure to doc. 89).
3. Enclosure to Doc. 86.
- 4, 5 & 6. Not printed.
7. Secretary to Governor General
8. Doc. 102

100 Official Notings on MLNG'S parade in Sind (dt 21.2.1944-22.2.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Intelligence Bureau
(Home Department).

A reliable agent reports:

A reference has been received by the Sind Government from the Government of India enquiring what action has been taken against the Muslim League National Guards who paraded so effectively in contravention of the law on the occasion of the last Annual session of the Muslim League at Karachi. This has created a considerable stir in Muslim League ministerial circles who have been heard to remark that if the Government of India force this issue, a crisis will be the outcome.

2. Mr Ghazdar, Sind Home Minister, has undertaken a journey to Delhi partly in this connection and will see Jinnah about it.

For information.

(G. AHMED),
Deputy Director (A)
21.2.44.

S.G.G.

H.D. (Sir R. Tottenham).

D.I.B. u/o No. 40/MA/40 dated the Feb. 21, 1944

Home Department

Please see the Sind letter of February 12th¹ and notes from page 26.²

I agree that little useful purpose will be served by pursuing this matter with the Sind Government. But, in the light of the Sind report, I think we must revise to some extent our original opinion that the parade of Muslim League volunteers in Karachi was a comic opera display which could be ignored. It seems to me that this is now clearly a matter between the government of India and the Muslim League and not a matter that can be left in the hands of any individual provincial Government. It was reported that Jinnah was received by a guard of honour on his recent arrival in Delhi and we are making further enquiries about this — see S. No. 38. whether it is desirable to have a show-down with Mr Jinnah on this matter is a question of high policy; but my own view is that we cannot hope to hold the position against other bodies (such as the R.S.S. Sangh) which go as near the line as possible if we are to turn a blind eye to the activities of the Muslim League Guards — even though these activities may only recur at indefinite intervals on special occasions. It should be possible to write either to Jinnah, or perhaps preferably, to the secretary of the Muslim League reminding him of our objections to anything in the nature of 'private armies' and the reasons for them and pointing out the impossibility of making any exception in the case of the Muslim League. We might add that however ready we might be to allow arrangements to be made at important meetings of the Muslim League both for purposes of display and for helping to maintain discipline and order, the imitation of military methods and especially the arming of Muslim League Guards is not necessary for these purposes. If the matter were put openly in some such way as this, it might be possible to reach a satisfactory understanding which could be communicated to provincial Governments and save them a great deal of difficulty and anxiety in dealing with these occasional manifestations.

22.2.44

(R. Tottenham)
Addl. Secretary

H.M.

I agree. If Addl. Secy. will put up a draft, H.E. will no doubt wish to see it.

R.M. Maxwell
22-2-44

-
1. Doc. 89.
2 & 3. Doc. 99.

101: Official Notings on M.L.N.G. (dt. 24.2.1944)

(extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Home Department

Summary

H.E. will remember that he recently received reports from H.E. the commander-in-Chief regarding the activities of the Muslim League Guards at the meeting of the Muslim League

in a demi-official letter to P.S.V. dated January 20th,¹ in which we mentioned that an official report had been called for from the Sind government on January 7th. On January 31st² P.S.V. informed H.E. the commander-in-chief that H.E. had decided that the Karchi affair had better be left alone but that he agreed that the matter was important and that immediate action must be taken against any future infringement of the rules.

A long official report has now been received from the Government of Sind,³ from which it appears that the deliberate defiance of the orders of the Sind Govt. and their officers was more serious than we at first realized. We agree that no useful purpose would be served by continuing discussion with the Sind government since this is clearly an all-India matter and, in fact, a matter between the Central Government and the Muslim League. It is therefore proposed to address the draft letter below to the Secretary to the Muslim League.

H.M. has directed that the case should be submitted to H.E.

24.2.44
(R. Tottenham)
Addl. Secretary

1. Doc 80
2. Doc 86.
3. Doc. 89

102: Chief Commissioner, Delhi to Home Dept., Delhi

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret

Serial No. 10

D.O. No. D. 157/SB
Chief Commissioner, Delhi

Delhi
25th February 1944

My dear Tottenham,

In reply to your demi-official letter No. 28/2/43 – Poll (I) dt. 18th February,¹ I enclose a note² describing the reception given to Mr M.A. Jinnah at the N. Delhi Rly station on the 11th Feb. and the part played by volunteers of the Muslim National guard on this occasion.

As you will see from the report, there was no drilling and the uniform worn by the volunteers could hardly be described as resembling that worn by troops or police. There is therefore,

no question of either of the Govt. of India notifications of the 5th August 1940 (No. 74/3/40-Political (I) or No. 74/3/40-Political (II)) having been contravened.

Yours sincerely,

Signed Askwith

1 Not printed.

2. Not printed.

103: Official comment at the bottom of the above letter — Doc. 102 (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

I think the Notification would cover A.R.P. services? obviously the same uniform as was used at Karachi and (if identical with Delhi A R.P.) clearly an offence.

R. Tottenham

26.2.44.

104: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Communal

One small communal disturbance in this presidency has been reported from Wallajapet in North Arcot district where on the evening of the 23rd of February the Hindus took their deity in a procession and where the usual trouble broke out when the procession was passing a mosque in the bazaar. Police arrived very quickly on the scene and the situation was immediately brought under control. As a precautionary measure a section of the armed reserve from Vellore has been sent there for the time being. A 'Muslim Railway League' has been formed at Madura on the ground that the General Labour union is excessively dominated by Hindus in their own sectarian interests. In the Madura city a conference of the Adi-Dravida workers was held on the 20th of February under the presidency of S. Shanmugam Pillai, a merchant at which speeches were made by the leaders of the community calling upon the rank and file to stand by their association and to follow the advice of their party leaders. Two party attended meetings of fishermen were held in Madras pleading for State-aid, for bettering the lot of their community and for introducing improved methods of fishing.

105 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Activity is noticeable in connection with the coming elections to the Calcutta Corporation. The Congress Corporation Election Board and the Hindu Mahasabha Election Board are now said to have reached an agreement whereby each will retain the seats it at present holds in the different constituencies. Muslim League organisations are also preparing for the elections but the Khaksars have decided to take no part in them. Some speculation has been caused by reports that the present Mayor, Mr Syed Badrudduja, has not filed a nomination paper.

106 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

2. Political – (a) *Congress* – His Excellency the Viceroy's speech¹ in the Central Legislature has met with a cold reception in Congress circles but among the general public is considered conciliatory in spirit and has been interpreted as indicating the release of Congress security and civil disobedience prisoners except members of the All-India and provincial Congress working committees. Reactions to the emphasis on the geographical unity of India have been on the usual communal and party lines.

As a mark of respect for Mrs Kasturbai Gandhi most of the Hindu business quarters and Hindu colleges in Lahore, Amritsar and other centres remained closed on the day the news of her death was received. There were however no demonstrations or public meetings. The Congress rank and file have at present no wish for a further trial of strength with Government after the suppression of the 1942 rebellion but there is no reason to believe that their leaders and their more violently-minded followers still in detention are in any way repentant or that they will not cause trouble again when opportunity offers. A preliminary examination of the cases of the 280 civil disobedience prisoners has led to the release of 97, of whom notices under section 7 of the Restriction and Detention Ordinance have been issued to the remainder and to the 19 Congress security prisoners in detention.

(b) *Sikhs* – Although the Akalis succeeded in defeating the Communist candidate in the Montgomery bye-election for the Assembly by the comfortable majority of 1,300 votes their success was mainly due to a split communist vote, while the election is reported to have cost them Rs 35,000, over half of which is popularly believed to have been misappropriated. The strength of the Communist propaganda machine undoubtedly caught them unawares and this surprise coupled with the vehemence of the attacks of the Hindu press on their anti-national outlook and the growing discontent among the pro-Congress element in the S.A. Dal² with

Master Tara Singh's and Giani Kartar Singh's communal policy may eventually lead to another change in the Akali political policy and to closer co-operation with the Congress with a view to resisting the communist inroad among the Sikhs and conciliating the nationalist Akalis. Much of this discontent can be traced to personal differences between Giani Kartar Singh, M.L.A., and Narinjan Singh, the Principal of the Sikh National college, Lahore both of whom are intensely jealous of each other. Recent conversation between Akali leaders led to some outspoken criticism of the Akali party's 'anti-national and reactionary policy' as shown by the nomination of an Akali candidate to oppose the Congress nominee in an Assembly Sikh bye-election in the N.W.F.P. and by the party's generally tepid support of Congress. Master Tara Singh in reply maintained that the congress had never supported Sikh interests but promised to consider making a public declaration to the effect that the Akali party must maintain its separate political identity though it would support Congress except when Akali interests were jeopardized. Further discussions have been postponed till March when the effect of the defeat of the Akali candidate at Peshawar will be considered in relation to future Akali policy.

1 Doc. 97.

2 S.A. Dal – Shiromani Akali Dal.

107: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

9. The R.S.S. Sangh was active as usual. Camps were held in Akola Buldana and Amraoti Districts in Berar. The camp in the Amraoti district was attended by about 150 members who wore uniforms consisting of white shirts and shorts. Semi-military discipline was maintained at the Camp, bugle calls were sounded and no one was allowed inside the camp without a pass. Marching in military formation is also reported to have taken place in this district and action is being taken in regard to it by the Deputy commissioner. The Jubbulpore branch of the Sangh decided to exclude anti-British propaganda from intellectual classes in future in accordance, it was said, with the orders received from the Sangh headquarters in Nagpur.

108: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh — There have been some signs of increasing activity. Considerable secrecy surrounds the activities of the Sangh and it is not easy to get inner information.

Enquiries are being intensified especially into the reports that the Sangh is now operating among school boys and youths.

109. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind for the second half of February 1944

File No. 18/2/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

3. It has been decided to prosecute four persons for making seditious speeches at a Hindu-Muslim Unity conference held in Sukkur District on January 23rd. One of them, Mrs Kiki Bhen Chabaladas Lalwani, is an ex-detenu having been arrested in October 1942 for congress activities and released in June 1943. Another of the accused is Maulvi Abdul Karim Chishti, an old offender who has been in jail more than once in the past on account of his activities in connection with the now practically defunct Khilafat movement.

110: Government of Central Provinces & Berar to the Government of India (Reg. R.S.S.S.)

File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Government of the Central Provinces and Berar, Political and Military Department.

Express Letter

From

C.P., Nagpur (29)

To,

Home, New Delhi.

Nagpur, the 11th March 1944.

Please refer to your Express Letter No. 28/3/43 - Poll (I), dated that 1st January 1944,¹ and subsequent demi-official letters No. 28/3/43 - Poll (I), dated the 7th² January and 28th February 1944³ regarding the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. The Provincial Government has little further general information to give the Government of India regarding the activities of the Sangh beyond what has already been reported from time to time. The Sangh has grown during the last year and has succeeded in extending its influence and the scope of its activities. The Provincial Government has very carefully reviewed the position and has come to the definite conclusion that the time has now come for the suppression of the militant activities of the Sangh. The existing orders contained in the two resolutions of the 5th August 1940,

mentioned in your letter under reply have failed to suppress the militant character of the Sangh. There is also a tendency to 'let sleeping dogs lie'. In the opinion of the Provincial Government, there are three reasons why a firmer policy is now necessary:

- (a) the influence and popularity of the Sangh are increasing. If action is not taken it will become more difficult to take later on;
- (b) as the issue between Moslem and Hindu becomes clearer and more proximate the potential danger of the Sangh will increase; and
- (c) the action taken against the Khaksar organisation justifies a firmer policy towards the Sangh.

The Sangh leaders have in the past indulged in long continued quibbling regarding the interpretation of the orders prohibiting military drill and uniforms with the result that these orders have hitherto been ineffective. The members of the Sangh still plead misunderstanding and 'mistakes' although the general intention underlying the prohibitory orders must be well understood by them. The words 'drill of a military nature', 'articles capable of being used as arms', 'dress resembling a uniform required to be worn by a member of His Majesty's Forces or by a member of any official police force, etc.' have been found to be insufficiently precise for routine day to day application in connection with the activities of the Sangh. The most recent organizational development of the Sangh is the holding of camps as for disciplined military or police forces. The Provincial Government considers that the tightening up of control could only be effected by a revision of the terms of the two notifications of the 5th of August 1940 mentioned above. It suggests that, in the first place no association should be allowed to carry out any form of drill, military or otherwise. Camps for training should be prohibited. No physical drill, 'play', or training with sticks lathis, daggers swords or any other weapons or with agricultural implements should be permitted. Secondly, the ban on uniforms should extend to the wearing of uniform of any description including a uniform pattern of clothing. The wearing of badges if effective might also have to be banned. The Provincial Government desires particularly to stress the prohibition of camps for training, in view of the steady growth of this form of activity and the difficulties which the police encounter in entering these camps; in order to find out what kind of 'training' is being given in them. Besides there would be little justification for the holding of camps, if the stricter control of semi-military exercises and drills came into force, as suggested above. While it is true that at present the training probably amounts to little more than 'playing at soldiers' the shape that the organisation is assuming makes it a potential source of danger. The Provincial Government recognizes that the organisation as such cannot be altogether suppressed, but is of opinion that its military character can and should be prohibited. If these views are accepted and given effect to strong protests and possibly misrepresentations by the parent Hindu Mahasabha Association will, almost certainly, follow. Such a situation will however have to be faced if a strict enforcement of the prohibitions envisaged in 1940 is to be achieved.

Secretary to Government
Central Provinces and Berar
Political and Military Department.

- 1. Doc. 74.
- 2. Doc. 77.
- 3. Not printed.

111: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The elections to the Calcutta Corporation continue to arouse interest and the number of nominations is reported to be large. The Congress party is said to have issued a directive advising the city's voters to vote for the best candidate regardless of party but elections manifestoes issued by and on behalf of candidates set up by the Hindu Mahasabha make it clear that the Congress is supporting those candidates. The C.P.I. proposes to contest the elections and Mr Fazlul Huq is said to be endeavouring to form a united front Krishak Proja Party in order to oppose the Muslim league candidates. . . .

Communal

17. A dispute between a Muslim and a *Namsudra* over the possession of a tank caused serious communal tension in a village in the Faridpur district on the 28th February. Baseless rumours were started, and in the course of the night five thousand people of both Communities assembled at the spot. Fortunately a force of armed police arrived in time and succeeded in dispersing the crowd and bringing the situation under control.

112: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

(b) *Sikhs* - On March the 4th Master Tara Singh who has been accepted leader of the Akali Party Since 1935 and virtual dictator Since 1942, surprised his political supporters and opponents by resigning from the Presidentship of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandhak Committee¹ and Shiromani Akali Dal and announcing his intention of withdrawing permanently from political life. To his personal friends he has explained that his resignation was due to ill-health and opposition to his policy, but has expressed his willingness to help the Panth at all times as religious preacher for the propagation of the Sikh religion and the eradication of atheism. The withdrawal of political leaders from public life is not unknown in India as a means of bringing pressure to bear on their opponents to recall them on their own terms. Master Tara Singh's retirement, however, has the appearance of being genuine and to have been caused by the cumulative effect on an obstinate and disillusioned man of forces which he had released but failed to control, but it may equally well be an astute move as made in 1935 to force rival parties within the Sikhs to close their ranks and resist the disintegrating dangers of money and intrigue and the growing Communist threat to the Gurdwaras. Probably the strongest reason for his resignation was his failure to resist Giani Kartar Singh's clever

exploitation of his personal and political position to further his own autocratic ambitions. This ascendancy dates from 1940 when Master Tara Singh resigned for Congress after supporting its aims for 18 years as protest against the refusal of Congress to include a Sikh in the Working Committee of the A.I.C.C., and to agree to the maintenance of the Sikh percentage in the Indian Army of the future at the pre-war figure and other communal demands. Gandhi's rebuke of communal-mindedness when rejecting the Akali demands had never been forgiven by their sponsors. Since then Giani Kartar Singh himself once strongly pro-Congress, has steadily cultivated Master Tara Singh's mistrust of Congress attitude towards the Sikh question and has so extended his influence over him that he has been able to manipulate Akali policy in such a way as to make Tara Singh, after a period of intense anti-Muslim agitation, the mouth-piece of his schemes for a working alliance with the Unionist Party through the appointment of an Akali representative in the Ministry, the propagation of the Azad Punjab scheme and negotiations with the Muslim League, all of which were traditionally opposed to orthodox Akali policy and which were cleverly distorted by the Hindu press, to persuade a suspicious and short-sighted community that the Sikhs were being tricked into forswearing nationalism for a policy of communal opportunism. Giani Kartar Singh's plans for developing the strength of the Sikh Community out of proportion to their population and securing for them favoured treatment in the new constitution through a policy of opportunist co-operation and communal adjustment have been facilitated during the last two years by the detention under the Defence of India Rules of the leaders of the Congress group among the Sikhs represented by Udham Singh of Nagoke, but their influence has persisted and recently and has found expression in the resentment of their followers at the Akali opposition to the Congress candidate in the Sikh Peshawar bye-election. The Akali candidate's defeat following closely after the unexpectedly strong Communist challenge in the Montgomery bye-election seems to have convinced Master Tara Singh that he had been manoeuvred into an untenable position. Blind support of Giani Kartar Singh's communal policy would mean his political death in nationalist circle; a break with the powerful party of Giani Kartar Singh might lead to the dropping of the pilot. He, therefore chose to anticipate events by resigning from public office.

The position is at present fluid with both parties nervous hesitant and mistrustful and the situation still further complicated by the revival of the old *Majha-Malwa* controversy — Giani Kartar Singh although greatly disturbed by the withdrawal of Master Tara Singh's support is still determined to direct Akali policy. He would welcome control of the SGPC for the power it would give him through the Gurdwara funds, a position which he would be able to consolidate if the Gurdwara Bill now before the Legislative Assembly eventually becomes law, but discretion will almost certainly induce him to install a figurehead and not seek election himself as President. Meanwhile the Working Committee of the S.A. Dal met on March 12th and elected Pritam Singh of the Patiala State, an unimportant States agitator of Giani Kartar Singh's party, president of the Dal. Both parties agree to support Congress provided that the political entity of the Sikhs was not endangered and further decided to confine their activities for the present to opposing the Communists, propagating the Sikh religion and protecting Sikh rights in the States, especially Patiala. This compromise is far from lasting and will be strenuously opposed by Narinam Singh, Principal of the Sikh National College but little change is likely till the rival parties and outside the Dal regroup. An outwardly stronger pro-Congress policy may eventually be adopted but it seems unlikely that the Sikhs, unless control unexpectedly passes into the hands of the extremists, will risk jeopardizing their political and communal gains of the last few years for a barren policy of non-cooperation or that they will endanger

their position in the Indian Army or hopes of preferential treatment based on their Army record by opposition to recruitment or the war effort generally. In view, however, of their small numbers compared with other communities and their fear of Muslim domination opportunism must remain the keystone of their policy; a probable development will be an attempt to extort the support of Congress in return for a more 'national (policy)'.

1. This Committee was formed in 1920 by a joint meeting of the Sikhs, to draw up concrete plans for the management of the Sikh Shrines and the Darbar Sahib (Golden Temple). The first meeting of the S.G.P.C. was held on 15 August 1921 & Baba Kharak Singh was elected its President. S.G.P.C. took up the administration of Golden Temple to remove all sorts of evil and misdeeds of previous management.-Ed.

113: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Muslim League

The Provincial Muslim League have directed all district branches to observe 'Pakistan Day' on the 23rd March at which the Lahore resolution of 1940 is to be read and leaguers are to be called upon to declare that they stand for the ideals underlying the resolution and are prepared to make all sacrifices necessary to attain this object. Instructions have been issued from the Provincial Headquarters recently for the enlistment of National Guards. Reports received to date indicate that the response so far has been poor. The Palestine question is causing considerable resentment among Muslims. At a Muslim League Conference held at Nawadah (Gaya district) it was decided to open a Training Centre for Muslim League workers there which the District Officer thinks a 'rather significant step'.

114: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Communal

The Holi and Id festivals passed off peacefully. At Hinganghat in the Wardha district, the local Muslim League organised an unusually large Id procession. Elsewhere the celebrations appear to have been on the ordinary scale.

A new Khaksar office has recently been opened in Amraoti on which the Khaksar flag has been hoisted. At a private meeting of Amraoti Khaksars a letter from Alama Mashruqi was read out which ordered the reduction in rank of all local officers to the rank of Khaksars for a period of three months for slackness and apathy. The religious side of Khaksar activity is

being stressed and members in Amraoti were ordered to attend prayers regularly and to obey instruction laid down in the Koran.

115: Jinnah to Nawab Iftikhar Hussain

S.Q.H. Jafri (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim leaders* (1977), p. 223.

14th March 1944.

Dear Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan

Many thanks for your telegram. I am leaving Delhi on the 17th by the Frontier Mail and shall be reaching Lahore on the morning of the 18th March. I thank you very much for extending your hospitality and asking me to stay with you. Miss Jinnah is accompanying me and so also my Personal Assistant and I hope that you will be able to make arrangements without any inconvenience to you. More when we meet.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

Signed

M.A. Jinnah.

Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan,
Nawab of Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa
Davis Road,
Lahore.

1) Quaid-i-Azam Paper Cell,
File No. 372, pp. 13.



116: Govt. of India to Govt. of Madras

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 21/44
[Bengal State Archives]

From
The Honourable Mr E. Conran-Smith,
C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India

To
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
New Delhi, the 6th March 1944.

Sir

I am directed to refer to your letter No. S/256-/1/44, dated the 25th February 1944¹ and to state that the rule 23 (1) of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules lays down that Government servants should not take part in, subscribe in aid of, or assist in any way, any political movement in India or relating to Indian affairs; and, in the opinion of the Government of India the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and its activities come within the scope of the rule and its explanation. They agree therefore that Government servants should not be allowed to become members of the Sangh or to take part in its activities. They consider further that Government servants who offend in this respect should be warned that they are infringing Rule 23 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules and that persistence in this infringement will make them liable to disciplinary action.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant
Signed

Secretary to the Government of India

¹ Not printed



117: Government of India to all Provincial Governments except Madras

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 201/44 – (Home)
[Bengal State Archives]

From
D.C. Das Esquire
Under Secretary to the Government of India

To
The Chief Secretaries of all Provincial Governments (except Madras),
The Chief Commissioners Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara

New Delhi the 16th March 1944

Sir,

I am directed to forward, for the information of the Provincial Government, a copy of Home Department letter No. F. 201/44-Ests, dated the 16th March 1944¹ on the subject of Government servants who become members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak sangh.

I have the honour to be
Sir,

Your most obedient servants
Signed

Under Secretary to the Government of India

¹ Doc 116.

118: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

(2) *Political*: On the return of the delegaoun who attended the All India Arya Sammelan held at Delhi, meetings were held at Ajmer at which the delegates explained the resolutions adopted at the Samellan chalking out a 3 year programme, during which all the Arya Samajes, Pratinidhi Sabhas and other Aryan organisations were required to set up new Samajes throughout the country and to enroll at least one lakh volunteers to safeguard their religious book *Satyarth Prakash* and to subscribe towards the Satyarth Prakash fund.

On February 18, 1944, a meeting attended by about 1000 Muslim adopted resolutions condemning the publication of the *New Light of Islam*, urging the Bombay Government proscribe the book and punish the author, and requesting Government to proscribe chapters 13 and 14 of the *Satyarth Prakash*.

The appeal preferred by the Dargah Committee was accepted by the judicial Commissioner on February 23, 1944. According to the judgment the office of the Mutwalli is not hereditary and the Dargah Committee will have the right to select and appoint a suitable person to this post. It seems possible that the late Mutwalli and his partisans from among the khadims may seek to create trouble; the situation is being watched.

119: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Communal

There are indications that with a view to the adoption of a more militant policy by the Hindu Mahasabha, efforts will be made to attract to its ranks disgruntled Congressmen released detenues. It is learned that the Mahasabha proposed to offer financial assistance to detenues and their families.

The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh continued to hold its usual weekly classes in physical culture. A few Khaksars in plain clothes but with khaki cross-belts attended the Prophet's Birthday celebrations at a mosque in Madras on 8.3.44. Neither of these organisations have however shown any important activity of late.

The Justice Party celebrated 'Pannirselvam' Day in the City on 6-3-1944 and E.V. Ramaswami Naicker spoke on his usual theme of the Dravidians freeing themselves from the domination of the Aryans.

120 Official Notings - Wavell's Note on MLNG (dt 17.3.1944)

File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Spoke Home Member'

I think it will be inadvisable to send letter [letter to the Secretary, Muslim League-Ed.] just now but we must watch it and warn Provincial Government concerned and Muslim League before next big M.L. meeting, or if any further reports of private army are received.

Signed
Wavell

Attested.

Signed

17-3-44

It was reported in *Dawn* today that Jinnah had left for Lahore but it is obviously too late to warn the Punjab Govt. D.I.B. should be asked to keep us informed as far as possible in advance of his movements and the activities or prospective activities of the M.I. Guards.

R. Tottenham
18/3/44

D.S. (I)

This is a continuation of Doc. 101

121: Official Noting on MLNG (dt 20.3.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The above receipt from Chief Commissioner, Delhi¹ has been held pending the return of the tunic. A.R.P. workers are, I gather, enrolled under an A.R.P. Ordinance, so that there seem little question that our notification of 5-8-40 would apply to uniforms resembling A.R.P. Uniform. Since the Delhi A.R.P. was disbanded some time ago however the offence in this case seems a rather technical one and in view both of the delay that has occurred and of the further developments on this file, I do not think it is worth pursuing this particular incident.

2. As directed by Additional Secretary, I spoke to Mr Ahmed this morning about the forthcoming celebration (on March 23rd) of Pakistan Day. D.I.B. has, I gather, had no indication from any quarter of special preparations for any really big function, nor any warning that National Guards are likely to be particularly in evidence. This annual event has hitherto I gather, failed to attract any particular attention and though *Dawn* has on this occasion been playing it up, Mr Ahmed is still inclined to doubt whether the celebrations will come to much. Even in Lahore, where Mr Jinnah will be present, Mr Ahmed has no particular reason to anticipate any very large celebrations.

3. It seems hardly worthwhile, therefore at this late hour attempting to warn Provinces and the only question is whether we should say anything to the Punjab. The Punjab Government will obviously be in a difficult position. In referring, in his speech at the Punjab Muslim Students Conference, to the Ministries as laboratories which would have to be changed if they did not serve their purpose, Jinnah conveyed a fairly open warning to the Punjab Ministry; and apart from private business the consolidation of Muslim League support in the Punjab against the Ministry seems clearly one of the chief objects of his present visit to the Punjab. In the circumstances, it does not seem to be worthwhile our saying anything to the Punjab unless we are prepared, if necessary for a show down now and to back up anything we might say by a direction should occasion arise. Although from some points of view, it might be to our advantage that a show down with Jinnah should occur in the Punjab I am on the whole

inclined to think that it would be better for this to happen in a Section 93 Province and that we should on this occasion, therefore, avoid forcing the Provincial Government's hand.

Signed
20–3–44
S.J.L. Olver

In the absence of any special reasons to believe that the activities of the Muslim League Guards will form a feature of the Pakistan Day celebrations, I think we had better leave this alone. If objectionable activities do occur they would provide good ground for an immediate approach to the League in stiffer terms than our first stage.

R. Tottenham,
20–3

1. Doc. 102, see also Doc. 103.

122: Official Noting reg. R.S.S. (dt 25.3.1944– 28.3.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

It will be seen from the summary¹ that only the Punjab, Central Provinces and Ajmer-Merwara definite'y press for more stringent measures against the Sangh, while Bihar would have no objection if such action were considered necessary from an all-India point of view. Of the remaining Provinces, however, Assam, N.W.F.P. and Orissa have no Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh organization and have, therefore, no views to offer.

(Ajmer gave no clear reasons for their opinion. Bihar says the existing instructions are sufficient. R.T.)
[Marginal Note – Ed.]

2. The three Provinces, quoted above, all considered our notifications of 5–8–42 ineffective and incapable of sufficiently precise application.) They make varying recommendations for the further action that should be taken. The C.P., as the headquarters of the Sangh, is entitled to be listened to with particular respect and the following examination will be based on their proposals. . . .

To examine separately the three recommendations (made by C.P.) referred to above:

- a) *Ban on all Forms of Drill* Drill is defined (Concise Oxford) as 'instruction or exercise in military evolutions'. By present day usage it might perhaps be considered to have taken on a somewhat wider meaning and to include concerted evolutions of a non-military character as for instance 'physical jerks' etc.; and it is doubtless the latter that the C.P. have in mind. I think the dictionary definition, connecting drill definitely with military exercises, would be the view likely to be taken by a court of law, however. The difficulty of defining and interpreting the word is obvious, however, and if – as suggested by the C.P. – one were to ban, in tern:s, physical drill, 'play' or training with sticks, lathis, daggers, swords or any other weapons or with agricultural implements, this

difficulty would be in no way diminished; literally interpreted, for instance, a prohibition on these lines would apply to a game of hockey! Apart from the question of interpretation, there is the difficulty of finding powers wide enough to cover such action. Defence Rule 58 (I) only refers to exercises, drill etc. of a military nature and I know of no other general powers which could be invoked for this purpose; action in any particular case could, of course, be taken under section 144, Cr. P.C., but one cannot issue general all-India orders under that section.

(I very much doubt whether we could amend the Rules – and this seems to settle this particular question – R.T.) [Marginal Note – Ed.]

I should say in any case that it is not desirable to attempt to prohibit genuine physical training and that it is quite impracticable to attempt to restrict the carrying or use in this connection of implements such as lathis which do not fall within the purview of the Arms Act. On the other hand, anything resembling military drill must obviously be prevented and there might also, I think, be a case for rather stricter application of the Arms Act provisions with regard to the carrying of weapons, though the connected complications of any action in this direction would be very great.

(True – R.T.) [Marginal Note – Ed.]

- b) *Ban on all Forms of Uniform Including Emblems.* Notes at pages 18–29 of the files No. 74/3/40 – Poll (I)² may be seen, particularly para. 4 of Additional Secretary's note of 25–6–40. It seems to me that in regard to all volunteer organizations, this question of uniform is fundamental. The prestige and discipline of volunteer organizations are closely related to their wearing of a distinctive dress, and it is from this that they derive their principal attraction. To deprive a volunteer organization of its uniform is at once to reduce very greatly its popularity and public appeal and this is, it seems to me, the ruling consideration in this matter. So long as any volunteer body remains popular and is, therefore, able to attract a large and enthusiastic membership, it will continue to be a source of anxiety to us, no matter what efforts we may make to control its activities. The Khaksars, for instance, are at the moment causing us little anxiety; this may be said to be due to the fact that they are not at present misbehaving in any marked degree and that is, of course, true; but the real underlying reason for their present comparative inactivity is, I think, the fact that for varying reasons – of which the most important is probably their quarrel with the Muslim League – they have lost popularity and ceased to have any great public appeal. Though it may sound somewhat cynical, this undermining of their popularity should I think, be our objective in regard to the other volunteer organizations also and deprivation of any form of uniform is a long step towards that objective.

In August, 1940, when action was under consideration, such an omnibus ban was considered neither practicable nor necessary.

(The situation was considerably worse in 1940 – R.T.) [Marginal Note – Ed.]

It is now, I think, necessary and though the difficulties in the way of its implementation are clearly extensive, we should nevertheless, I think, make every effort to see whether it is not also practicable. The principal difficulty suggested previously was, I think, the number of exemptions that would have to be made in favour of unobjectionable and semi-official

uniformed bodies. If the principle of a total ban is accepted, as I think it should be, it becomes perfectly logical and defensible to refuse the wearing of uniform to any private body whatever, whether objectionable or unobjectionable, and this step would of itself greatly reduce the number of such exemptions that would have to be made. There would remain semi-official bodies e.g. Scouts etc. for whom provision would have to be made, but I would suggest that the difficulty might be surmounted by action in two directions e.g.

- (i) by instituting a suitable period of grace during which any organization which wished to be exempted from the ban would be warned to apply to Government or the local authority concerned; and
- (ii) by delegating powers of exemption to local authorities, if necessary down to District Magistrates, in respect of local organizations, though the exercise of these powers would obviously have to be regulated with some care.

The real difficulty lies, I think, in ensuring that the ban shall not hit activities entirely unconnected with volunteer organizations and the example of the game of hockey referred to in the preceding sub-paragraph may be brought into use again. Obviously a simple ban on the wearing of any distinctive or uniform form of dress would hit a hockey team. It would also hit such harmless persons as domestic servants, peons of private undertakings etc. in respect of whom it would clearly be impossible even for a local authority to grant specific exemptions. I would suggest two possible directions in which this difficulty might be avoided e.g.

- (iii) by applying the ban only to the wearing of uniforms, badges, emblems etc. as a sign of membership of an organization, the difficulty of suitably defining 'organization' for this purpose is inseparable and it would in any case be worth getting a legal opinion on the point and

(or any political or communal association or body which had not applied for sanction of Govt. to wear a particular uniform. R.T.) [Marginal Note – Ed.]

- iv) by applying the ban only to the wearing of uniforms, badges, emblems etc. by a group of persons of or above a specified number; it is the activities of volunteer armies, including for this purpose large bodies of private retainers or anything of the sort, that we wish to prevent and volunteers in small groups are not likely to become a real danger.

Of these two suggestions, the latter suffers from the difficulty, first, that the number exempted would have to be considerable if it were to escape the hockey team objection i.e. more than 22, and, second, that for instance a procession formed of separate groups, each group comprising the maximum legal number allowed though the total procession far exceeded that number, would very likely escape the ban; while I would not discard this principle altogether, it cannot be relied on as the main line of defence. Therefore, the first suggestion seems to me the more hopeful and it should not, I think be impossible to evolve a formula hitting volunteer uniforms and private uniforms.

- c) *Ban on Camps:* The dictionary (Concise Oxford) definition of camp is 'place where troops are lodged in tents etc.' and we have in the case of Khaksars by analogy extended this definition to cover 'places where disciplined bodies are temporarily lodged'. I do not know what view a court of law would take of what constituted a 'camp'; and we should certainly have to obtain legal advice as to how any order banning camps should

be framed in order to obtain the desired effect. I am inclined to think that Defence Rule 56 (I), which gives power to prohibit or regulate *inter alia* assemblies, would be sufficient to cover the proposed action.

It could, of course, be argued that provided the ban on military drill were effectively operated and given the proposed omnibus ban on uniform, the principal object of holding camps would be removed and that there was, therefore, no need for a ban on camps. In practice, however, it has been found impossible to control drilling etc. in camps and the enforcement of the prohibition on uniform might be almost equally difficult owing to the difficulty of securing admission to these camps experienced by local authorities. There is no doubt that the holding of camps is an important feature in the corporate life of a volunteer organization, and one that greatly adds to its popularity; and on the principle suggested in sub-paragraph (a) it is a feature, therefore, that we should attack. As Additional Secretary remarked in his note of 25-6-40, if there is to be war, it might as well be total war.

(Power of entry into camps would seem to be important - R.T.) [Marginal Note - Ed.]

5. To sum up, I would suggest that the problem is wider than that of merely considering action against the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and must embrace the general question of volunteer organizations; that the C.P. and Punjab view that the existing notifications of August, 1940, are ineffective must be accepted; and that efforts must be made to provide local authorities with effective powers to control volunteer organizations. I would recommend therefore

- a) that our existing notification No. 74/3/40 - Political (I) dated 5-8-40 regarding military drill should stand;
- b) that a notification under Defence Rule 59 (I) (b)/56 (I)ⁿ should be issued prohibiting, if necessary after a suitable period of grace, the wearing without the permission of Government, of any uniform, badge or emblem signifying membership of a volunteer organization; and
- c) that the holding of camps for any purpose without the permission of Government should be prohibited under Defence Rule 56(I), if considered legally appropriate, failing which powers for the purpose should be taken.

D.I.B. and Legislative Department will both clearly have to be consulted and we might first obtain the former's views.

S.J.L. Olver
24.3.44

In the interests of peace and order in India, perhaps not so much today as in the near future, it is desirable to stop the growth of *private armies* of all kinds; in doing so, we should stop not merely camps, uniforms but also drilling. The difficulty in taking action has been to frame orders so as to avoid touching harmless associations & organisations. A solution which occurs to me is that a new D of I rule should be framed to permit the banning by govt. of drilling of any kind, the wearing of uniform of any kind & and holding of camps (except under licence) by associations or organisations to be notified i.e. instead of having a general ban on certain activities (we might have a ban on these activities when performed by certain notified organisations. We could then select our organisations (the Khaksars & the R.S.S. should be the obvious first candidates) and we could ban a wider range of activities without involving

harmless orders and without getting entangled into a debate on what is or not military drill or what sort of uniform is prohibited).

There will be the usual political objection to the assumption of this power, but this has to be faced — what we are aiming at really is not that the RSS or the Khaksars should not become proficient at military drill but that they should not become capable of fighting as an organised body: we are really aiming at preventing the development of these organisations as private armies, and not at only certain activities of theirs and if we should therefore be willing to face up to what is necessary.

V. Sahay
25/3

Addl. Secy.

We have hitherto and I think rightly concentrated on banning certain *activities*, so as to avoid coming into direct conflict with political *parties* or *organisations* as such. The trouble about defining the activities in question has always been realized and U.S.'s very useful note brings out the difficulties (and also the possibilities) of going beyond our existing notifications. The great majority of Provinces do regard those notifications as sufficient and I cannot say that I find the arguments of either the Punjab or the C.P. very convincing. The former in fact merely say that they do not consider the notifications sufficient, but do not say why: the latter attribute the ineffectiveness of the orders to the quibbling of the Sangh leaders in interpreting them. Why such quibbling is permitted is not clear.

2. I am inclined to agree however that, if any further action is necessary, it should be on the lines suggested by D.S. rather than on those recommended by U.S. — thus avoiding the difficulties of definition in application to those whose activities we have no desire to stop. It would have to be recognized, however, that this would entail something of a show-down with various political or communal parties for I do not see how the Congress or the Muslim League could escape (at any rate for very long), even if the Khaksars and the RSS Sangh were to be the first objects of our attack. That being so, it is clearly a question of balancing the disadvantage of such a showdown at the present moment against the actual danger to be guarded against. It is equally clear to my mind that in most provinces the 'Private Armies' menace is not so acute at present as to make an all-India show down necessary. (even though these 'volunteer' activities must always contain dangerous potentialities) and it should be possible to prevent any serious deterioration by a strict enforcement of the existing orders.

3. It would remain then to consider whether we should agree to any further action in those provinces (C.P. and the Punjab) which are not satisfied. Although there are advantages in uniformity, there would I think be a case for separate action in those Provinces in which the activities of a particular organisation were becoming particularly objectionable. The form that their action should take could be left to them, (*I think they have the necessary powers? R.T.*) [Marginal Note — Ed.] but we could lay the two alternatives before them — the manner in which the existing definitions of objectionable activities could be tightened up, and (b) the possibility of proceeding openly against named associations or organizations — and express our own preference for the latter. The decision of the Provinces whether or not to take action on either of these lines would afford a pretty good test of its necessity and if they did so, it would serve. '*pour encourager les autres*'

4. I do not think I can bother H.M. with this file on the eve of his departure; but we should like to have the views of the D.I.B.

R. Tottenham
28.3.44

1. Not printed.
2. Not printed.

123: Correspondence between Jamnadas Mehta & R.M. Maxwell followed by Official Notings

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

2, Windsor Place,
New Delhi
27/3/44

H.D. Dy. No. 2217/44 – Poll (I), Dt. 3/4/43.

Dear Sir Reginald Maxwell,

Sometime ago, I spoke to you about certain orders passed by the Punjab Government, prohibiting govt. servants from becoming or remaining members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangha and suggested that the Sangh may be protected against such ban. I know for the last fifteen years that the Sangh is a purely non-political body devoting itself to the work of physical culture. You then informed me that the Indian Government had not advised any such action and that while the Body was being watched – like all Public Boards Bodies – the Government of India at least had not contemplated doing more. I now understand your Department had extended the orders of the Punjab Government to all Provinces. May I request you to look into the matter and remove the ban placed on the Sangh before you lay down the reins of office. I would also request you, if possible, to leave some instructions to your successor to treat this Sangh with sympathy and fairness. I am enclosing herewith some relevant papers.

Hoping to meet you in Bombay on the 5th April at Sir Rustom Masom's lunch.

Yours sincerely,

J. Mehta

Home Poll (I) – 28-3-43

Serial No. 33
New Delhi, the 31st March '44

Dear Mr Jamnadas,

This is in answer to your letter of the 27th March about the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. What I told you on the previous occasion was I think that the GOI had placed no ban on the association itself. It is, however, a fact that Government servants are not allowed to be members of the Sangh under Rule 23 of the Govt. servant conduct Rules and when this

question was referred to us by one of the Provincial Govts. We confirmed this fast and informed other provincial Govts of it. This does not itself imply any distrust of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangha but it merely means that it is an organisation of a somewhat political and possibly communal character and that it might be embarrassing if Government servants, who have to take up the same attitude towards all Associations of this kind, were allowed to join it. This in fact is the object of Rule 23 of the Government Servants conduct Rules which has generally been accepted as proper and just. You will see, therefore, that no action has been taken detrimental to the Sangha itself, but all that has been done is to assert the position in regard to the Government servants.

Yours sincerely,

Mr Jamnadas Mehta, M.L.A.

Signed R.M. Maxwell

F. 28/3/43 - Poll (I)

Serial No. 32 (Receipt)

Please see the (accompanying) letter from Mr Jamnadas Mehta. The point which he raised with me previously was some ban on the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and not that of prohibiting government servants from being members of the Association. The Association is, I think, either political or communal in character-possibly both-and I doubt whether Government servants could ever be allowed to be members of it. Mr Jamnadas, however, alleges that the matter has been already considered by the Govt. of India and that they have given instructions to Provinces on the lines of those issued in the Punjab. I should be glad to know if this is a fact.

Signed

30-3-44, R.M. Maxwell

Addl. Secy.

We quite recently informed the Madras Govt. who has referred a particular case to us that in our opinion joining the RSS Sangh was breach of GSC Rule 23. which prohibits 'taking part in . . . any political movement in India'. In the explanation to this Rule, 'political movement' is defined as including any movement or activities tending directly or indirectly to excite disaffection against or to embarrass the Govt. as by law established or to promote feelings of hatred or enmity between different classes of his subjects or to disturb the public peace. We had no doubt that the activities of the Sangh fell within this definition. a copy of our letter to Madras was sent to all Prov. Govts. The file on the subject, discussing the question whether to there should be any amendment of our orders of 1940 about military drill and uniforms was recently referred to D.I.B. It is a big subject and I did not want to bother H.M. with it at the last moment.

R. Tottenham, 31/3.

124: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

‘Pakistan day’ was fixed for the 23rd March, but so far few reports of the extent to which it was observed have been received. At a meeting held in Calcutta a resolution was passed assuring Mr Jinnah that the Muslims of Bengal would make all possible sacrifices for the achievement of Pakistan, protesting against the alleged interference of the United States in Palestinian affairs and demanding the freedom of the Arab countries. A number of Muslim shopkeepers flew green crescent flags over their shops and houses, and the Muslim students of the Islamia College held a meeting in the college compound and passed a resolution supporting the demand of the All-India Muslim League for the establishment of Pakistan. In Dacca the celebration of ‘Pakistan Day’ led to a slight disturbance when Muslim students stoned the Ukil institution for not closing down. At the Rajshahi Pakistan Conference referred to in the last report it was stated that ‘Pakistan’ could not be achieved by begging and petitions but only by revolution.

125: Extract from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Muslim League Activities: At a private meeting of the working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League held on 12th March it was inter alia decided to place before Government the Party’s dissatisfaction with the prevailing Municipal electoral system and to urge the claims of the Muslims for separate electorates in Bombay City.

The League observed ‘Pakistan Day’ on the 23rd March. some 6,000 Muslims attended a meeting organised by the league in Bombay City. the speeches were on the usual party lines. ‘Pakistan Day’ was also observed in some districts and the reports indicate that the attendance was not large.

A feature of the celebrations in Bombay city was that the Bombay Committee of the Communist Party of India openly aligned itself with the Muslim League in its demand for Pakistan. It held two meetings in the labour area each attended by about 500 persons, and local Communist leaders made speeches in support of the Muslim demand.



126 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Communal

Two minor Hindu-Muslim clashes were reported this fortnight, one at Thiruvannamalai in North Arcot due to a Hindu Youth insulting some Muslim women and the other at Badagara in Malabar. In the latter case, party of pilgrims on their way to a railway station beating drums, as they passed a mosque, were stoned by some young badmashes. A few people were slightly injured: but the affair quietened down very quickly. In Nellore, it is gratifying to note that a Muslim League meeting was held recently presided over by Mr Gopal Reddy, ex-Minister, at which an appeal for unity was made between the communities.

The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and the Khaksar continue their activities but with little effect. The 'founders Day' of the former was celebrated at a public meeting in Madras at which about 600 members were present and the khaksars held one or two meetings this fortnight demanding the release of the 14 Khaksars who were on hunger-strike in the Lahore jail.

127. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Labour

On March 17, '44, a meeting in the Loco and Carriage Shops attended by about 250 Muslims was held at Ajmer, with Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg in the chair, to form a Committee of 7 persons to look after the interests of the Muslim employees.

Another meeting attended by about 70 railway workers was also held the same day under the presidentship of Mohd. Shafi, an employee of the Loco Shop. Speeches were delivered urging the audience to become members of the Muslim League and the B.B. & C.I. Railwaymen's Union, in order to get their demands fulfilled with the help of the Union and the Muslim League. It was resolved that department-wise sub-committees, each consisting of two Muslim workers be formed to find out the grievances of the Muslim employees.

128: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Communal

During his stay in Amraoti, Ashgar Hussain Khaksar, Naib Hakim-e-Alla for Hyderabad, and Berar appointed three office-bearer to take charge of Berar, Amraoti district and Amraoti City. 'Lahore Day' was observed by local Khaksars on the 19th of March at Burhanpur, Amraoti and Dharwa in the Yeotmal district. A demand was made for the release of khaksar prisoners convicted in the Lahore agitation. In Amraoti about a hundred Khaksars fasted and the Khaksar flag was flown at half mast.

129: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Muslim League

It is curious that the insistence of His Excellency the Viceroy at the geographical unity of India has been criticised as provocative and likely to lead to disunity.¹ This reference to the geographical unity, as well as the Palestine question and other matters, are reported to have depressed local leaders, who profess to see in them indications of the insincerity of Britain with regard to Muslim interests. There are signs of closer contact between Congress and League supported the Congress in the Central Assembly debates. . . .

Communists

Communists for the time being are concentrating their attention on the food campaign and on unity. Instructions have been issued to the district branches to get into contact with the Muslim League, and Communists were advised to try and combat the demoralization among those League members who were believed to be thinking of coming to terms with Government, and thereby making things difficult for the Congress. A proposal made by the Provincial League leader, however, that a Communist should be allowed to speak in support of Pakistan, was met with a refusal from the audience who referred to Jinnah's speech in Lahore, in which he warned the communists not to interfere with the Muslims who have their own flag and want no other. In Champaran, communists are reported to be selling tickets at four annas each, an inscription on which says that the money is to be devoted to the safety of India and the solution of the food problem.

1. Doc. 97.

130

Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of March 1944

File No. 18/3/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political

(a) Muslims-Jinnah arrived at Lahore on March the 18th and during the last fortnight has been busy trying to undermine the constitution of the Unionist Party and to form a Muslim League coalition Ministry. To achieve this object pressure on the Muslim members of the Ministry has been combined with the unscrupulous exploitation of the personal ambitions of disgruntled members of the Assembly and Muslim League and with an appeal to Muslim communalists to bring the government of the Punjab under the control of the All-India Muslim League and to further the interest of their co-religionists through legislative and administrative measures in the name of the League. As a manoeuvre to bring the Punjab Ministry under his influence, Jinnah has repudiated the Sikandar-Jinnah pact which has covered the relations of the Unionist Party and the Muslim League since 1937, while in order to foment Muslim mistrust of the power of the Hon'ble Member for Revenue he has denounced the Jat Sabha formed by him as an anti-Islamic tribal organisation. His attitude towards other parties and organisations has been uncompromising and domineering. The socialistic flavour of the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim Students Federation provided him with an opportunity to condemn unequivocally the communist approach to the Muslim League, an attempt by Allama Mashriqi to reach an understanding with the Muslim League was met by a retort that the policy and principles of the All-India Muslim League represented the best interest of Muslim India. Towards congress his attitude has been one of unrelenting hostility, while fear of the establishment of 'Hindus' has led him to adopt a line of uncompromising opposition to British policy and to insist that geography can and must be changed to suit political demands. In his public addresses, Jinnah contributed nothing to the definition of Pakistan but concentrated on explaining the progress made by the Muslim League during the last seven years to bring the Muslims of India within the orbit of the Muslim world, lay the foundation of a Muslim State within India and to promote the constitutional, economic and industrial welfare of Muslims.

There is at present no reason to believe that Jinnah's intrigues to overthrow the Unionist Ministry have made any substantial progress. His plans received a serious setback by the sudden death on March the 24th of the Hon'ble the Premier's father, General Sir Mohammed Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, one of the best known soldier politician and most popular public figures in the Punjab. The genuine sympathy aroused for the Premier among Muslims of all parties has contributed appreciably to a desire not to embarrass him at a time of personal loss and sorrow-Jinnah, however, had apparently decided before March the 24th that Muslim League leaders in the Punjab had misled him by greatly exaggerating the strength of the League in the Province and that it was premature to force a political crisis. He, therefore, decided on a compromise and demanded that the name of the Unionist Ministry should be changed to that of a Muslim League Coalition Ministry, the Muslim Ministers should openly support the Pakistan scheme and that the non-Muslim Ministers should not oppose Pakistan

publicly in their official capacity. No decision has been made on the first point, but throughout his stay in Lahore the Hindu press has worked consistently to goad Jinnah into precipitate action likely to disrupt the harmony of the Ministry.

The Ahrars held their annual Provincial conference at Gujranwala from March the 17th to 20th in an attempt to popularize their Hakumat-i-Ilahia movement. The audience varied from 4,000 to 6,000 but was not particularly interested in the proceedings. Disparagement of Western civilization and morality was mingled with criticism of the Muslim League, the Communists, the *Satyartha Prakash* and the Zionist policy in Palestine. Opposition to a Jewish home in Palestine has also been a common feature of other Muslim meetings during the fortnight.

'Martyrs Day' on March the 19th was observed on a small scale by Khaksars in Lahore, Amritsar and a few other large towns, but no attempt was made to take any procession or defy the law.

March 23rd was observed as 'Pakistan Day' in most district headquarters where meetings organised by the Muslim League were held.

(b) Sikhs — there has been little development in the Sikh situation, and no great change is likely until after the election of a President for the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak committee on April the 9th. Both parties are now vigorously canvassing their supporters while at the same time trying to present some semblance of unity. Their chief common ground at present is hostility to the Hindu press and Hindu attempts to direct Sikh policy. In spite of the accusations of communalism and anti-nationalism levelled against him, Giani Kartar Singh seems unwilling to give up his plans for securing more favourable communal and political terms for the Sikhs and is understood to have expressed his willingness to join a Muslim League coalition Ministry in the event of the overthrow of the Unionist Ministry. As, however, Jinnah's hopes of dominating Punjab politics recede, Kartar Singh is likely to be persuaded at the instance of the Nagoka group to agree to discontinue negotiations with the Muslim League. With congress in its moribund state difference of opinion over the attitude of the Akalis towards congress is at present hardly a live question. Both parties are agreed that Sikh recruitment in the Army should be supported. The Gurdwara Bill has been referred to a Select committee.

At small rural meetings organised by the Pro-congress Akalis in the Amritsar district and elsewhere, speakers have strongly attacked the communists and accused them of being atheists and paid agents of Government, but in other respects have followed the communist lead in criticising Government and demanding the immediate formation of a 'National' Government and the release of all political prisoners.

131: Official Notings (Regarding R.S.S.S.) (dt 6.4.1944–7.4.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/3/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

We feel it would be prudent to take steps to prevent the dangerous potentialities of organizations of the type of the RSS from developing into a serious menace.

The R.S.S. Sangh is steadily gaining in strength and, although its Muslim counterpart is at present quiescent, it is by no means dead. We, therefore, strongly commend for adoption of the suggestion made by Deputy Secretary in his note dated 25-3-44¹ which has very distinct advantages. Action on the proposed lines need not necessarily lead to a show-down with the various political or communal parties. the real merit of the proposed rule is that it would leave the initiative for action in the hands of the Government who would be in a position both to select the objects of its attack and to determine the timing of the attack. Occasion may never arise to use the new powers against volunteer organizations other than the Khaksars and the R.S.S. Sangh. Congress and the Muslim League may, therefore, never come into the picture at all. But, should at any time the conduct of volunteer bodies organised by these or other political or communal parties make it necessary that these powers should be used, then I think there should be no hesitation in using them. The general principle should be to notify under the new rule only those volunteer organizations which are militant in character. At present only the Khaksars and the R.S.S. Sangh fulfill this condition, and no major political party is likely to go to extremes in their defence.

2. As regards the suggestion that Provinces should be left to deal in their own way with the volunteer organizations whose activities within their jurisdiction provide cause for complaint, the danger is that there will probably be considerable hesitation to take unilateral action in a matter which can fairly be argued as one of all-India or at least inter-Provincial importance. The Director considers that to leave it to the Provinces to take such action as to them may seem necessary would be to invite trouble sooner or later. We cannot be indifferent to a prospect of organised obstruction of Government whatever form it may take and whenever it may appear. Hence timely action is needed to forestall untoward developments: and to ensure maximum effectiveness we must have a uniform standard of policy and action.

(G. Ahmed)
Deputy Director (A),
6-4-44.

Home Dept. (Sir R. Tottenham),
D.I.B. u/o No. 60/D.G. 44 dated the APR-6 1944

H.M. should now see.

2. While agreeing that Provinces may hesitate to act individually, I think, as I said before, that such hesitation would be an indication that they were not quite sure about the necessity for action; and anyhow I think this tendency might be reduced if we made it clear that we expected provinces to act according to the necessities of the case and would support them if they did so. I doubt however whether such support need, or should, take the form of all-India action, which would compel certain provinces to take action which they definitely did not consider necessary. We had an example of the difficulty of this course when we directed all provincial governments to declare the Khaksars to be an unlawful association. Moreover, the whole justification for action is to stop certain objectionable activities and, if those activities are not equally objectionable in every Province, uniform action against the organisation is not necessary and is much more difficult to justify. A further point is that I would strongly deprecate taking any further action at the moment against the Khaksars. They are a discredited body and any general action of this kind would merely serve to bring them back into the public eye in a most undesirable way. We should be left, therefore, with the R.S.S. Sangh as the

only body against which to proceed – which would not be altogether desirable. If any action were to be taken on the lines suggested by D.S. and supported by D.I.B., I think it should be against the R.S.S. Sangh and the Muslim League Guards; but I still feel that the course of action proposed in my note of March 28th² is the correct one.

(R. Tottenham)
Addl. Secy., 7.4.44.

1. Doc. 122 note by V. Sahay.
2. Doc. 122.

132: Official Notings (continuation of Doc. 131) – (dt. 8.4.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

It seems to me that this enquiry has shown that the existing powers are adequate to keep the R.S.S. Sangh in order. Defence of India Rule 56 (1) enables parades and camps to be controlled-e.g. by requiring the Sangh to take out licences or imposing conditions; Rule 58 (1) covers military drill; and Rule 59 (1) covers uniforms. I do not think there is a case at present either for promulgating a new Defence of India Rule or for the issue by the Centre of any further Notification. (Our draft Notification of 5.8.40 practically exhausts our powers under Rule 58 (1). Our uniforms Notification of that date exhausts our powers under clause (a) of Rule 59 (1), but leaves action under clause (b) still open).

2. While not favouring any further action at the Centre, I agree with the view stated in para.3 of Addl. Secy's note of March 28th.¹ The Provinces which hold further action against the Sangh (or any other body) to be necessary should be encouraged to take it, under the powers which are open to them. We should ask for continued vigilance; and can, as Addl. Secy. suggests, say that we see no reason why the Sangh, or any other offending body, should not be proceeded against by particular order. I do not think a Province need consult us before taking such action-unless there were special circumstances which would make consultation desirable; but we should no doubt be kept promptly informed of action taken.

3. The Sangh is mainly a Mahratta concern – nearly three-quarters of the members belong to the Provinces of Bombay and C.P. It is odd that those two Provinces should vary so greatly in their appreciation of the danger to be feared from it. The C.P. letter of 11.3.44) propose very drastic steps against it. Bombay on the other hand (letters of 9-10-43² and 16-2-44³) regard it with complete equanimity. I find it difficult to believe that conditions are so divergent in the two portions of the Mahratta country; and we should suggest the maintenance of closer touch between the two Provinces and as much coordination of policy as possible.

4. When the draft is ready, I think P.S.V. should see it, since we are not prepared to go as far as some of the Provinces appear to expect us to go.

5. I do not myself know anything about the Mr Golwalkar who is spoken of as the Fuhrer of the Sangh. It would be useful if D.I.B. would let us have some account of him.

6. The matter is of interest to the Public Secretariat and the file should be shown to them when the draft has issued.

J.A. T(horne).
8.4.44.

Addl. Secy.

-
- 1 Doc. 122.
 - 2 Doc. 66.
 - 3 Doc 92

133: C. Rajagopalachari to Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's correspondence* (1981), pp. 319-20

New Delhi,
April 8, 1944.

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Here is the basis for a settlement which I discussed with Gandhiji in March 1943, and of which he expressed full approval. He then authorized me to signify his approval of these terms should to be able to convince you of their being just and fair to all. As the Government have refused to relax any of the restrictions imposed on him to enable him to discuss or negotiate terms of any settlement, I write this to you on his behalf and hope that this will bring about a final settlement of the most unfortunate impasse we are in. You are aware of the intensity of my desire for a settlement. I was very glad when I found it possible to obtain Gandhiji's approval of these terms. I hope that you will bestow your fullest thought on the justice and fairness of the proposals and help to terminate a condition of affairs which is steadily causing all round deterioration in the country.

Yours sincerely,

C. Rajagopalachari.

Enclosure

'Basis for terms of settlement between the Indian National congress and the All-India Muslim League to which Gandhiji and Mr Jinnah agree and which they will endeavour respectively to get the Congress and the League to approve:

- (1) Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for Free India the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for Independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim Government for the transitional period.
- (2) After the termination of the war, a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants

held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign State separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudices to the right of districts on the border to join either state.

- (3) It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.
- (4) In the event of separation mutual agreement shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.
- (5) Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.
- (6) These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility of the governance of India.

134: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Hindu Affairs: A meeting of about 15,000 persons was held at Poona under the auspices of the Hindu Maha Sabha to commemorate the second Millennium of Shri Vikramaditya. Mr. V.D. Savarkar, the principal speaker at the meeting, sketched the history of India from the date of Vikramaditya to the 17th Century and assured the audience that more Vikramadityas would arise to maintain the age long traditions of the Hindus. He also stated that the Hindus neither wanted 'Pakistan' nor Englishtan and boasted that the time would come when they would drive out both the Muslims and the English if they did not cease their opposition to them.

The celebration of this event had also been vigorously publicized by Mr K.M. Munshi, but it has had little popular appeal, partly because its sponsors are regarded as strongly communal in outlook and partly because as a historical personage, if he ever existed, Vikramaditya has never appealed strongly to public imagination.

135 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for this first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

According to reports, 'Pakistan Day' was celebrated on the 23rd March in 16 districts, the attendance at meetings varying from 800 on Chittagong to 30 in Faridpur. The average attendance appears to have been about 200. A certain number of meetings were attended by Hindus, chiefly members of the C.P.I. and R.D.P. At most of these meetings Hindu Muslim Unity was urged but at one held at Pabha Hindu Muslim unity was said to be not possible owing to differences in religion and custom. At a meeting held in Chittagong the release of the armoured raid convicts was urged.

Apart from a few minor disturbances, mainly between rival Muslim Groups, the Calcutta Corporation Election passed off quietly.

The final results were as follows:

Non-official Congress (Bose Group)	17
Hindu Mahasabha	11
Independents	19
Muslim League	17
Muslim Majlis	2
Muslim Independents	3
Anglo-Indians	2
Communists (Labour)	2
Special Constituencies	12

The results may be regarded as a triumph for the Muslim League and in a less degree for the Communists.

A dangerous article appeared in the C.S.P. Publications *Inquilab*, Vol. II, No. 3. It was entitled 'labour in mines' and urges underground workers in coal mines to give up their occupation and return to agriculture. It states among other things that 'Government instead of improving conditions have resorted to the barbarous method of forcing women into this dangerous type of underground work'.

136 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 -- Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Sikhs -- In order to silence their critics and to demonstrate the solidarity of their community, and understanding had been reached by the two major Akali parties. The election of a president for the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbhadak committee should be unopposed, and it had been more or less decided that the previous vice-president, Jemadar Partap Singh, should be elected, as he enjoyed the confidence of the *Nagoke* group and at the same time could be persuaded, in Giani Kartar Singh's opinion, to carry out whatever policy the Giani wanted. At the last moment however the Giani's followers changed their minds and demanded that the Giani should himself stand for election. This the Giani could do not do, as the *Nagoke* group had secured the support of the parties of Baba Kharak Singh and Principal Naranjan Singh and a contested election would inevitably follow, with the possibility of an adverse vote, which would weaken the Giani's influence in Sikh politics and put an end to his personal ambitions. At the meeting of the SGPC on April the 9th he therefore proposed that the election of president should be postponed until October and that Master Tara Singh should be asked to reconsider his resignation and resume his old position. This proposal was adopted by 111 votes to 8. There are no signs that Master Tara Singh will accept this invitation and it is generally believed that Giani Kartar Singh took this step, not because he wanted Master Tara Singh to return but as the only solution in an embarrassing situation and in order to use the

breathing space so gained to acquire further support for his plan to establish himself as Akali dictator.

Muslims — In his statement to the press, issued on the eve of his departure from Lahore early this month, Muhammad Ali Jinnah made it clear that divided loyalties would not be tolerated that members of the Muslim League had to choose between the League and the Unionist party. He again, pointed out that the Muslim League Assembly party was subject to control by the All India body and that League members owed no obligations to the Unionist party and were not bound by its programme. Finally, he declared that as the Muslim League party was the largest party supporting the present Ministry, the name of the Ministry ought to be changed from Unionist to Muslim League Coalition. The chief effects of Jinnah's visit seems to have been to organise the opposition against him and the only apparent tribute to his recent activities was the remarkably small attendance of Muslims at the Jat Mahasabha conference in Lyallpur on the 8th and 9th of April when the Hon'ble Sir Chhotu Ram, describing the aims and objects of the society, announced that the Sabha would resist its opponents. Other Hindu leaders have also appealed to Hindus to stand firm and combine with the Sikh to resist Jinnah's attempts to dictate to the Punjab and, apart from those whose personal ambitions coincide with Jinnah's plans, the general opinion is that Jinnah will splinter his lance in vain against the armour of the Unionist Ministry. Mr Jinnah is returning to the Punjab in time to attend the Provincial Muslim League conference at Sialkot, the opening date of which, it is now reported, will be the 28th of April and he is trying to secure control of a newspaper in Lahore to publish his propaganda. It is a matter of prestige and personal pride with Jinnah to bring the Punjab into line with other provinces who acknowledge allegiance to the Muslim League. If he fails again, it is anticipated that his League lieutenants in Assembly will form a separate block in opposition to the Unionist Ministry, but it is almost certain that Jinnah will not rest content with controlling a small opposition group and will continue to make mischief in the hope that he will eventually get his own way.

137: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Muslim League — a Pakistan Conference has been held at Gaya under the Chairmanship of Sir K. Nazimuddin, Premier of Bengal. The chief points were that the Muslims were a separate people and Pakistan was essential. It was urged that there are independent states in other countries and there is no reason why this should not work in a country of the size of India. Hindu reactions are that the arguments and reasoning are ridiculous and have long been exposed.

Depressed Classes — It appears that Dr S.P. Mukherji has been asked to direct the Provincial Hindu Sabhas to send scheduled castes to the conference in Cawnpore in large numbers since it is believed that the depressed classes league can be used as an instrument to combat the separatist movement of Dr Ambedkar.

3. *Communal* — During the Ram navami celebrations at Bagodar in Hazaribagh district an

armed force of police had to open fire on a Hindu mob passing along an unauthorized route. One of the officers in charge of the police party had got into a dangerous position, and the mob were being instigated to lock him up in a house and set fire to it.

138: Rajagopalachari to Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Quaid-d-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), p. 320

New Delhi,
April 17, 1944.

Dear Mr Jinnah,

The proposal I gave you in writing when we last met in Delhi must be still with you and perhaps you have read it over again and given further thought to it. I was much disappointed, as you are aware, at your inability to approve of the terms. But I hope you may perhaps reconsider your position. I sincerely believe that the proposals form a fair and satisfactory basis of settlement. I shall be grateful to hear from you as to whether you have reconsidered the matter.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari.

139: Government of India to all Provinces

File No. 28/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret

Government of India
Home Department

Express Letter

From Home, New Delhi

To All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners,
Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg.

New Delhi, the 21st April 1944

Subject: Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh

Replies to our letter No. 28/3/43 – Poll (I) dated January 1st, 1944,¹ reveal general agreement among Provinces where branches of the Sangh exist that the activities are on the increase and should be controlled. With the exception of the Punjab, the Central Provinces and



Ajmer-Merwara, who regard as ineffective the Central Government's notifications of 5th August 1940, prohibiting military drill and the wearing of dress resembling military uniform, the Provinces concerned agree that these notifications, if firmly used, should suffice to control this organisation and prevent undesirable activities on the part of its members. The Punjab and the Central Provinces, however, recommend that the holding of camps and the wearing of any sort of uniform should be banned: Ajmer-Merwara also recommends a ban on camps.

2. Our notifications of 5th August 1940, represented, after much consideration, the practical limits to which we thought we would usefully go to stop objectionable activities, without proceeding directly against the organisations responsible for them and without penalizing quite harmless and legitimate bodies. Any attempt to widen the scope of the notifications, and to proceed in addition against 'camps' as such, would increase the practical difficulties involved and necessitate a very large range of exceptions or exemptions. The alternative, if any further action were necessary, would obviously be to proceed against the organisations themselves and prohibit in their case a wide range of activities which would remain legitimate if performed by others.

3. We do not consider that there is any case at present for all-India action of this character against either the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh or any other communal organisation. On the other hand we agree that continued vigilance is necessary against any volunteer association that shows signs of developing into a private army; and if any Provincial Government does not consider the existing notifications sufficient, we see no reasons why it should not make further use of its powers under Defence Rule 56 (1), to control public meetings or assemblies e.g. parades and camps, under Defence Rule 58 (1) to prohibit or restrict military drill, (although the powers under this Rule have been fully used in our notifications of 5th August 1940) and under Defence Rule 59 (1) (b) to prohibit or restrict the wearing of any kind of uniform.

4. Further, if any Provincial Government considers it necessary in the interest of law and order to proceed openly on the lines suggested at the end of paragraph 2 against the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh or any other organisation, we consider that it should not hesitate to do so: and its action would have our full support. We would not consider it necessary to be consulted before such action was taken, unless there were special circumstances that could make such consultation desirable (e.g. if it were proposed to proceed against a body like the Muslim League.) But we should be glad to be promptly informed of any action that may be taken.

Signed (R. Tottenham)
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of India

5. We note that the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh is mainly a Mahratta concern, nearly three quarters of its members belonging to Bombay and the C.P. We are somewhat surprised therefore to find that these Provinces vary greatly in their appreciation of the danger to be feared from the Sangh, Bombay regarding its activities with equanimity, while the C.P. proposes drastic steps against it. We find it difficult to believe that conditions are so divergent in these two portions of the Mahratta country and suggest that there would be advantage in the maintenance of the closest possible touch, between the two Provinces over the problem. (To Bombay and C.P. only)

Signed R. Tottenham
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of India

No. 28/2/43 - Poll (I), New Delhi, the 21st April 1994

Copy to S.G.G. (Personal), S.G.G. (Public), the Political Department, E.A.D. and D.I.B. for information.

By order,

(S.J.L. Olver)

Under Secretary to the Government of India

1 Doc. 74.

140: Official Notings regarding Muslim League National Guards (dt 6.4.1944-2.5.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

A cutting from the *Sind Observer*,¹ Karachi, dated 8th April 1944 is submitted for information. We have not heard anything on the subject officially from Sind Government but perhaps will in a few days.

An odd tangle. I think it more interesting that we shall hear anything from Sind.

2. I cannot find that any action has been taken on Addl. Secy's note of 18-3-44.² AHI should now see that file with reference to that note.

S.J.L. Olver

Signed

13.4.44

28/2/43 - Home Poll (I) [NAI]

Secret

Intelligence Bureau (H.D.)

We do not think that Home Department will want us to keep them informed of Jinnah's movements which are generally well advertised beforehand in the press. We ourselves rely mainly on newspaper reports for advance information of his movements.

We shall, however, keep Home Department informed as far as possible of any unusual volunteer activities which may be expected at gatherings of first-rank political organisations.

Signed

(G.A.J. Boon)

Assistant Director (L)

25-4-1944

Home Department (Mr Vishnu Sahay)

D.I.B., UO No. 40/W.A./40, dt. 26-4-44

I do not know if Addl Secy. has seen the cutting at Slip H.⁴ It appears there was a procession of 'National Guards' and there was some trouble about securing a police permit. Mr Gazdar's changed attitude may perhaps be due to our enquiries from Sind in January last about the

parading of Muslim League volunteers and he must have thought that any repetition of what occurred then would be taken serious notice of. It is, however, difficult to understand the portion sidelined 'A', for the report was that Mr Gazdar himself was wearing a uniform.

2. It is perhaps unnecessary to obtain any report from Sind regarding the procession in 'Muslim Saint's day'.

Signed B.L. Pandey
26.4.44

Addl. Secy.

28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)

I do not think we need take any action about the cutting from the Sind Observer.

I am not happy however, about our ability to comply with HE's note of 17-3-44.⁴ When the next big meeting of the Muslim League is going to take place, we ought to have at least a fortnights notice in order to warn Prov. Govts. and the trouble is that we often do not seem to know more than a few days beforehand when these meetings are to be staged.

Perhaps Pol (1) Supdt. can keep a special eye on the Press. We need not bother I.B. about Jinnah's movements, but unless we can rely on early information from the press about the meetings, they will have to come in.

Signed R. Tottenham
27/4

Muslim Guards

Do we know anything about them at Sialkot, where the Muslim League Provincial conference has been proceeding? Did we take any steps to prevent a repetition of the Karachi scandal?

Signed JAT (J.A. Thorne)
2.5.44

Addl. Secy.

We had no previous warning of the Sialkot meeting. I have taken up the question on the file and we must reach some satisfactory solution.

Signed R. Tottenham,
2/5

I sent the file to office yesterday. This may be put on the file and referred to D.I.B. again. Some satisfactory means have to be evolved of ensuring that we do receive information of projected Muslim League meetings well in time. The important point is to receive information about such meetings where the employment of Muslim League Guards may reasonably be anticipated. At present we rely on newspaper reports and it may well be that the papers we see, the *Hindustan Times* and the *Statesman*, may omit to publish the news promptly.

Signed Vishnu Sahay
Deputy Secy. 2-5-44

D.I.R.

H.D.U/o No. 28/2/43 - Poll (I). Dt. 4-5-44

1 & 3. Not printed.

2 & 4. Doc. 120.

141: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Very keen interest has been taken in this Province over the recent controversy between Mr Jinnah and the Punjab Prime Minister. In one or two previous letters it was noted that the general view in this province (excepting, of course, among members of the Muslim League) is that Mr Jinnah is a megalomaniac with a political technique which has many disturbing resemblances to that of Hitler. The events in the Punjab have only confirmed the public in their view and they are asking themselves how much longer the British Government is going to tolerate Mr Jinnah's mischief. The general feeling now is that the Viceroy at any rate is beginning to realise that Jinnah with his totalitarian concepts of political controversy, has gone too far; it is considered that the Governor of the Punjab must have had the backing of the Viceroy in strongly supporting the Punjab Prime Minister against Mr Jinnah's attack.

142: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

8. The election of Aldermen by the Councillors of the Calcutta corporation took place on the 21st April and resulted in the success of all the Muslim League candidates, and the defeat of Mr N.C. Chatterjee, a leading member of the Hindu Mahasabha, and Dr B.C. Roy, a former Mayor. The election of the Mayor was held on the 26th April and Mr Anandilal Poddar who had the support of the Muslim League and the non-official congress was elected. The European Group joined hands with the Hindu Mahasabha in support of another candidate.

9. The reappearance of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill has caused a rising tide of protest from the Hindu community. Meetings were organised in Calcutta by the Hindu Mahasabha and impassioned speeches were made denouncing the Bill and demanding its immediate withdrawal. Statements were also issued by Hindu political leaders and educationists describing the Bill as retrograde and reactionary and alleging that it may cause clashes between communities and destroy the ideal of inter-communal unity and harmony. Endeavours are being made by the Hindu leaders to organise an all-Bengal protest Day and a public meeting to be held in the University institute has been fixed for April the 30th. Attempts are also being made by the Hindu Mahasabha to organise a country-wide campaign of protest.



143: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political – (a) Muslims – Political activity has centred round Jinnah's determined attempts to force a Muslim League coalition Ministry. During the negotiations which preceded the breakdown of the discussions, the Hon'ble the Premier took his stand on the maintenance of the Sikandar – Jinnah pact, but with the consent of his non-Muslim colleagues was prepared to agree that the Muslim League Assembly Party should be regarded as the primary party among Muslims. He was also willing to agree to a change in the designation in the Ministerial Party to some such expression as 'Unionist coalition' and invited Jinnah to make suggestions on these lines. All along the Hon'ble the Premier sought to make it clear that he did not differ from Jinnah in essential aims and that it was only in regard to the method of implementing them, as far as the Punjab was concerned, that he had to differ from Jinnah. The latter, however, was adamant and refused to accept any suggestions, insisting that every member of the Muslim League assembly Party should declare that he owed his allegiance solely to the Muslim League, that a Muslim League coalition Ministry should be formed, and, above all, that the word 'Unionist' should be entirely dropped from the designation of the Ministry. These demands, especially the last, the Hon'ble the Premier was unable to accept, and on April the 27th he issued a statement explaining that repudiation of the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact would amount to a breach of faith and that he would not accept a demand 'involving interference in provincial affairs and the inner working of the Ministerial Party formed under the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact as this would be contrary to the accepted democratic principle that the wishes of the electorate and the legislature should prevail'. At the same time, however, he made it clear that he was 'Prepared to extend his wholehearted and fullest support to the Qaid-i-Azam and the League in all questions which related to the Welfare of the Muslim community and to strengthen and to enliven the organisation of the Muslim League in the Punjab'. He ended his statement with a warning that 'the disunity of different communities could only spell disaster, embitter non-Muslims and intensify communal hatred leading to bloodshed and disorder and serious interference with the war effort at a time when the Japanese aggressor was on the soil of India'. To this statement Jinnah replied on April 29th at the session of the Punjab Muslim League conference at Sialkot by denying that any assurance had been given under Sikandar-Jinnah Pact on non interference in the internal affairs of the Punjab and by claiming that in accordance with that document it was open to the League Party in the Assembly to terminate any coalition. At the same time he made it clear that he wished to kill the name 'Unionist'.

While Jinnah's attitude at Sialkot was uncompromising it was tempered by the anxiety which he has always shown to avoid disrupting the facade of Muslim unity in the 'corner-stone of Pakistan'. He himself has no power to expel any member of the League. This can only be done by the Council of the All-India Muslim League on the recommendation of the All India Working Committee, and it is for the council of Action, which is subordinate to the Working committee, to report and suggest to the Working committee what should be done. The Council

of Action has been summoned to meet in Lahore early in May. Meanwhile, pressure and infiltration are likely to be maintained. It is at present not possible to forecast with any accuracy the effects of Jinnah's determined attempts to break the Unionist Ministry. No Muslim M.L.A., whether he be with the League or the Premier, like what has happened. As he reads the situation, the community has been divided to the advantage of the Hindus and Sikhs, and this feeling bodes ill for the future communal peace of the Province. The dismissal by H.E. the Governor with the concurrence of the Cabinet of Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, the Hon'ble Minister of Public works, on April the 26th, for an act of serious injustice in the discharge of his Ministerial duties has been generally interpreted as the consequence of his disloyalty to the Unionist Ministry and has aroused considerable emotional sympathy for him among Muslims. (He was given a bigger ovation at Sialkot than Jinnah himself). It seems that Jinnah is likely to make the matter a constitutional issue. At Sialkot he insisted on the Hon'ble the Premier obtaining from H.E. the governor a clear statement of the charges against the ex-Minister and resigning if he failed to obtain satisfaction. At the same time, the communal and religious appeal of the League to Muslims has undoubtedly been greatly intensified by the impression made by Jinnah on Muslims that his main object is to obtain a mandate for them to bargain with Britain on behalf of Muslim India against Congress and the Hindus on the assumption that Britain cannot afford to quarrel with the Muslim League because of the value of Muslim India's support to the war effort. It seems probable that a separate Muslim League bloc will be formed in the Assembly, but it is likely that in a number of cases personal loyalties and the solid benefits received from the existing regime will outweigh the appeal in the name of Islam. The Government are in no immediate danger, but there is the possibility of the 'rebel' Muslim MLAs going into opposition when the Assembly next sits and forming a nucleus for the gradual seduction of individual Muslim Unionists until the group is strong enough to attempt the overthrow of the existing regime with the collaboration of the opportunist Hindus and Sikhs. In the meantime the League is trusted to prepare the ground with strong propaganda.

There can be little doubt that the formation of a Muslim League coalition Ministry would exacerbate communal feeling and have an adverse effect on the tranquility of the Province, recruitment, the peace of mind of serving soldiers, especially non-Muslims, and the war effort generally.

The trial of strength between the League and the Unionist Government has been watched with interest by all communities and political parties. The Hindus feel that the fear of Pakistan outweighs their mistrust of the Muslim majority in the Unionist Ministry, and at present seem likely to follow Savarkar's advice to resist the formation of a League Ministry and present a united front with the Sikhs to 'anti-Hindu forces'. Discussions among the Sikhs have shown a preference for maintaining the proved advantages of association with the Unionist Party to joining a coalition Muslim League Ministry in the hope of uncertain political gains, but Sikh policy is as usual opportunist and is reflected in the statement issued by an 'all Parties' Conference at Lahore on 23rd April opposing the formation of a Muslim League Coalition Ministry under the existing circumstances. The Communists and Ahrars, who regard the Unionist Government as reactionary and anti-national, see in the formation of League Coalition Ministry hope of their political recognition and a less 'repressive' form of Government. The Congress is anxious to see the formation of a more 'National' Government, but is apprehensive of communal reactions to a predominantly League Government. Outside the towns the harvest and not politics is the main preoccupation of the people.

(b) *Khaksars* — The return to Lahore of those Khaksars who walked back from Bengal as a protest against the refusal of the Bengal Government to pay their railway fares revived some interest in the Khaksar movement. On April the 28th some 400 of them collected in the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore to listen to an address by Inayat Ullah Mashriqi, in which he spoke on the organisation and aims of the Khaksars; praised the humanitarian work done by the Khaksars in Bengal and attacked the Bengal Government for refusing to pay their fares back to the Punjab; advocated communal unity, severely criticised Congress, the Muslim League, communal leaders and Jinnah in particular and accused the British Government of a deliberate policy of divide and rule, and demanded the release of those Khaksars convicted in the Police-Khaksar clash of March 1940.

Communal — No communal incidents of any major importance have been reported, but in view of the threat to the communal peace of the Province by Jinnah's attempts to form a Muslim League Coalition Ministry, Government have found it necessary to impress on District officers through Commissioners the paramount importance, in the present war situation, of the maintenance of communal harmony, and have emphasized the necessity for taking appropriate action where necessary without hesitation against persons who make use of any pretext, political or otherwise, in order to indulge in activities calculated to promote disorder or ill-feeling between different classes or communities.

144: Extract from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Muslim League

A Pakistan meeting was held in Jamui, Monghyr district, on the 29th of April. It was attended by Sir, K. Nazimuddin. The attempted reorganization of the Muslim League is, however, not making much progress in the province. The local Shias are very critical of the Pakistan scheme which they describe as a fraud.

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh

Professor Diwakar, the General Secretary of the Provincial Sangh, visited Monghyr with a view to revitalizing local activities. He is reported to have told a gathering of students that Government were trying to suppress the Sangh and that determination and discipline were necessary in order to acquire Independence of India. Some activities of the Sangh are reported from the Saran district.

145: Extract from Fortnightly Report from Sind for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Under the auspices of the Sind provincial Jamiat-ul-Ulema, a conference was held at Hyderabad on the 15th, 16th and 17th of April, about 2,000 Muslims attended. Among the resolutions passed was one requesting Government to release immediately all political prisoners belonging to the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Khaksars, and Congress so that in view of the political situation the full resources of India may be mobilized for the efficient prosecution of the war. And another urging all political bodies in India to arrive at a settlement on the basis of self-determination in the Provinces in order to remove the political deadlock, and requesting the British Government to remove the deadlock on the basis of Sir Stafford Cripp's offer with modifications, if necessary, and to establish a National Government at the Centre enjoying the confidence of the Indian people. The main object of this conference seems to have been to organize Muslim under the banner of the Jamiat ul-Ulema as a counter-measure against the Sind provincial Muslim League.

146: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

3. Communal

The 53rd session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference was held in Jubbulpore from the 15th to the 19th of April. The Hon'ble Sir Azizul Haq presided and stressed the need for the provision of technical and scientific training and the establishment of technical institution for Muslims. It was decided to ask Government to remove the ban imposed by the Laxminarayan Technological Institute at Nagpur on the admission of Muslims. A request of Maulana Burhan-ul-Haq to address the Conference was refused as it was understood that he would speak against the education of women.

4. The All India State Muslim League Conference was held in Jubbulpore under the presidentship of Maulana Burhan-ul-Haq. Complaints were made against the treatment meted out to Muslims by the Hindu rulers of Central India States, and the demand for Pakistan was reiterated. The Conference was not a success owing to the absence of Muhammad Bahadur Khan and of the refusal of the organizers of the Muslim Educational Conference to lend their Pandal. Printed appeals for raising funds to meet the expenses of the All India States Muslim League were issued in the city.

5. Two ordinary meetings of the Muslim League were held in Jubbulpore when Maulans Burhan ul Haq criticised the Jubbulpore municipal committee for having closed the slaughter

house on the Mahabir Jayanti day. Another speaker advised the Muslim to equip themselves with all resources, including weapons, in order that they could protect themselves from internal and external aggression. He accused all other political organisations of aiming to deprive Muslims of their legitimate rights and said that congressmen were fifth columnists, who would help the enemy in the event of an invasion.

147: Official Notings – Reg. Golwalker (extracts)

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Notes in the Home Department
Serial No. 31 (Issue)

H.M. should perhaps see Golwalker's history sheet¹ and also H.E.'s minute.

V. Sahay
Signed
3/5

If Golwalkar is really a motive force behind the whole movement, I dare say C.P. Govt. ought to consider arresting him. But perhaps we have not got as far as that yet.

R. Tottenham
3/5

I doubt whether there are sufficient grounds for prosecuting against G. at present. His circular of 29-4-43² (for what it is worth) is unexceptionable; and I don't think we have anything substantial against him of later date.

J.A. Thorne
Signed
4.5.44

& 2. Not Printed because not found with this file. Probably not transferred to the National Archives because it might have been needed, for obvious reasons, in post-independence India. – Ed.



148: Chief Secretary, Government of Madras to all Districts Magistrates

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 56/1943
[TNA]

Public Department
Dated 3.5.44

Memo No. S/1075-1/44

Political Agtn -- The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh -- Ref. Public Dept. Memo. No. S/46-4/44 dated 4th February 1944.

The Govt. of India have had under consideration the question whether the Central Govt's notifications of 5th August 1940 would suffice to control the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and prevent undesirable activities on the part of its members. They have suggested that continued vigilance is necessary against any volunteer organisation that shows signs of developing into a private army and that if the existing notifications are not considered sufficient, the Provl. Govt. should make further use of their powers under Defence Rule 56 (1) to control public meetings or assemblies e.g. parades and camps, under Defence Rule 58 (1) prohibitor restrict military drill (although the powers under this rule have been fully used in the notifications of 5th August 1940), and under Defence Rule 59(1) (b) to prohibit or restrict the wearing of any kind of uniform. If any further action were necessary the obvious course would be to proceed against the organisation itself and prohibit in its case a wide range of activities which would remain legitimate if performed by others.

2. D.Ms. and the C. of P., Madras are requested to keep a close watch on any volunteer association (The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh or any other communal organization) that shows signs of developing into a private army and to make a report in time to the Govt. if its activities are found to be assuming objectionable proportions, together with their specific recommendations as to the preventive measures which they consider it necessary to enforces.

Signed
All D.M.s
C. of P., Madras

Copy to Supdt. of Police, S.B., C.I.D., Madras
Copy to the I.G., of Police, Madras.



149: Official Notings – Muslim League National Guards (10.5.44–12.5.44)

File No. 28/2/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Intelligence Bureau

It would appear that there are office rules in 'Big meetings of the Muslim League' during which Muslim National Guard activity may reasonably be anticipated:

- (i) The plenary session of the All-Indian Muslim League;
- (ii) Sessions of the Provincial Muslim Leagues: and
- (iii) Important ad hoc meetings and processions organised by the All-India or Provincial Muslim Leagues.

As regards (i), the Pressman be relied upon to give ample notice of the projected sessions. (ii) would almost certainly be advertised in the Provincial Press but this may or may not come to our notice through the Delhi papers. (iii) may or may not receive advance Press publicity at all. It follows that if we are to ensure that information of contemplated Muslim League meetings of importance is received by us at least a fortnight in advance, we cannot rely on Press reports alone and will have to ask Provincial Special Branches to furnish us with the required information which will be promptly passed on to Home Dept. (It will be recognised, however, that in the case of (iii) it may not always be possible for Provincial S.Bs. to give us a fortnight's notice in advance in all cases.) If Home Dept. agree I will address Provincial S.Bs. accordingly.

2. In the latest report received from the Punjab S.B. regarding the Provincial Muslim League Conference at Sialkot (April 28–30), it is stated that 'the conference was attended by about 50 Muslim National Guards in green shirts from Sheikhpura and Lahore'. No specific mention is made in the report of Muslim National Guard activity on this occasion-from which it may perhaps be concluded that nothing unusual or objectionable occurred.

(G. AHMED),
Deputy Director
10-5-44.

Home Dept. (Mr Vishnu Sahay).
D.J.B. u/o No. 40/MA/40

[Routine notings – Ed.]

Notes in the Home Department

Ref. H.M.'s note of 2.5.44.¹ We could perhaps follow the procedure suggested by Mr Ahmed. But I am inclined to think the correct course would be to put the whole case to Provincial Govts and ask any of them who may consider that a warning to the Muslim League is likely to be required with reference to any particular meeting to give us as much notice as possible and in any case not less than a fortnight. An alternative would be to instruct the provinces themselves to give the necessary warning and enforce it. But I feel that Provinces (or at any

rate some of them) will regard this as an all-India matter, and it will certainly be difficult to expect 'Muslim League Ministers' to take the necessary action.

R. Tottenham
11.5.44.

It is disturbing to find that the Provincial Muslim League session at Sialkot again caught us unprepared, and that in consequence we have failed to take the action required in H.E.'s minute of 17.3.44.

2. I agree with Additional Secretary as to the action now required-viz, that defined in the second sentence of his note above.

3. I note that the I.B. does not seem to regard the C.I.O.s² as a channel of information about preparations for Muslim League meetings. I do not understand this-and, I might add that, if I am right in supposing that the Karachi C.I.O. gave the I.B. nothing about the doings of last Christmas, he failed in his duty. I should have thought that, especially in Ministerial Provinces, C.I.O.s should keep their eyes open for anything relating to Muslim League meetings which might embarrass the Provincial Government.

(J.A. Thorne)
Home Member, 12.5.44

I place below a draft¹ to Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners. After issue D.I.B. and S.G.G. (Pub) should see.

(R. Tottenham)
Addl. Secy., 12.5.44

1. Note in Doc. 140.

2. C.I.O. - Criminal investigating officers

3. Not printed

150: Government of Punjab to the Government of India

File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret

From
F.C. Bourne Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To
The Additional Secretary to the Government of India Home Department, New Delhi.

No. 4414 BDSB Lahore, dated the 10 May 1944.

Sir,
With reference to your secret express letter No. 28/3/43 - Poll (I), dated the 21st of April

1944,¹ I am directed to say that while the situation in this Province is not so serious at present as to require local action to prohibit all camps and the wearing of any sort of uniform by communal and party organisations, the Punjab Government regret that the Government of India have not accepted their recommendations mentioned in my secret letter No. 503-BDSB dated the 21st of January 1944.² I am to point out that, if communal and party volunteer organisation has been developed and strengthened (the case of the Khaksars is one in point), it seems particularly desirable that precautionary action should be taken during the period of the war and the years following immediately thereafter, and I am therefore to urge that the Government of India be moved to reconsider their decision and again to explore the possibilities of taking effective steps against the growth of all communal and party volunteer organisations.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab

Why not do it themselves as was suggested? (R. Tottenham) [Marginal Note]

1 Doc 139.

2 Doc. 81.

151: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

There has been a good deal of public notice of Jinnah's attempt to meddle with Punjab politics and, except for the staunchest Muslim Leaguers, public opinion seems to be very definitely on the side of the Punjab Premier and he is admired for the stand he has taken. There is a feeling however, that the rebuff which he has received in the Punjab will tend to throw Jinnah more towards the Congress, and the fact that this rebuff has coincided with the release of Gandhi on medical grounds will open the way for a rapprochement between the League and the Congress.

152: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh – The annual 'Officers' Summer Training Camp' opened at

Poona on the 25th April. about 500 volunteers are attending the Camp and the daily programme includes outdoor exercises, games, study classes and lectures.

153 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Orissa for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

6. Communal

A conference of the Utkal Hindu Dharma Seva Sangh was held at Puri on the 5th and 6th May 1944, with Dr B.S. Moonje in the chair. The Chairman exhorted Hindus to join the army, so that, after the war, they might be as well placed as Moslems to protect their own interests. He deplored the extend to which Hindus are being converted to other religions.

154 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Communal

Four meetings of the Muslim League were held in Jubbulpore city, where 300 primary members of the League have so far been enrolled. The RSS Sangh also continued their routine activities; about 150 volunteers were taken to the Marble Rocks where games were played and physical exercises performed. The Second Session of the Yeotmal Hindu Mahasabha Conference was held at Yeotmal under the presidentship of Mrs Jankibai Joshi. Mrs Joshi urged formation of Hindu Mahila branches and resistance to Pakistan. She vehemently criticised the Hindu women's inheritance Bill' and condemned congressmen for their absence during the session when the Bill was being discussed. Resolutions were passed urging women to finance the 'Shuddhi' movement and advocating the removal of untouchability.

6. The third session of the Berar Hindu Mahasabha was held at Yeotmal under the presidentship of Mr Laxman Bhopatkar of Poona. The audience consisted of delegates drawn from all the Berar districts. Address read by Dr Kane urged Hindus to remove untouchability and oppose Pakistan. Mr Bhopatkar in his address said that the professed aim of the Allies was to win the war in the cause of political freedom and democracy but their real aim was the economic exploitation of the weaker nations. He further remarked that although it was possible for the Allies to annihilate Germany and Japan their ideas for the formation of a new order and a co-prosperity sphere could not be eliminated. He prophesied that another war after 20 years would take place in Asia between the white and the coloured races. He urged the Hindu Mahasabha to prepare themselves for this War and to ensure that the entire Hindu

nation was fully equipped and trained from the military point of view. In a concluding speech the President criticised the Hindus because they lacked manly qualities. He went on to praise Shivaji and said that if five leaders similar to him could be found it would be the work of a few moments to hoist the Bhagwa flag beyond Attock.

1. A committee under B.N. Rau to consider revision of the Hindu Law by stages, beginning with the laws of succession and marriage in 1941. Government had accepted this view. One bill dealing with succession was circulated. The Joint Committee on the succession bill recommended revival of the other. On 20 January 1944 the Committee was re-appointed. The bill mentioned in the text refers to these events. For fuller details, see A. Parasher — *Women and Family Law Reforms in India* — (New Delhi 1992), pp 79-81

155: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 — Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

2. Political — (a) Muslim — The Muslim League Unionist Party controversy has again overshadowed all other international political activity. On May the 3rd the All-India Muslim League committee of Action called upon the Premier to explain certain points in his statement of April the 7th referred to in my last fortnightly report), and pointed out that his adherence to the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact and his refusal to recognise the formation of a communal Party were opposed to the constitution and rules of the all-India Muslim League which aimed at the consolidation of the Muslims as a separate nation inside and outside the Legislatures under the control, discipline and supervision of the All-India Muslim League. In reply the Premier pointed out that the Committee of Action had not considered his statement as a whole, reminded the committee that, while admitting the correctness of the aims and objects of the Muslim League to consolidate the position of the Muslims, he had joined the Muslim League subject to the terms of the Sikandar Jinnah Pact and enquired whether the Committee considered the Pact as being still in force and binding. Instead of replying to this question the committee of Action merely suggested that the Premier should attend a meeting of the committee at Delhi on May the 13th and 14th to explain his position. This invitation the Premier found himself unable to accept and again asked for the clarification of the League's attitude towards the Sikandar-Jinnah Pact.

Meanwhile, Jinnah had left for Kashmir on May the 8th, leaving in Lahore two members of the All-India committee of Action with a skeleton office staff to watch his interests. Ostensibly this Branch office is to suggest measures for the educational, economic and industrial uplift of Punjabi Muslims, but its main objects are to maintain pressure on Muslim M.L.As., direct the policy of Muslim M.L.As. in the Assembly and to carry on intensive propaganda, especially in the rural areas, to popularize the League: subsidiary objectives are the organisation of Muslim National Guards and the development of support for the League among Muslim Government servants. To give effect to these objects the Committee of Action decided in consultation with a sub-committee appointed by the Working committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to divide the Punjab into divisional and district areas with five organizing secretaries for propaganda purposes; to appoint permanent paid personnel, to form

a training centre in Lahore for the instruction of volunteers and to employ members of the provincial Muslim students' Federation during their vacations for league propaganda and the organisation of Muslim National Guards. It was further decided to raise a lakh of rupees, half to be collected by the Provincial Muslim League, the other half to be donated by Jinnah from the All-India Muslim League funds. How far these grandiose schemes are likely to be translated into action remain to be seen, but the organisation of the Muslim National Guards is a matter of considerable importance to the communal peace of the Province, for the draft rules of the organisation suggest that it will be formed on semi-military lines not unlike the Khaksar organisation.

Except in Muslim League circles there is a general feeling of relief that Jinnah has failed to break the Unionist Ministry and that, in the words of one commissioner, a fissiparous communal policy has been avoided, but at the same time it is released that Jinnah is not likely to admit defeat easily and that the last round remains to be fought. To what extent his attitude towards the Punjab Ministry is likely to be affected by the wider all-India political issues caused by the release of Gandhi must at present remain a matter of speculation. The dismissal of Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan has undoubtedly aroused considerable sympathy among the educated urban Muslims and has been exploited to the full, but so far has had no tangible repercussions, and sympathy is likely to wane as his delinquencies become more widely known. The Muslim masses generally have not been disturbed by the recent trend of political events, but better and wider party propaganda and greater interest in their constituencies by Unionist M.L.A.s. will be necessary to counter the proposed Muslim League propaganda in rural areas and to prevent the issue being fought on religious and communal lines to the exclusion of the economic and other benefit derived from the present regime. The appointment of a fourth Muslim Minister, which was announced on May the 13th, should help to reassure the Muslims that the rights are not being neglected and, although to some extent resented by the Sikhs and Hindus, is not likely to lead to the withdrawal of their support of the Unionist Party which still regard as preferable to a Muslim League Coalition Ministry.

(b) Sikhs — Sikh politics remain in their usual state of indecision. On May the 3rd a conference of 50 leading Sikhs expressed satisfaction at the firm stand taken by the Premier and S. Baldev Singh in the cause of communal harmony. The sense of the meeting, however, was that while any compromise with Jinnah should be resisted at present the door of negotiation should be left open against the possible formation of a Muslim League coalition Ministry in the future. This dual policy has the strong support of Giani Kartar Singh and his followers who feel that in the event of the formation of a Muslim League coalition Ministry the Sikhs would lose power if they refused a seat in the Cabinet. There is, however, growing mistrust of Giani Kartar Singh's communal opportunism, which the hopes of a settlement with congress spread among Akali nationalists by Gandhi's release is likely to intensify, and it is very improbable that he will be given any opportunity of trying to exploit the Ministerial imbroglio for the benefit of his community by direct or indirect negotiations with the Muslim League. The Sikhs generally are satisfied with the outcome of the trial of strength between the Unionist Government and the Muslim League, and at present have no wish to see any change in the Ministry. Meanwhile Giani Kartar Singh is hopeful of consolidating his position in Akali circles if the Gurdwara Amendment Bill becomes law, but is finding the rising tide of nationalism stronger than he thought.



156: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Communal

Mr B.G. Khaparde, General Secretary, All India Hindu Maha Sabha continued his tour in the Province and address meetings at Bellary, Bezwada and Nellore. They passed off without any incident. At Nellore he made a very uncompromising speech, stating that Hindus were masters of India and would continue to remain such and that minorities should claim such representation as was just and reasonable according to this standard.

157: Official Notings regarding R.S.S.S. (dt 16.5.1944–17.5.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/3/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Notes on the Home Department¹

It is not clear what the Punjab are grumbling about.¹ Our position is that we agree entirely that a communal party volunteer organisation of this type should be curbed as early and as much as possible but that the existing powers are at present adequate.

2. However, as I read our letter No. 28/3/43 – Poll (I), dated the 21st April² 1944 again there seems to be an inaccuracy in it inasmuch as the action at the end of paragraph 2 about which we promised Provincial Governments whole-hearted support in paragraph 4 can, as far as I can see, be taken only if we frame a new Rule under the Defence of India Rules ourselves (my note on page 35),³ and it is, therefore, not possible for a Provincial Government itself to, so to speak, pronounce the sentence of outlawry against an organisation. In view of the decisions taken, however, it is unnecessary to pursue the question of making a new Rule at present and on the footing that the powers mentioned in para. 3 of our letter of 21st April 1944 are at present adequate to cope with organisations of the type under reference, I place below a draft reply.

Signed
Vishnu Sahay,
Deputy Secretary,
16-5-44

Addl. Secy.

I do not see what new Rule would be required. The point is that under the existing powers it would be possible to prohibit a wide range of activities (e.g. holding camps) on the part of

a particular organisation than would be possible if the prohibition were of general application. I think the draft may issue as amended.

R. Tottenham
17/5/44

1. Doc. 150.
2. Doc. 139.
3. See Doc. 122 - Note by V Sahay dt. 25.3.44.

158: Government of India to the Government of Punjab

File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret

No. 28/3/43 - Poll (I).
Government of India,
Home Department.

From Sir Richard Tottenham, CSI., CIE., ICS.,
Additional Secretary to the Government of India

To The Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,
Lahore.

New Delhi, the 18th May 1944.

Sir,

Reference your secret letter No. 4414 BDSB, dated the 10th May 1944,¹ about the control of communal and party organisations. The Government of India have already agreed with the Provincial Government that it is most desirable to check, as effectively as possible, the growth of communal and party volunteer organisations and there appears to be a misunderstanding if the Provincial Government think that the Government of India hold the contrary view. All that they have said, in the light of replies from other Provincial Governments, is that there is no case for all-India action at present. Any particular Provincial Government is left free to take such action as it thinks fit subject only to the stipulations in paragraph 4 of this Department's express letter No. 28/3/43 - Poll (I), dated the 21st April 1944.²

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
Signed R. Tottenham.

Additional Secretary to the Government of India.

-
1. Doc. 150.
 2. Doc. 139.

159: Official Notings M.L.N.G. (dt 22.5.1944–1.6.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

(Intelligence Bureau, H.D.)

Secret

Seen – thank you. I would, however, like to add a few lines to clear H.M.'s doubts as disclosed in paragraph 3 of his note above.¹

2. In the matter of using C.I.O.s as reporting agencies on affairs within the competence of provincial C.I.O.s, the Intelligence Bureau is guided by para. 3(f) of the Instructions to C.I.O.s. Thus normally we do not use C.I.O.s as channels of communication in matters about which we are confident that provincial Special Branches can safely – and at times more expeditiously – furnish us with the requisite information without prejudice to their position vis-a-vis Ministries in power. This does not mean that we do not expect the C.I.O. to report independently of the C.I.O. such information of a supplementary nature which comes to his notice, and in actual practice we usually receive two separate reports on any given matter – one from the C.I.O. and one from the Special Branch – covering much the same ground but from slightly different angles. It was in accordance with this policy that we recently suggested to Home Department in our unofficial note of May 10, 1944,² that Provinces should be asked to furnish us with advance information about forthcoming Muslim League meetings at which Muslim National Guard contingents might be expected to be present: our assumption was that reports of this nature would not embarrass relations between C.I.O.s and their Ministries where they exist. Home Department's Express Letter of May 15, 1944,³ was apparently issued on the same assumption.

3. When issues of a more delicate nature are involved, enquiries or requests for report are made to C.I.O.s rather than to Special Branches; as an example, we addressed C.I.O.s on February 29, 1944,⁴ to obtain information about the general organization of the Muslim National Guards, their activities behind the scenes, training, and so on – all matters in which provincial Ministers have been known to take a personal interest. As C.I.O.s maintain close touch with their Special Branches, the latter will have been aware of our letter and will, according to practice, make available to C.I.O.s any information on the subject they may obtain in the knowledge that although the information will be included in C.I.O.'s reports, its source will be safeguarded.

/A/ 4. As regards the supposition that the C.I.O. Karachi gave the Intelligence Bureau nothing about what occurred in the League Session last Christmas, I must say that this idea is quite wrong. The C.I.O. furnished us with a full note of the League's Christmas activities in his periodical report for the second half of December (which would have reached us early in January), a copy of which also went to the Governor's Secretary. There were also sections of his Daily Reports at the time of the session which were devoted to this subject. Since then he has, in addition to anything sent to us by the Sind Special Branch, reported further from time to time such information as was available

about the Muslim National Guard in his Province. I have not the least hesitation in affirming that he in no way failed in his duty to report.

(D. Pilditch)
Director,
22-5-1944.

H.D. (Sir R. Tottenham)

DIB U/O No. 40/M.A./40. Dt. May 22, 1944.

I do not think the reports referred to at 'A' above were shown to us and that perhaps is the practical point.

R. Tottenham
23.5.44.

Home Department

I am glad to learn of the action taken by D.I.B. — para. 3 of his note.

2. As regards para. 4 of his note — there is no doubt that Home Department was kept in the dark as to what was going on at Karachi before and during the League meetings about Christmas. The information received by the I.B. from the C.I.O. would have been very useful if passed on to the Home Department at once. If I am right in thinking that it was not passed on at all, there was certainly a failure in Intelligence.

J.A. Thorne,
Home Member,
24-5-44.

Addl. Secy. Signed R. Tottenham
D.I.B. (*Sir D. Pilditch*)

H.M. is correct. We did not pass the report on. I am sorry.

D. Pilditch
Signed
25/5/44

H.D. (Sir R. Tottenham)

We have had some further information recently about the organization and activities of the M.L.N.G. We should consider, I think, whether they afford grounds for taking the matter up with the [indecipherable — Ed.] now.

R. Tottenham
25/5

DS (I)

INTELLIGENCE BUREAU
(Home Department)

Secret.

A copy of the Constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League National Guards,⁵ as finally approved by the Committee of Action early this month, is forwarded for information.

Signed (G. AHMED)
Deputy Director (A)
17-5-44.

S.G.G.

H.D. (Sir R. Tottenham)

D.I.B. U/O No. 40/MD/UO Dt. May 17, 1944.

It is obvious that the organization is to be on the most military lines possible — 'Commissions', 'Badges of rank' etc. This should be put on the file on the subject and submitted for orders.

R. Tottenham,
18/5

DS (I)

(INTELLIGENCE BUREAU, H.D.)

Secret

We have just received a report from the Bengal I.B. regarding the opening ceremony of the Training Centre of the Muslim National Guards at the Muslim Girls' Madrasa premises at Faridpur, Bengal, on April 23rd 1944. The Hon'ble Minister for Education, Mr Tamizuddin Khan, hoisted the Muslim League flag and 40 Muslim National Guards, who had come from different districts for training were on parade and gave the Hon'ble Minister a general salute and march past. They were dressed in green bush shirts with 'M.N.G.' shoulder badges, white shorts, forage caps with an embroidered star, though there were some who were wearing pyjamas and sports shirts. One of the Muslim National Guards wore a khaki shirt and shorts with boots and puttees and it has been discovered that he is a member of the Calcutta U.T.C.

2. It is interesting to note that a speech was made by Moulvi Abul Hashem, M.L.A., who said that the Muslim National Guards were being organised for two reasons, firstly that the Muslims, in order to obtain Pakistan would have to have soldiers and these Guards would act as soldiers and secondly that in the event of a Japanese invasion, these Guards would help the Muslim population.

3. These 40 Muslim National Guards are being trained in Politics, First Aid and sword play and are also being given religious tuition. After their course, they will return to their own districts where they will train local volunteers.

Signed G.A.J. Boon,
Assistant Director (I)
23-5-44

H.D. — (Sir Tottenham)

D.I.B. U/o No. 40/M.A./40 Dt. May 24, 1944.

Submitted. Please also see the letter from Punjab (Sl. No. 12 F.R.) [Doc. 159 above — Ed.]

Signed
26.5.44.

The problem as I see it is not merely of stopping drilling or the wearing of uniforms by these guards but one of stopping the growth of the Organization altogether. If this organization takes root, quite awkward incidents may occur from the point of view of the present Punjab Ministry.

2. Before, however, any legal action is taken, it would be advisable to pass the word to, say, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan that our attitude towards these organizations is likely to be one of disapproval. I do not think the Muslim League are at present spoiling for a row with Government and a hint of our likely attitude may stop the proposal from being more energetically

pursued. If, as is likely, the League desire to keep an organization on paper, we need not stand in their way, but we should make it clear that drilling of any kind or the use of guards as an orderly force on other than merely ceremonial occasions will be wholeheartedly stopped.

(Vishnu Sahay)
Deputy Secretary
27-5-44

Addl. Secretary

Have we still got the draft I prepared and which was submitted to H.E. with the summary?

R. Tottenham
27/5

Submitted with the draft.⁶

Signed
27/5

Will H.M. please see notes from p. 46 ante and the Punjab letter of May 20th⁷ with its enclosure. Although we have left Provinces to deal with volunteer organizations like the RSS Sangh, we did tell them in our letter on the subject that we should like to be consulted before any action was taken against the Muslim League Guards. It would also of course be a bad moment for the Punjab Government to take such action. It would be represented as revenge for the Premier's expulsion from the League. At the same time I agree with the Punjab Govt. that the whole set up of the Muslim League Guards is militaristic and objectionable. It is therefore for consideration whether we should address the Muslim League on the subject.

The draft that was put up before (see notes at pp. 31-9 ante) is placed below. It might do with some alternation.

R. Tottenham
30/5

I think the best manner of approach to the League would be for me to have a talk with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. I should be prepared to write to him to ask whether he would see me for a discussion about the Guards. For that purpose I think it would be best to quote any recent official resolution of the League about the Guards. Such a resolution was passed, I believe, at Karachi. If there was any such resolution passed at Sialkot that also might be quoted. Please look for these.

2. But meanwhile we should ask the Punjab (with reference to the letter of May 20th).⁸ What happened about the Guards at Sialkot? On that point all we seem to have is para. 2 of Mr Ahmed's note of May 10th which is meagre."

3. Also I think it would be a mistake to pass over in silence what we have heard about the doings in Bengal on April 23rd — see Mr Boon's note of May 23rd. I suggest a d.o. letter to the Bengal Government, inviting attention to that report and asking for the view of the Government as to the propriety of that demonstration in the light of our Notification of 5-8-40.

4. I should like to mention the matter to H.E. at my interview on the 5th instant. The file should be put up that morning.

Signed J.A. Thorne
Home Member, 1-6-44.

Addl. Secy.

I mentioned the matter at my interview with H.E. yesterday.

2. Action should be taken without further delay on the basis of paras 2 & 3 of my note of the 1st inst. [Note above – Ed.]. I will approach the Nawabzada on receipt of a reply from the Punjab.

J.A. Thorne
Signed
1/6/44

1 & 2. Doc. 149.
3, 4, 5, 6, 7 & 8. Not printed.
9. Doc. 149.

160 Intelligence Bureau's Note on R.S.S. (dt 24.5.1944)

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Extract from Daily Report No. 52 of 1944, Received with C.I.O. Nagpur Letter No. Ng/25/WAR/2-513, dated 17-5-44.

The following reliable and first hand information has been obtained regarding R.S.S. Sangh affairs:

Summer training classes are being held at Nagpur from the 8th May – one consisting of 250 first and second year volunteers from Nagpur city branches and the other consisting 450 officers from various parts of India. Attendance at the latter class is much smaller than usual owing to greater discrimination in the selection of volunteers with a view to safeguard secrecy. M.S. Golwalkar has transferred specially reliable organizers from Nagpur into each province to act as messengers and impart secret instructions. The Poona branch is said to have protested against this arrangement but to have finally agreed on Golwalkar's personal intervention. It has been decided that in the event of a ban being imposed on the Sangh, the organizers and workers will meet in the temples where they can to carry on their work and receive instructions under cover of worship. Recently when enquiries were made in the various Government offices, members concealed the fact of their association with the Sangh from their superior officers.

(INTELLIGENCE BUREAU)
For information.

Signed 24.5.44.
G.A.H. Boon,
Assistant Director (L)

H.D.
D.I.B. U.O. No. 60/D.G./44 dated May 25, 1944.

161: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Muslim League

The annual general meeting of the Sind Provincial Muslim League was held at Karachi on May 14th. The following resolutions were passed:

- (1) Criticizing the action of the Punjab Government in dismissing Captain Shaukat Hayat Khan.
- (2) Urging the British Government to fulfil its promise to the Arabs.
- (3) Calling for the abolition of joint electorates.
- (4) Opposing the appointment of honorary Magistrates.
- (5) Demanding no increase in Land Revenue assessment.
- (6) Demanding the proscription of the 'Satyarth Prakash'.

162 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

2. *Political* – (a) Muslims: The All India Muslim League Committee of Action, in their meeting at Delhi on May the 14th, passed a resolution asking the Punjab Premier to confine himself to answering the specific charges formulated against him and gave him a further period in which to do so. In reply the Premier reiterated his previous demands and repeated his request to the Committee to define their attitude to the Sikander-Jinnah pact. He was informed in return that the Committee of Action would meet at Lahore on May the 27th to give a final decision. After deliberation the Committee issued a statement saying that the Premier had 'contravened the Policy and programme of the Muslim League and violated its constitution, aims and objects' and they decided that he should be 'expelled from the membership of the All India Muslim League and should be ineligible to become a member in future, until the Working Committee of the All India League removed the ban against him'. In the course of their statement the Committee referred to the Sikander-Jinnah pact as 'nothing more than a statement which the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan made at a meeting of the All India Muslim League Council at Lucknow in October 1937' and described it as a one – sided undertaking or assurance. The Committee also stated that an examination of all the resolutions of all India League since 1937 had not revealed any useful reference about the pact.

A resolution approving the decision of the Committee of Action was passed at a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Council held at Lahore the next day, at which also the programme, previously prepared by the Working Committee of the provincial Muslim

League in consultation with the Committee of Action, was approved and its provisions were carried into effect. The Province was divided into five divisional Supervisors and Conveners (Organizing Secretaries) were appointed, two sub-committees were constituted, one to deal with publicity and the other to control and approach Muslim M.L.As., and powers were given to Captain Shaukat Hyat Khan, the Nawab of Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana, the last two being President and Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, to appoint paid workers for rural propaganda, for whose salaries a sum of Rs 60,000 was sanctioned by the Council. It was decided to ask the All India Muslim League to send leaders from other Provinces to train Punjab workers and to ask the All India Working Committee to move the office of the Committee of Action to Lahore for six months. It was also laid down that each branch of the Provincial Muslim League should be told to allot 5% of its membership to the Muslim National Guards, that the object of the Guards would be purely social service and that they would not parade or wear military uniform. At this meeting 90 representatives of the Punjab Muslim League, among whom were included 18 M.L.As., were elected to the All India Muslim League Council.

It is still too early to report reactions to the Premier's expulsion, but the younger section of the League appear to be jubilant over the 'purge'. The saner element among Muslims generally deplore the dividing effect that the expulsion will have on their community and are anxious that some kind of compromise should be reached. Jinnah's next step will presumably be the re-constitution of the League party in the Punjab Assembly under a new leader in place of the Premier, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he will take this opportunity of forcing Muslim M.L.As. to declare their sympathies openly. Meanwhile, greater enthusiasm may be expected from League workers with an increase in Muslim League meetings and other activities but, as most of their personnel are drawn from urban classes, they are unlikely to succeed with their propaganda in rural areas, where agriculturists are well aware of the benefits they have derived from the 'Zamindara Government'.

Resolutions have been passed at several meetings of different Muslim political and religious organizations expressing resentment at the production of a film in America portraying the life of the Prophet Mohammad, and requesting the Government to prevent the film being made.

(b) Communists: Leading Communists of the Province assembled at Lahore in the second week of May to hear Dr Adhikari's conclusions about the internal working of the Party in the Punjab and Sajjad Zaheer's remarks on Muslims and Sikhs. Dr Adhikari, who arrived here in April, had been sent by the Central Committee of the C.P.I. to examine the reasons for the failure of the Punjab Communists to carry out their tasks. He found that the main reasons were internal dissensions, arising from Kirti communist rivalry and based largely on misconceptions, and the lack of political education. He compelled the chief offenders to admit their faults and prescribed vigorous political action as the remedy for internal dissensions. The general antipathy to the P.O.C. and the unpopularity of Iqbal Singh Hundal, the Punjab representative of the Central Committee of the C.P.I. were also forced on his attention and he has now abolished the P.O.C. and set up a provisional secretariat consisting of Teja Singh Sutantar, with whom he has been much impressed, Sohan Singh Josh and Manzar Razvi of Bihar, another Central Committee member. The latter, who has recently arrived, will supervise Punjab activities when Dr Adhikari returns to Bombay and, besides paying special attention the Labor front, will organise training classes and study circles. Unity has been established for the time being and, if this continues, the Party should be able to proceed with its plan, discussed at this meeting, of trying to unite the Muslim League, Akalis and Congress in order to overthrow the Unionist Ministry and, in the resulting political confusion and with an unstable Coalition

Ministry functioning, to spread Communist influence in the Punjab. Dr Adhikari has suggested that Congress workers should be won over by propaganda asking for Gandhi to be allowed to meet other Congress Leaders and by a campaign for Congress Muslim League unity; that the Muslim League should be approached by helping them against the Unionists; and that Sikhs should be united into a progressive Nationalist body by suggesting that their Gurdwaras should be run on democratic lines and by encouraging their right of self-determination on a basis of unity with Muslims. Dr Adhikari has also made changes in the editorial staff of the Communist Gurmukhi newspaper 'Jang-i-Azadi' and advised the starting of an Urdu edition for the benefit of Muslims.

Sajjad Zaheer's report on Muslims was not very convincing and his main points were that Muslims should be encouraged to join the Muslim League and turn it into a mass Muslim organization, that Muslim Communists should also join it, that control would eventually pass into the hands of the masses and that Congress Muslim League unity could then be achieved. Propaganda was to be on the lines that Muslims had a right to self-determination, and everything possible was to be done to undermine the strength of the Unionist Party. His report on Sikhs was even more unconvincing than his report on Muslims and he suggested approaching pro-Congress Akalis on the basis of Sikh Muslim unity, while the opportunist section of Sikhs was to be won over by getting them to see the Communist point of view. The Communist approach to Muslims is not likely to make much headway, but the new infiltration tactics among the Sikhs may have some success with the more extremist Akalis, although Akalis with leaning towards the subversive appeal of communism will have to be careful not to offend Sikh religious susceptibilities.

The meeting was generally acclaimed as a great success and Dr Adhikari's skilful handling of the situation evoked considerable admiration. Teja Singh Sutantar's prestige has been increased, but it remains to be seen whether real unity has been achieved and whether disruptive tendencies have been crushed or merely checked. There have been mergers before, but personal jealousies and greed for power and money have always proved too strong for unity. The immediate effect has been to instil greater enthusiasm into the Party and to give its members renewed vigour in their task of winning over the masses to the Party policy of national unity for food, defence, the release of national leaders and freedom.

(c) Sikhs: Master Tara Singh now seems determined to proceed with his campaign for the redress of Sikh grievances in Kapurthala State and contemplates making a start in the middle of June by holding meetings in the State and protesting against the anti-Sikh policy of the Muslim Prime Minister. He hopes that his arrest, if it occurs, will arouse sufficient commotion for the Government of India to take steps to intervene in State affairs. If however he is arrested in the Punjab, which he does not expect, it will then become clear that it is the Government who are following an anti-Sikh policy. Master Tara Singh's decision to undertake this agitation may be affected by the recent release of an Akali worker, whose imprisonment was one of his grievances against the State. In any case, it is probable that he will first send a deputation to wait on the Maharaja with a list of Sikh demands launching his campaign.

Giani Kartar Singh is reported to be impatient over the delay about his Gurdwaras Act Amendment Bill and is trying to bring pressure to bear for its early approval. His present influence can be judged by the recent nomination of office bearers and members to the Executive Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal where 24 of his party were appointed as opposed to 15 from the Nagoke group in a committee of 41, the remaining two members being natural.

(d) Hindus: The Hindu Vigilance Board of the Punjab Mahasabha have protested against the appointment of a fourth Muslim Minister, but their protest is largely formal, partly because they realise that the appointment is not an anti-Hindu measure, partly because they anticipate that it is only a temporary arrangement, but mainly because they are pleased with Jinnah's defeat for which they consider Hindu-Sikh co-operation is chiefly responsible. In this connection there is a move afoot to secure the withdrawal of the Hindu Ministers in Sind and the Sikh Minister in the N.W.F.P. from the Muslim League Coalition Ministries in those Provinces in order to create difficulties for Jinnah and to embarrass the Muslim League, if at any time there appears to be a chance of a League Ministry being formed in the Punjab. This is unlikely to meet with approval from Savarkar, who is generally opposed to the relinquishing of ministerial appointments by the Hindu Mahasabha.

The Punjab Mahasabha are viewing with concern the attempts being made to bring about a Jinnah-Gandhi meeting and they are trying to arrange that, if such meeting occurs, discussion would be confined to the national question of securing freedom for India and would not touch on a communal settlement. With reference to the latter, Savarkar is reported to have welcomed the Muslim League's more frequent reference to Mahasabha-League coalitions than to Congress League-coalitions and he hopes that Jinnah is beginning to realise that Hindu-Muslim unity can be achieved by co-operation with the Mahasabha and not with Congress which, he claims, does not represent Hindus. Savarkar holds that the main reason for the previous co-operation between Congress and the League were that there was no Hindu body strong enough to challenge Congress and represent the Hindus, and that Congress wanted to avoid being accused of anti-Muslim sympathies.

3. *Communal* – A Hindu book-binder of Lahore City gave some loose sheets of the book 'Satyarth Prakash' to his Muslim employees for binding. The latter refused to do the work on the grounds that the subject matter contained material objectionable to their religious feelings and returned the sheets to their employer. As the carts were being unloaded on the night of May the 25th/26th, the papers were set on fire and the brother of the Hindu book-binder, who tried to put out the fire, was stabbed and later died in hospital. There was a partial hartal by Hindu and Sikh shopkeepers in Lahore and the District Magistrates of Lahore and Amritsar have issued orders under section 144 C.P.C. prohibiting the holding of meetings for one week. Other repercussions have not been reported beyond resolutions condemning the murder.

163: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The excitement over the dispute between Jinnah and the Punjab Premier is dying down, but that is perhaps only temporary until the next round starts. Except among the bigoted Muslim Leaguers, Jinnah has lost a good deal of his reputation by this affair and has shown himself to be what many people suspected, namely an uncompromising dictator. In this province the Hindu nationalist press, in discussing the dismissal of Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan, has been torn

between a malicious delight at his and Jinnah's discomfiture and its desire to exploit the constitutional aspect against the Governor of the Punjab and the Government of India.

Two rumours of a political nature might be mentioned. One was that the Viceroy flew to London to persuade Mr Churchill to release Gandhi, and the other was that Gandhi was released only in order to counter Jinnah's growing power and influence.

Communal

4. Apart from a comparatively small Sikh-Muslim clash reported from Budaun district, there has been nothing of note, but the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has increased its activities in some areas and requires careful watching.

164. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

5. Discussions on the Bengal Secondary Education Bill continued in the Bengal Legislative Assembly and the Opposition persisted in its policy of obstruction. Disorderly scenes took place in the House on the 25th May when the Hon'ble Mr T.C. Goswami rose to speak and the opposition declined to give him a hearing. The Speaker failed to restore order and there was an uproar in the course of which the Mace was removed by a Congress member and the Speaker was threatened that if he gave a certain ruling the opposition would disregard it. On the 30th May on the receipt of information that the Opposition proposed to assault the Speaker if he gave a ruling against them, special police arrangements were made. No incidents took place, but the presence of additional police enabled the Opposition to heckle the Chief Minister and further delay the proceedings. Fourteen hundred amendments to the Bill have now been tabled by the Opposition and it is believed that another 1,500 have been sent in. In the meantime, Mr Atul Chandra Kumar, one of the Parliamentary Secretaries to the Ministry, has resigned his office as a protest against the passage of the Bill. The complete inability, or disinclination, of the Speaker to maintain order and safeguard the transaction of public business, and his proclivity to permitting interminable discussion of his own ruling and points of order is bringing legislative business to a virtual standstill which may precipitate a crisis.

165. Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Hindu Affairs

Since the inauguration of Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund, a controversy has been going

on in the press in Maharashtra on the question whether the public should not contribute to it. Mr V.D. Savarkar's statement that the Hindus should not contribute to it has met with mixed reception. The supporters of the Hindu Mahasabha contend that the fund should be devoted to the interests of the Hindus only, while Congressmen are indignant that any one should have the temerity to question the objects of a fund of which Mr Gandhi is the president.

166: Ifikar Hussain Khan to M.A. Jinnah

Jafri (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders* (1977), pp. 226-7

Mamdot Villa Davies Road,
Lahore, 1-6-1944.

My dear Quaid-e-Azam,

Thank you very much for your kind letter which I received a few days ago. I am very sorry that I kept you waiting for the reply but you must have heard from Mumtaz that I have been away most of the time. I hope you will kindly forgive me.

Here, the situation is decidedly improving and I am sure that you will find more M.L.As in our camp by the time you return from Kashmir. Khizar's expulsion from the Muslim League is being appreciated all over the province and the Committee of Action is being congratulated for this decision. Shaukat, Mumtaz and myself are constantly on the move and Nawab Allah Yar is rendering us great help. Mushtaq Gurmani may join us very soon. With him and Nawab Allah Yar on our side we will be able to hit the Unionists in their own stronghold (Multan Division).

As regards the Urdu daily, Nawab Zaba Sahib personally took our application and spoke to Sir Aziz-ul-Haq who has promised that he would sanction the necessary quota of the newsprint as soon as possible. Still, as a matter of precaution I have bought an Urdu Weekly called the '*Pakistan*'. Not only that, we have also bought and secured for a sum of rupees twenty four thousand and five hundred the best available Urdu press. The registration etc. has been completed and we have obtained possession of the machinery and the building as well. I hope you will agree that we have not been sitting idle.

The registration of your property was completed about a fortnight ago. Now we have to apply for the mutation and I will do it as soon as I get the deed back from the Sub-Registrar's office. Lala Lajjya Ram is still negotiating with the owners of the other property. I will intimate to you as soon as I get their final word.

Lahore is very hot during the day but the nights are still very pleasant. Thank you very much for enquiring about the children. But as I cannot leave Punjab this year my wife has decided not to go to the hills. I think they will be going to Jalalabad where they will be a bit more comfortable than Lahore.

From press reports it appears that you are having a very busy time and that you are not having the rest which you need so much. I am glad to learn that you and Miss Jinnah are

enjoying your trip and hope that both of you have improved your healths. Kindly give her my salaams.

The tailor has sent your achkans. I will sent them to you when anybody is going to Srinagar. I and Mumtaz are going out tomorrow morning on a four days tour. I will be back in Lahore on the 12th morning.

Iftikar Hussain Khan

Yours sincerely,

1) Quaid-i-Azam Paper Cell,
File No. 372, p. 15.

167

Report on the Activities of RSSS in Andhra

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 56/1943

[TNA]

Secret

Confidential

From the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department
Chief Secretary. No. 4389/C.

Dated 5th June 1944.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh – Officers Training Camp 1944

An Officers' Training Camp of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh was held at Thalakwadi, Belgaum, from the 25th April to 15th May 1944 under the Presidentship of V.G. Giginni, B.A., B.L., Pleader, Shahpur, Belgaum. It was opened by Yadavarao Joshi, Provincial Organizer for Karnataka. The total strength of the camp was 250, i.e., 70 sevaks from Andhra, 68 from Tamilnad and 112 from Karnataka. M.S. Golwalkar (Guruji), Baba Sohen Aptay, Baba Desa Panday, Mirasi and Babu Khandekar, all from Nagpur, conducted the camp. The following upcountry men who have been organizing the R.S.S. Sangh in Madras Province also attended the camp and participated in all its activities:

- (1) Dadarao Paramartha, Provincial Organizer, Madras.
- (2) N.P. Parkey, Provincial Organizer, Guntur.
- (3) V.L. Deshmukh, Organizer in East Godavari Dt., Rajanmundry.
- (4) Sree Pada Sahasra Bhajan, Organizer, West Godavari, Ellore.
- (5) Neelakanta Moreswara Desa Panday, Organizer, Nellore.
- (6) D.D. Bandist, Organizer, Tenali, and
- (7) G.M. Thakur, Organizer, Masulipatam.

The daily programme of the camp, a list of subjects taught (including the games) and a date-wise list of speakers, with a gist of their lectures noted against each, are enclosed for information.

(W.F.A. Hamilton)
Supdt. of Police, SB, CID.

No. 4390/C.

Copy forwarded for information to G.A.J. Boon Esq., I.P., Assistant Director (L), Intelligence Bureau, New Delhi.

t.a.r.

Daily Programme of the Camp

a.m.	6.30	to	8-30.	Laty. Yoga chap and Vyayam Paddhati.
	9.30		11	Meeting. (Speech by the Officer in charge).
	11		12	Bath.
	12		1.30 p.m.	Meals.
p.m.	1.30		3.30	Rest.
	3.30		6	Group Meetings.
	6.45		8.15	Yuddha yoga and games and P.T.
	9		10	Meals.
	10		5.30	Sleep.

The Course Finished During the Camp

1. Laty — Kramikas 1 to 9.

1. Bharaman Visarpa (and Prachalana).
2. Sthalantar Dwaya Yuga.
3. Chatushka 10 to 8 (Prakar 2).
4. Shatpadi Svagata.
5. Shatpadi Vanchikamar Chatushka
6. Shatpadi Vanchika Kaksha Chatushka.

2. Yuddha yoga —

Sam-mar; Apakrama; Prati prasar mar.
 Bheda-Bhraman-mar Dwaya
 Prahars 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; and 10.

3. Youga Chap

Sthirtal-Dakshina Padatal-Prachalana.
 Vipadasthan Prachalana.
 Purasthalantar-Chatushka
 Shatpadi
 Chatushkas 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8.
 Shatpadi Kshep Unachakra
 Shatpadi Sthala Vipada.

4. Vyayam Paddhati — Sthalantar Yuga; Tola Vuddin; Sthalan lar; with tola; Visthalantar Pradin (for-ward and back.)

Games Played

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Arranging three sticks. | 4. Nose-Tag. |
| 2. Forming Figures and letters. | 5. Tug of War. |
| 3. Shuffling numbers. | 6. Chines Tug. |

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 7. Naughty move. | 15. Hunch Back. |
| 8. Cock fight. | 16. Aeroplane Bombarding |
| 9. Cap tag. | 17. Ikkad ki Ra. |
| 10. Sack Relay. | 18. Musical Chair. |
| 11. Blind men's Fight. | 19. Two Blind Brothers. |
| 12. Walking Race. | 20. Dressing Relay. |
| 13. Roaming Tiger. | 21. Police and Thief. |
| 14. Spoke Fight. | 22. Trees and Squirrels. |

Names of the speakers and the Topics on which they spoke:

25-4-44.

(1) Dadarao Paramardh

(1) The Principle of Swayam Sewak and how to discharge.

26-4-44

(2) Baba Saheb Aptay,
Nagpur

About the outspread of this organization throughout Hindustan
(1) The necessity of this organization with reference to Hindustan. (2) He is a real patriot who always thinks in terms of his country's interest. Let every cell in the body vibrate with the cry 'Ours-the Land of Bharat'.

28-4-44

Baba Saheb, Aptay

(1) The downfall of the Hindu Society and the Individual Interest. Unto immortality does the House attain annihilated in the divine cause.

29-4-44

Baba Saheb, Aptay

The path in which we are walking is the only way to strengthen the Hindu Society.

Real Strength of the Sangha lies not merely in its number but in discipline and devotion to the ideal.

30-4-44

Baba Saheb, Aptay

The significance of the Flag and how it was misinterpreted as Provincial one.

What is Sangha? A body of individuals without one heart and mind unified into a corporate whole.

1-5-44

M.S. Golwalkar (Guruji)
Nagpur

The purpose of O.T.C. and how it implies the manufacture of workers. The universe lives and thrives on mortality. Destruction ever proceeds eternal life. Understand the Law of the Nature and knowing it, arise ye Brave.

Give up all your pettiness and sacrifice yourself at the Altar of the Mother; can ever anything be achieved by mere idle talk.

2-5-44

M.S. Golwalkar (Guruji)
Nagpur

Hindus are the only Nationals of Hindustan.

One ideal, one way, one heart, one expression and all at the disposal of one leader. Give up your house, Oh, Hindu youths, this alone will open a bright future for you. In short let us have undying faith in the true spirit of the Brahman and the Kshatriya etc., true knowledge and action.

3-5-44

M.S. Golwalkar (Guruji)
Nagpur

This is the only organization that binds all the Hindus without exception. Let us devote all our time to the thought of our nation. Let us live and die for the country alone. Whatever our individual lot may be we remain at least infinitesimal servants of our mother land.

4-5-44

M.S. Golwalkar (Guruji)
Nagpur

How to work for the future glorification of the Hindu race in the present and future difficult situations.

One lamp lights another and thus there are countless of them. Similarly, through the Sangh Mahtram one by one all will arise thus awaking the whole of Bharat.

5-5-44

M.S. Golwalkar (Guruji)
Nagpur

The causes of degeneration on the part of the Hindu race. And the way to reunify them is by means of daily attendance in Sanghastan.

The Hindu is awake once again he will certainly bring the kingdom of heaven back to this land of Bharat.

6-5-44

Mirali (Nagpur).

The purpose of daily programme in Sangh and the importance of it. Attendance and its place in Sangh.

With the devotion to Bhagawra Flag in our heart and the praise of our motherland on our lips, we have been taught in the Sangh to immolate ourselves in her cause.

7-5-44

N.P. Parkey (Provincial
Organizer, Guntur).

The path followed by R.S.S. is the only way to reunite all the Hindus in Hindustan.

Let every Friend be a Swayam Sewak. and Every Swayam Sewak a Friend.

8-5-44

Vasantharao Sirsee Rao
(Organizer, Bangalore)

Love towards motherland is common to all parties of Bharat. But the way is different. (Here the reference is given to the Revolution of Bengal and its failure on account of some vicious people.) No brute force can ever destroy the spirit within.

9-5-44

Baba Sahib Shone,
Berar

The comparison between the eastern and western culture and manners. His experiences of travel on the continent of Europe. The banner of the strong never lies low.

10-5-44

Baba Sahib Shone,
Berar

How far the outdoor activities are useful in our Sangh. The mother is in distress; for what then do we her children live?

11-5-44

Dada Rao Paramardh.

Necessity of organization Provincial Organizer, Madras, and proper encouragement for national spirit in individuals. What am I? Body and mind in all my being, I am Hindu through and through.

- 12-5-44 Trip to a mountain near Vellore, and in the night happy meeting.
- 13-5-44
Dada Rao Paramardh The teachings of Dada to Sivaji. And as such the same spirit is to be infused in every Hindu heart by our Sangh mantram. We will keep the torch of tradition ever burning, we will feed it with our life's blood. Then shall it steadily and eternally light our path.
- 14-5-44
Dada Rao Paramardh The physical activities of Sangh and the spirit under lined therein. It is the spirit of the great that should be emulated not mere action.
- 15-5-44
Dada Rao Paramardh Discipline is the soul of a nation. Have faith in themselves is the message of Sangha. What are you going to do for the objection by the Government? This question was answered by Yadava Rao Joshe. We are not going to stop any programme of the Sangh on the opposition of any other Party whoever and what ever it may be.

168 Government of India to the Government of Bengal

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Home Poll

7th June '44

To
H. Tufnell-Barrett Esq., CIE., ICS.,
Addl. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal,
Home Department,
Calcutta.

My dear Tufnell – Barrett,

We have seen a report about the opening ceremony of the Training Centre of the Muslim National Guards at the Muslim Girls' Madrassa premises at Faridpur, Bengal, on April 23rd, 1944,¹ upon which we would like the comments of the Provincial Government. According to the report, there was a march past the Hon. Minister of Education of a number of Muslim Guards in uniform and the training included, among other things, lessons in sword play. It is also reported that a speech was made at this ceremony by Moulvi Abul Hashem M.L.A. who stated that one of the reasons for organizing these Guards was to enable the Muslims to have soldiers ready for their efforts to obtain Pakistan. We do not know whether the proceedings involved an infringement of our notifications of August 5, 1940 banning military drill and the

use of uniforms resembling military uniforms but there seems to be all the elements of the growth of a 'private army' and we would be glad to receive a full report of what is happening together with your view about it.

Yours sincerely,

Signed R. Tottenham,
Addl. Secy.

1. See also Doc. 159 (I.B.'s Report).

169: Government of Punjab to the Government of India

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

D.O. No. S-846 CDSB
Punjab Civil Secretariat,
'Ellerslie',

Dated Simla – E,

The 13th June 1944.

My dear Tottenham,

Will you please refer to your secret D.O. letter No. 28/2/43 Poll (I), dated June the 7th,¹ 1944 about the Muslim League National Guards? The promoters of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League conference at Sialkot were instructed to apply for a licence under subsection 3 of section 30 of the Police Act for permission to take out a procession. One of the conditions in the licence was that the processionists should not carry arms or wear uniforms resembling military uniforms. This condition was observed and consequently there was no trouble from the National Guards'. Only about 50 dressed in green *shirts* attended from the neighbouring districts of Lahore and Sheikhpura. It should also be remembered that the decision to reorganize the Muslim League National Guards was taken after the Sialkot conference and that before that conference this organization was hardly in existence in the Punjab. Reports now coming in from districts show that the Punjab Provincial Muslim League has every intention of developing the organization, and we are of opinion that unless steps are taken to prevent its growth on the lines suggested in my letter No. 503-BDSB of January the 21st, 1944,² there will be a serious threat to the communal peace and tranquility of the Province.

Yours sincerely,

Signed

Sir Richard Tottenham, CSI, CIE., ICS.,
Additional Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department, New Delhi.

1. Not printed.

2. Not printed.

170: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Communal

Dr B.S. Moonje of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha held a meeting recently in Madras at which he stated that the Congress programme based on Hindu-Muslim unity and nonviolence had failed to attain its object and pleaded for the militarization of Hindus.

The Khaksars also held a meeting on May 31st at which Ahalullah Khan, a Khaksar leader from Bhopal addressed the gathering and exhorted them to concentrate on the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity.

There has been no overt sign of activity on the part of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh this fortnight, but it is reported that a number of local leaders are attending a school of training at Belgaum.

171: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Sikh Affairs

On the 26th May, the martyrdom of Guru Arjundas was celebrated by a gathering of about 3,000 Sikhs at Bombay, Resolutions passed at the gathering warned the Nizam's Government that the action of his officials in selling the land attached to the Gurdwaras was bound to wound the religious susceptibilities of the Sikhs and protested against the arrest of Sikhs at Ahmedabad and Nasik for carrying kirpans above the restricted length.

172: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Jinnah for his part is understood to entertain no hopes of a Congress League settlement and to take the view that as the Hindus are already virtually in control of three-quarters of India they have nothing to gain by reaching a settlement with the Muslims over the remaining quarter. Meanwhile, he is content to watch the developments of his schemes for disintegrating

Muslim solidarity in the Punjab and, at the same time, to attract within the fold of the Muslim League such elements as the Ahmedis, who were previously outside it. Towards the Ahrars, however, his attitude has not been encouraging and in the *Eastern Times* they were recently described as 'a party for ever searching in political dustbins for crumbs and refuse'.

The Punjab Hindu Sabha is suspicious over any Congress League settlement and has expressed the hope that Gandhi will not negotiate with Jinnah. In internal politics the Sabha's attitude towards the possibility of the formation of a Muslim League Coalition Ministry is one of nervousness, but the persistent and bitter opposition of a large section of the Hindu community in the past to the Unionist Ministry and fear of being considered political turncoats have hindered open support of the Unionist Party. The Sabha's inability to steer a straight course has also been influenced by the dissensions within the All-India Hindu Mahasabha caused by Vir Savarkar's and Dr Shyama Prasad Mukerji's failure to agree on a common policy towards Congress, the Muslim League and the communal question.

(b) *Muslim Affairs:* The Punjab premier's expulsion from the Muslim League has been accepted as a foregone conclusion and outside the Muslim urban intelligentsia has not affected his position as leader of the Unionist Party. His stand against the interference of outside politicians in the internal affairs of the Province has been supported by the three Muslim Ministers who have resigned from the Muslim League. Some other Muslim M.L.As. have either resigned or are resigning. In a lengthy statement to the press the Premier explained convincingly that the Committee of Action's assertion that there was no Jinnah-Sikandar pact was contradicted by facts and that the League itself was a party to the working of the pact through its previous recognition of the Unionist Party. While still maintaining his belief in the aims and objects of the Muslim League in All-India affairs and his wholehearted support for the Lahore Pakistan resolution, he made it clear that within the general framework of all-India policies every Province must be free to conduct its affairs in the light of its own conditions and experience. At the same time he emphasised that in the Punjab the Parliamentary alliance and the parliamentary programme represented by the Unionist party were best suited to the interest of the Muslim themselves and were the best guarantee from their point of view of a stable Ministry under the present constitution.

The Provincial Muslim League Leaders continue to fulminate, intrigue and, where possible, intimidate, but so far have made little impression on the Muslim masses. In pursuance of their decision to work up from village and tahsil meetings to district meetings they have held meetings, mostly in the North-West of the Province, have distributed propaganda literature and have sent students of the Muslim Federation on tour, but the League's reorganizational plans and propaganda are still in an embryonic stage and the communal and sectarian danger of the movement cannot be fully gauged until the plans of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Council have been put into operation and tested against the counter move of the Unionist Party. At present there is no reason to believe that the Unionists will not command a clear majority at the next session of the Legislative Assembly, but attempts to split the Party and to play on the religious and communal sentiments of Muslim members will undoubtedly be intensified.

(c) *Sikhs:* Internal dissensions have led to the postponement of the All-India Akali Conference from June to September. Akali policy remains, as usual, opportunist and is at present directed towards exploiting Muslim differences to the best advantage of the Sikhs and extracting the greatest possible benefit from the Sikandar Baldev 'Pact', especially the implementing of the clause relating to the introduction of jhatka meat in all Government

institutions. Open expression to this policy was given at a recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal when a resolution was passed calling on the Hon'ble member for Development to see that the Pact was carried out in the its letter and spirit without further delay. In some quarters fears of a Congress League agreement, in which the Sikhs would be ignored, are stronger than apprehension over the communal policy of a Muslim League Coalition Ministry, and it is felt that the official Sikh opposition to Jinnah may have been a tactical mistake injurious to Sikh interests.

Master Tara Singh's future moves are uncertain but this intention to agitate in the Kapurthala State remains at present unchanged and received the support of the Shiromani Akali Dal at a meeting held on June the 8th, when it was decided that should Master Tara Singh be arrested in Kapurthala the Dal would sponsor any agitation started by him for the removal of the Prime Minister. There is, however, no reason to believe that the artificial agitation against Kapurthala will find support from the State or Punjab Sikhs. The Nagoke group is unwilling to risk the arrest of its few remaining leaders, while Giani Kartar Singh is anxious to avoid a clash with Government and has persuaded the Shiromani Akali Dal to agree that Master Tara Singh's visit to the Kapurthala State should be postponed for a month. Master Tara Singh himself is very undecided whether to return to political life, and if so on what conditions, and is equally undecided when and how to start agitation in Kapurthala.

4. *Communal*: No communal incidents of any importance have been reported, but the burning of the *Satyartha Prakash* and the murder of a Hindu in Lahore, referred to in my last fortnightly report, have left behind a legacy of communal mistrust and suspicion and have led to the passing a spate of resolutions by Hindu bodies condemning the incident. The investigation has proceeded smoothly and nine arrests have been made. The Deputy Commissioners of Lahore and Amritsar have found it necessary to extend to one month the orders issued by them under section 144, Cr. P.C., prohibiting the holding of public meetings.

The general communal situation is, however, not disquieting, but the reorganization of the Muslim League National Guards, if allowed to proceed on the lines intended by their promoters, will inevitable lead to the revival and development of other communal and party volunteer organizations and will have a disturbing effect on the peace and tranquillity of the Province.

173 Press Adviser's appreciation for the first half of June 1944 from Bengal

Govt. of Bengal (Home) File No. 402/44
[Bengal State Archives]

The appointment of Sir Ardeshir Dalal was criticized from different angles in different sections of the press, and was regarded, generally speaking as an indication that there was little likelihood of any immediate resolution of the political deadlock. Some papers interpreted the appointment as an attempt on the part of the Government to win over Indian capitalists while others took it to be astute attempt to 'sidetrack the Indian political problem'. Some organs of the Muslim League protested against the appointment on the assumption that it contained a tacit approval by Government of the 'Bombay plan' which was essentially opposed to Pakistan.

174: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from U.P. for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The officers training camp of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in Benares still continues and great secrecy is maintained regarding those taking part in it, but the names of 150 out of 350 volunteers at the camp have so far been ascertained. Then the camp was searched, only one iron dagger was recovered, but this is thought to have been due to the fact that information regarding the search got out. There is a little, but not much, Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh activity in a few other areas such as Budaun, and the same can be said about the Khaksar activity.

175: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Assam for the first half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

3. Communal

It is reported that in the Nowgong Municipal Board a Muslim has been elected Chairman and a Hindu Vice-Chairman, reversing the population proportions.

176: Home Member J.A. Thorne's Notings on M.L.N.G. (dt 19.6.1944–21.6.1944)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

I have had some correspondence with H.E. about this matter,¹ and may have occasion to discuss it with him very soon – in which case I should want the papers at short notice.

2. I understand that the Nawabzada is away from Delhi and may not return till the middle of July which would be too late for me to see him.

3. The difficulty – as regards either a talk with the Nawabzada or an official letter to the League – is still the lack of a suitable text. Please ask the I.B. to see that, if any copy of the instructions which can be quoted is received, it reaches me at once. If none is received in the next few days, it may be necessary to address the League – in general terms, without mentioning the instructions.

4. All the evidence we have suggests that the League are going to be careful, at any rate

in the Punjab, to prevent the Guards so behaving as to defy authority. And the Punjab letter of June 13th² shows that effective preventive action *can* be taken by a Provincial Government if they are disposed to take it. That, however, does not mean that we should leave things as they are, since the organization of a force on the lines laid down in the instructions does mean the raising of a partisan army which is not likely for long to keep within the law.

5. We must bear in mind the power conferred on a Provincial Government (but apparently not on the Central Government) by Part II of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908. This would enable the Provincial Government to declare the Guards (in the Province) as an unlawful association and to suppress it. It is conceivable that this might prove suitable action in the Punjab.

J.A. Thorne,
Home Member, 19.6.44

Jt. Secy.

Home Department

I discussed this matter with H.E. yesterday.

2. I presume that we have still not received from the I.B. a copy (obtained in a manner which would enable it to be quoted) of the instructions issued by the Council of Action -- see para. 3 of my note of the 19th instant.

3. A draft letter to the General Secretary of the Muslim League (by name) should now be prepared quickly. This, without going into ancient history, should say that Government understand that the Council of Action, set up in accordance with a resolution passed at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Karachi in December 1943, has been required to organise a body of 'Muslim National Guards' and that the organization of this body is in progress; should call attention to the notifications of 5.8.40 and the press communique then issued (copies to be enclosed); should say that the Government are -- as was mentioned in the communique -- determined not to allow the formation, by any political or communal association, of any 'private army' which could become a threat to the maintenance of public order and the security of the country in war; and should require that if any instructions have been issued, or steps taken, of a kind which might contravene this purpose, the Muslim League will see that they are withdrawn.

4. I should like to see the draft, which should then go to P.S.V. for H.E.'s approval. Copies of the letter should of course be marked for all Provincial Governments.

5. On the file -- No. 28/3/43 -- relating to the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and 'private armies' in general I am asking for a draft letter to Provincial Governments consulting them on other steps that might be taken to check the operations of such bodies. But the draft on *this* file should be prepared at once, in advance of the other.

J.A. Thorne,
Home Member, 21.6.44.

-
1. On MLNG -- See Doc. 159.
 2. Doc. 169.



177: Official Notings regarding Private Armies (dt 21.6.1944–10.7.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

(Continuation of Doc. 176 above)

On our file 28/2/43 I have asked for a draft letter to the Muslim League to be prepared at once.¹ I have also considered, and discussed with H.E. yesterday, a fresh approach to Provincial Governments, as regards 'private armies' in general in continuation of our letter of 21.4.44.² A draft should be prepared quickly on the following lines: The steps now being taken by the Council of Action of the Muslim League to organise the 'Muslim National Guards' necessitate a fresh consideration of this matter. It is certain that, if the Muslim League succeeds in organizing a formidable 'private army', other bodies, either in imitation of it or in competition with it, will go ahead on similar lines, and the result might be a formidable threat to public order. The Central Government are inclined to hold that the time has now come for all-India action more stringent than that hitherto taken. A letter has been addressed to the Muslim League (quote the letter to be issued on file 28/2/43);³ and the Central Government now contemplate a ban on camps and parades under Defence of India Rule 56 (1) – (a draft order should be prepared). It is however out of the question for the Central Government to issue such an order (for the enforcement of which they would have to rely on Provincial Governments) unless they are assured of substantial support by the Provinces and of their willingness to enforce it strictly and impartially against all political and communal associations. (As regards prohibiting or restricting *all* kinds of *uniform*, the difficulties in formulating an order are great; and probably the need for any such order will not exist if the step suggested is taken. But if any Provincial Government desire such an order, it would help if a draft were sent for our consideration).

2. I am aware that the notes on this file have discussed details that are relevant to what is now to be done. My instructions for a draft are not intended to shut out consideration of points raised in those discussions; the draft should mention such as are necessary. I should like to see the draft.

3. The matter is urgent, and we should fix a fairly early date for the replies of the Provincial Governments.

J.A. Thorne,
Home Member, 21.6.44.

Jt. Secy.

I put up a draft.⁴ The principal point, apart from matters of detail, discussed in the preceding noting is I take it the question whether any further action should consist in elaborating and extending our general notifications, or in launching a direct attack on the offending volunteer organization. Although the form indicated by H.M. for the draft presupposes a decision in favour of the former alternative, I have ventured, in view of para. 2 of H.M.'s minute, to include a reference in the draft to the possibility of 'direct action' later, should this prove necessary.

2. I have also attempted a draft notification, but this has given me a good deal of difficulty and I do not regard the result as very satisfactory. It will have to be vetted by Leg. Deptt. from the legal aspect, and apart from this it suffers from the following obvious weakness: (i) prohibition (a) will doubtless be considered by Leg. Deptt. to overlap ineptly into the purview of D.R. 58. I can think however of no way of defining a parade as such which would not also hit any form of public gathering, except by referring to the performance of drill (ii) I have been quite unable to hit on any definition of camp which would not apply equally to many forms of legitimate sarais and puraos [perhaps a misprint for piaos — Ed.] and also to the many types of religious fair etc., where the participants stay for more than one day; the elucidation suggested in the margin of the draft might make our meaning somewhat clearer, but it is clumsy and leaves plenty of room for equivocation and for misinterpretation by the courts.

Perhaps Leg. Deptt. when they vet the draft formally could also be asked to suggest drafting changes to give clearer expression to our intentions.

3. A minor point. Addl Secy. in the earlier discussions pointed out the importance of securing admission to camps. (Marginal note dated 28/3 at p. 34 ante) [Doc. 122 above — Ed.]. I think the powers given to Police officers by D.R. 56 (3) are fully sufficient to secure this.

(S.J.L. Olver)
Deputy Secretary
24.6.44.

J.S

I have spoken to H.M. whose intention is not to launch a direct attack immediately on any designated volunteer organization but to prohibit camps and parades held by political or communal organizations. The first thing to do is to see if an order can be drafted which will not lead to insuperable difficulties in interpretation. Will Legislative Department please advise? I should be glad to discuss if that would expedite matters. I have revised Mr Olver's draft notification under Rule 56 (1).

(Vishnu Sahay)
Joint Secy., 26.6.44.

Legislative Department.

H.O. U.O. No. 28/3/43 — Poll (I) dated 26.6.44.

It is difficult to bring the proposed order (DFA II) under Rules 56 (1) of the Defence of India Rules under which it purports to be issued. Orders under Rule 56 (1) must be confined to *public* processions, meetings, or assemblies which, as explained in Rule 56 (2), mean, those which are open to the public or to any class or portion of the public. The camps and parades mentioned in the proposed order are not so confined. Assuming that the order is to be read with the limitation imposed by Rule 56 (1), it will be open to the Organization against which the order is aimed to restrict the camps and parades to members of the Organization only and thus evade the provisions of the order.

2. The proposed order would not also fall under Rule 58 (1) of the Defence of India Rules, if the exercise, movement, etc., taking place at the camps of the Organizations in question are not of a military nature.

3. For enabling Government to issue an order contemplated in this file it will, I think, be necessary to take express power by amendment of Rules 56 and 59, or preferably by framing a fresh Rule for this purpose. Clause (xxx) of sub-section (2) of section 2 of the Defence of

India Act, namely, 'prohibiting or regulating meetings, assemblies, fairs and processions', is wide enough to cover such a Rule.

K.Y. Bhandarkar
27.6.44.

I agree that the holding of camps and parades by organizations like the R.S.S. Sangh and the Muslim National Guards cannot be prohibited by an order under rule 56 (1), and suggest that the best method of achieving this object would be to widen the scope of rule 58 (1) on the following lines:

(1) The Central Govt. or the Provincial Govt. may, for the purpose of securing the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the war, by general or special order prohibit, restrict or impose conditions on the holding by unofficial organizations of any such camps, parades, exercises or drill as may be specified in the order.

Simultaneously with the amendment of the rule, notification No. 74/3/40 Poll (I) of 5th August 1940 may be replaced by the following:

In exercise of . . . and in supersession of the notification . . . the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the holding by any unofficial organization of

- (a) any exercise or drill of military nature, whether with or without arms or articles capable of being used as arms.
- (r) any camp or parade: Provided that the above prohibition shall not apply to the holding of any camp, parade exercise or drill
 - (i) by members of the organization known as the Boy Scouts Association in India or of the organization known as the Girl Guides Association in India;
 - (ii) within the precincts or premises of any School or College established or recognized of Government, by person whose participation in such camp, parade, exercise or drill is part of the ordinary curriculum of such School or College;
- [A] (iii) within any Province, with the previous permission in writing of the Provincial Government.

K. Sundaram
30.6.44.

Home Dept (Mr Vishnu Sahay)

L.D. U/o. No. 1501/44, dt. 1/7/44.

Our intention was to confine action to political and communal organizations only — 'unofficial' organizations would hit all sorts of people and then there would be many requests for dispensation. We don't want to leave discretion to Provincial Govts. to give dispensation. I don't suppose there will be any difficulty in substituting Central Govt. for Provl. Govt. in [A] above but we would like to narrow the scope of the notification so as to avoid the need for many references to us.

2. I think parades (being public processions) though not camps could perhaps be hit by the existing D.R. 56 (1). If however we have to provide a new rule to cover camps, I would agree that the same rule might as well cover parades to avoid possible difficulties in interpretation.

3. We should ask D.D. urgently if they have any comments. I shall then consult with

Mr Sundaram who returns to Delhi on Monday whether the point in para. 1 of this note can be met. This may go to D.D. with a blue slip, with such other comments as D.S. (1) may wish to make.

V. Sahay
1.7.44

D.S.(1)

No comments (beyond the query whether Mr Bhandarkar had taken into account the words 'or otherwise occurring in D.R. 56 (1) in para. 1 of his note)

S.J.L. Olver
1.7.44

No comments except, that trying to confine the proposed amendment of Rules 58 (1) to political and communal organizations likely to raise some difficulties and leave possible loopholes. I would suggest Rule 58 (1) should be amended as suggested by Mr Sundaram and even at the risk of some trouble, grant dispensation in deserving cases.

S.R. Kaiwar,
Under Secy., Defence Deputy.
3.7.44

D.S.

I feel that it is rather hard to expect us to comment under pressure of an immediate label (plus personal reminders) on a file which has evidently exercised Home Department for some time, particularly when there is no indication of how much of it we are supposed to read. I presume, however, that we are only asked to comment on the notifications proposed in Mr Sundaram's note of the 30th June, and the following points have occurred to me:

- (1) If the word 'public' were omitted from rule 56 (1), that sub-rule read with rule 58 (1) would apparently give powers equivalent to those proposed by the new draft. I agree, however, that if a suitable new formula can be devised it would be preferable.
- (2) I am not very clear what an 'unofficial organization' is. I take it to mean anything organised which has not been organised by Government. It seems vague, however, and as Mr Sahay points out might be taken to have a very wide application. But it may have some settled meaning.
- (3) 'Camps' and 'parades' also strike me as somewhat indefinite terms.
- (4) The notification of the 5th August 1940 prohibits the performance of exercises etc of a military nature by anybody. The draft order prohibits the 'holding' of exercises or drills by unofficial organizations only. This may however be all that is required in practice; though it seems to me that 'holding' is in any case not sufficiently comprehensive word.
- (5) With reference to the proviso (ii) of the draft order, I note that a school cannot 'hold' a camp, parade, exercise or drill (otherwise than for Boy Scouts or Girl Guides) except within the precincts or premises of the school. Is this necessary?
- (6) The order will no doubt be elaborated, but I doubt whether in its present form it would be sufficiently difficult to evade, while on the other hand it seems likely to expose Government to unnecessary harassment.

L.J.D. Wakely.
(Dy. Secy. Defence Deputy)
3-7-1944.

Home Department (Mr Olver).

D.D. U/o No. 6/44 – PC/44 dt. 3.7.1944.

I have discussed this case with Mr Sundaram and we agree that it would not be desirable to tinker with Rule 56 (1) and that the best thing would be to widen the scope of Rule 58 (1) in the manner proposed at the top of his note dated 30.6.44 – the word ‘unofficial’ should, however, be deleted. A clear copy of this rule is at D.F.A.I. [*not printed* – Ed.]

2. It is unnecessary to amend or withdraw Notification No. 74/3/40 – Poll (I) of the 5th August, 1940 and the new notification should hit camps and parades only. Mr Sundaram’s draft with which I agree is to be found at D.F.A. II. The objection to the use of the word ‘political or communal’ is that in practice their interpretation may lead to difficulty and in any case if the matter went to court, it would be difficult to *prove* that an organization like, say the Khaksars, was political or communal. The Khaksars profess to be a merely social service organization open to all communities and the burden of proving that they are political or communal would lie on the prosecution. Similarly by a simple change in the constitution even the Muslim League Guards could make it difficult for the prosecution to prove that they were political or communal. The two alternatives are:

- (a) To substitute ‘unofficial’ for ‘political or communal’ and be prepared to deal with and give a large number of dispensations; and
- (b) To name the organizations which are considered political and communal and thus avoid the necessity of their political or communal nature being challenged. If a sufficient number of political or communal organizations were named in the notification, there would not be much danger of the charge of discrimination. H.M., however, is opposed to naming any organization in the notification at the present stage.

3. Legislative Department were unable to suggest any other formula than ‘a political or communal organization’, which would hit the type of organizations we have in mind more precisely and exclusively. Defence Department may now see the draft rule and notification again. I shall then take H.M.’s orders.

V. Sahay
Joint Secretary
4.7.44

Defence Dept.

I have no further comments except

(1) with reference to d.f.a., I still think that you cannot ‘hold’ an exercise, movement, evolution or drill. I have suggested an addition

(2) if alternative (a) in para. 2 of Mr Sahay’s note were adopted, the order would presumably be expanded so as to exempt Girl Guides etc. straight away.

L.J.D. Wakely
4.7.44

Home Dept.
(V. Sahay)

(Vishnu Sahay)
Joint Secretary,
4.7.44.

A draft letter to Provincial Governments and a draft rule and notification are put up.⁵ H.M. may, however, wish to consider the point made in para. 2 of my note dated 4.7.44.

(Vishnu Sahay)
Joint Secretary,
5.7.44.

H.M.

I have amplified the draft letter so as to explain (1) why D.R. 56 (1) cannot be used (though I am not myself convinced that it cannot), and (92) why the draft notification proposes to keep the power of exemption in the hands of the Centre.

2. I have also amended the draft rule so as to use the singular alone in describing the activities to be prohibited.

3. The date to be entered in para. 3 of the draft letter might be 20 days later than that of the issue of the letter.

4. I think I have undertaken to show the draft to P.S.V. before issue. A brief summary should be prepared.

5. A copy should be marked for S.G.G. (Pub.) and anyone else who should receive it.

J.A. Thorne,
Home Member, 6.7.44.

J.S.

Home Department have been considering what powers the Government of India should take to deal with 'private armies'. H.M. Home's note on page 49 of notes may be seen.

2. The enclosed draft letter⁶ to Provinces, which is self explanatory, states the proposal.

3. H.E.'s approval is sought to the draft.

(Vishnu Sahay)
Joint Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

P.S.V.

H.D.U/o No. 28/3/43 - Poll (I) dt. 7.7.44.

Seclt. of the G.G. (Personal)

His Excellency approves the drafts, but thinks that the letter to Provincial Governments should make it clear that the Government of India realise the difficulties likely to arise from the use of such wide terms as 'camp' and 'parade' and in proving that particular organizations are political or communal. If Provincial Governments think that these points have been overlooked, they may devote their replies largely to criticising the draft Rule and notification without making constructive suggestions. On the other hand, if the letter points out that the Government of India have had these difficulties in mind and would be grateful for constructive suggestions, the Provincial Governments may be more helpful.

(E.M. Jenkins)
Secy. G.G. (Per.)
8-7-1944.

Home Dept. (Mr Vishnu Sahay)

I have suggested an additional para. 4 to cover the point made above. The last sentence of the present para. 4 will then be deleted.

(Vishnu Sahay)
Joint Secretary,
10.7.44.

H.M.

1. Note in Doc. 176.
2. Doc. 139.
3. Not printed.
- 4, 5 & 6. Not printed -- See Final form of the Letter Doc. 187 & 188.

178: Official Notings on M.L.N.G. (contd.)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

22.6.44

Summary

Activities of the Muslim League National Guards at the All India Muslim League session in Karachi last December were in clear contravention of the Government notifications forbidding military drill and the wearing of military uniforms. It was decided however not on this occasion to address the Muslim League on the subject (H.E.'s minute dated 17.3.44 at page . . .).¹

2. Efforts have been made to ensure that advance information is received of any large Muslim League gathering at which National Guards are likely to be active; there is however no guarantee that these efforts will be universally successful. Meanwhile, organization of the Muslim League National Guards has progressed and a copy of the proposed Constitution and Rules of the Guards has been searched; it embodies a clearly militaristic programme.

3. It is understood that this Constitution is to be issued shortly. It is desirable, if possible, to forestall this and it is accordingly proposed to address the General Secretary of the League as in the attached draft.² H.M. has directed that H.E.'s approval of the draft should be sought.

Signed (Vishnu Sahay)
Joint Secretary,
22.6.44.

Draft approved. I think the word 'in war' should be omitted.

W(avell)
23.6.44

1. Doc. 120 at p. 3130 *ante*.
2. Not printed – Reply to this letter see Doc. 186.

179

Note in the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret

Dt 27.6.44

Reference this Bureau's u.o. No. 40/M.A./40, dated 17th May 1944,¹ forwarding a typed copy of the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League National Guards.

The following additions and alterations which appear in the latest approved copy of the Constitution and Rules may kindly be made in the above quoted u.o. Note:

- Art. 2. Delete the full stop after the word 'Delhi' and add:
'unless otherwise decided by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.'
- Art. 8 (b). Delete the words: 'or black'.
- Art. 10. Lines 2. For 'General Headquarters' substitute 'the office of the Majlis-e Ala'.
- Art. 12 (a). For 'appointed' substitute 'nominated'.
- Art. 13 (vi) Line 3. For 'Central A.I.M. National Guards' office at' substitute: 'office of the Majlis-e Ala'.
- Art. 14 (b). Line 4. Delete the full stop after the word 'Sardars' and add the words: 'of Districts and Cities'.

Draft Rules

- Art. 7. For the words 'Power' & 'Powers' appearing in 7 (c) & 7 (d) substitute the words: 'Yawar' & 'Yawars', respectively. .
- Art. 8. Substitute 'Non-Commissioned Officers' Badges' for the existing sub-heading and in the second line below substitute the word 'Yawars' for 'Powers'.

Commissioned Officers

- Salar-i-Suba. For the existing entry substitute: 'One crescent and one star on each shoulder'.
- Salar-i-Aala. For the existing entry substitute: 'Salar-i-aala . . . one crescent and two stars on each shoulder'.

(E. Leighton).
Assistant Director (L).

S.G.G.

Home Department.

D.I.B. u.o. No. 40/M.A./40, dated . . .

1. Not printed.



180: Rajagopalachari to Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), p. 320

Telegram dated June 30, 1944 from Mr Rajagopalachari to Mr M.A. Jinnah.

My letter dated April 17,¹ touching matter personally discussed on April 8 remains yet unanswered. Have now met Gandhiji who still holds by formula presented to you by me. I would like now publish the formula presented to you by me. I would like now publish the formula and your rejection. This telegram is sent with Gandhiji's approval. I would like you at this juncture to reconsider your rejection C. Rajagopalachari.

1. Doc. 138.

181: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

The Hindu and Sikhs continue to watch the attempts of the Muslim League to break the political solidarity of the Unionist Government with some apprehension, in which the possibility of extracting communal concessions as the price of their support is not overlooked. The Punjab Hindu Vigilance Board has hopes that if Jinnah's incursion on the Punjab Ministry is defeated that sequel may be the substitution of Unionist Governments in Sind and N.W.F.P. for the present Muslim League Coalition Ministries. Those Sikhs who regard a Congress-League settlement as a political possibility and fear that their own entity would be submerged in it are anxious to come to terms with the League against that possibility. Meanwhile the Akalis, somewhat paradoxically, continue to denounce Pakistan in unmeasured terms at their public meetings. The Communists in the hope of exploiting the Unionist League controversy to their best advantage have issued instructions to their district workers to co-operate with the Muslim League Divisional Organizers in enrolling new members for the League and to enlist Muslim Communists in the League organization. A few Muslim Communists have resigned from the Communist Party to join the League, an attitude which the Party may have some difficulty in reconciling with their support of Congress.

Muslims – The Hon'ble the Premier has offered to refer the vexed question of the existence of the Sikander-Jinnah Pact to the judgment and arbitration of a Muslim judge of the Federal Court or to a mutually agreed Muslim Judge of any High Court in India.

The Muslim League, fortified by Jinnah's promise to return to Lahore next month and to hold a meeting of the All-India Muslim League council there at which he will explain his future policy towards Punjab political developments, has organised several propaganda tours

in the North-West and South-East of the Province. The meetings held have, however, not been marked by any great enthusiasm, and audiences have been comparatively small. The most important League meeting of the fortnight, organised by the Muslim Students' Federation, took place at Rawalpindi and did not attract more than 1,500 people in spite of the fact that prominent League representative from the N.W.F.P. Baluchistan and Sind were present. The main feature of the speeches was the objectionable attacks made by Ministers of other Provinces on H.E. the Governor and Ministers of the Punjab. Speakers at this conferences and at other meeting held in the Province have been careful to emphasize that the League activities are entirely constitutional and that the League has no intention of interfering with the War effort. Demands for Pakistan and assertions that no justice can be expected from a Hindu majority at the centre have not accorded well with suggestions made by some Muslim League speakers for a Congress League settlement.

The Muslim League has also taken steps to strengthen its press and is making an unscrupulous use of students to further its aims. In some places the sanctity of mosques has been abused for the propagation of party politics and the Pakistan demand on the excuse that politics and religion are according to Islam indivisible. Suggestions for the opening of village Muslim shops and the boycott of Hindu shops have disquieting communal possibilities.

3. Volunteer Organizations. Some recruitment has been reported for the Muslim League National Guards, but the organization has not as yet developed to any extent. One effect of the Muslim Students Federation conference at Rawalpindi has been the revival of a Hindu volunteer organization known as the Shakti Dal. The Khaksars and volunteers of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh continue to be active on a small scale, but have been careful not to infringe the notifications forbidding military drill and the wearing of military uniforms. It is, however, easy for these organizations to preserve and advertise their identity without offending against the law so long as they are allowed to wear a distinctive uniform dress and avoid marching in military formation with arms or articles capable of being used as arms. Volunteers from Lahore have attended Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh training camps at Nagpur and Meerut.

182: Jinnah to Rajagopalachari

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), p. 321

Telegram dated July 2, 1944 from Mr M.A. Jinnah to Mr Rajagopalachari

Your request to publish your formula. Your wrong version our talk that I rejected your formula is unfair surprising.¹ True facts are I was willing place your formula before working Committee Muslim League although it was not open to any modification but you did not agree allow me to do so. Hence no further step was taken. My reaction was that I could not personally take responsibility of accepting or rejecting it and my position remains same today. If Mr Gandhi even now sends me direct his proposal I am willing place it before Muslim League Working Committee — M.A. Jinnah.

1. Doc. 180.

183: Rajagopalachari to Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), p. 321

Telegram dated July 4, 1944 from Mr Rajagopalachari to Mr M.A. Jinnah

Thanks telegram.¹ My letter April 17 showed how I felt over what I thought was rejection of formula so far as you were personally concerned. Shall be glad indeed if as your telegram suggests you did not reject it. Gandhiji, though not vested with representative or special authority in this matter definitely approved my proposal and authorized me to approach you on that basis. Now again he reaffirms his assent. Weight of his opinion would most probably secure Congress acceptance. You were unwilling to accept my formula, but were willing to place it before League Council. I think no purpose served by such procedure so long as it does not have your own support. — C. Rajagopalachari.

¹ Doc 182.

184: Rashid Ali Khan to Jinnah

Jafri (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence with Punjab Muslim Leaders* (1977), pp. 336–8

‘Zarafshan’,
Lahore: 4.7.1944.

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I have been wanting to write to you for some days but did not want to trouble you. Today, however, I thought I must write. I am enclosing herewith a cutting¹ of a statement I gave to the press a few days ago. This cutting is from the Civil & Military Gazette and it was published by all the leading English and Indian newspapers in India. I am sending it to you as I thought it might interest you to know what I have said.

2. Since last May, I have intensified the work of the League in Lahore City. Every Friday at prayer time I go to mosques in the city accompanied by leading workers and explain the policy and programme of the league to Muslims. Three times a week lead a deputation to leading wards and mohallas in the city accompanied by leading Muslims of the locality, and enrol members of our League in large numbers. The heat is terrific: sometimes 115 degrees in the shade, and it is extremely uncomfortable and tiring to go in the bazaars. But in spite of it, I am carrying on this programme of enrolling members all over the city. Apart from this I am carrying on my general work for the advancement of the League cause. Owing to the promulgation of Section 144, no public meetings could be arranged so far. The Section has terminated now and we hope to have some meeting shortly.

3. When having a talk with you on the evening of 6th of May before your departure for Kashmir, you asked me to go ahead with the work and propaganda for the League cause in Lahore and you said that in all this work 'we are behind you' – In my sphere and in the place where I am incharge, every thing will be done but I hope that the words spoken by you and quoted above will stand as without this there would be no point in doing anything.

4. For over a year now we have wanted to hold a Lahore City Muslim League Conference, but unfortunately owing to unforeseen circumstances, it has had to be postponed twice. The Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan was in Lahore last month, I had a talk with him and on my request he has promised to preside over our Conference. He promised me that he will let me know the dates very soon and that they will be sometime towards the 3rd or 4th week of July. I have written to him to-day to let me know about this immediately so that I can announce the dates.

5. I have suggested to him and he welcomed the idea that the Conference should be round about the time when the Council of the All India Muslim League meets in Lahore.

6. I have to request you now on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Conference and also the Lahore City Muslim League to kindly open the Conference. You will no doubt realise that at this critical stage of Punjab politics this league Conference in Lahore having the good fortune to be opened by you and presided over by Liaqat Ali Khan, will have a very great and beneficial effect on the cause of the League and the strengthening of its organization in the Punjab.

7. I have discussed about the Conference with the President of the Punjab Muslim League, Nawab of Mamdot. And he is absolutely in accord with me that this is the most appropriate occasion to have it and he thinks it an excellent thing that you should open the Conference and that you could possibly have no objection to opening the Conference. I have started the spade work for the Conference and as soon as I hear from Liaqat Ali Khan, I will announce the dates.

8. I hope you are keeping quite well and the bracing air of Kashmir has had an invigorating effect on your health. May I hope to hear from you?

Yours sincerely,

Rashid Ali Khan.

Qaid-i-Azam,
Mr M.A. Jinnah,
Srinagar (Kashmir).

1. Quaid-i-Azam Paper Cell,
File No. 344, pp. 106-8.

1. Not printed.



185: Jinnah to Rajagopalachari

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), p. 321

Telegram dated July 5, 1944 from M.A. Jinnah to Mr Rajagopalachari

Regret unable to go beyond my telegram July 2, M.A. Jinnah.¹

1. Doc. 182.

186 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to the Government of India

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

From

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, M.A. (Oxon),
M.L.A. (Central),
Bar-at-Law,
Honorary Secretary,
All-India Muslim League.

To

Vishnu Sahay, Esquire, I.C.S.,
Joint Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter No. 28/2/43 – Poll (I) dated the 24th of June 1944.¹ I thank you for inviting my attention to the notifications issued by the Government of India on August 5th, 1940, under Rules 58 (1) and 59 (1) of the Defence of India Rules and to the Press communique at the same time, and sending me copies of the same.

The Muslim League National Guards have been organized in accordance with resolution No. 7 passed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League on the 20th of March 1938 at Delhi, and resolution No. 4 passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in Bombay in June 1940, and resolution No. 7 of the Working Committee passed on the 2nd of September 1940, copies of these three resolutions I am enclosing herewith for your information.

The Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League are only acting in accordance

with the terms of these resolutions. You will therefore observe that the Muslim League organization has no intention of contravening the notifications referred to in your letter.

I have the honour to be,
sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Hon. Secretary,
All-India Muslim League.

Enclosure - 1

Resolution No. 7 (of 20th March 1938)

Resolved that the volunteer Corps under League organization all over the country be called 'The Muslim National Guard of India' and the uniform shall be Green shirt or Coat with a badge consisting of Crescent and Star in white.

Enclosure 2

Resolution No. 4 (of June 1940)

In view of the grave world situation and its possible repercussions on India when every community is organizing its Volunteer organizations for the protection of its life and property, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is of the opinion that time has come when the Provincial Muslim Leagues should exert every nerve to start, organize and strengthen the Muslim National Guard Corps and give them such training as will enable them to discharge their duty of maintaining peace, tranquillity and order in the country worthy of the best traditions of Islam. The Committee earnestly appeals to the Muslims to join the National Guards in large numbers under the banner of the Muslim League and directs the Provincial Muslim Leagues to submit monthly reports to the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League regarding the progress made and the steps adopted for the training of the Muslim National Guards. It is also the considered opinion of the Committee that the members of the Provincial Muslim League Working Committees and the District Committees should offer themselves for training at least once a week, with a view to give impetus to enlistment.

It is proposed to consider further the details of the scheme, but in the meantime the Provincial Muslim Leagues shall act in accordance with the following main principles:

A. Aims and objects of the organization:

1. To train and discipline Muslims in coordinate activity for social and physical uplift of the Muslims and to maintain peace, tranquillity and order in the country.

B. 1. The organization shall consist of officers and guardsmen who will be willing to undertake a definite liability and responsibility to fulfil the aims and objects of the organization herein before defined.

2. It shall be made up as follows:

- (a) Active Corps members
- (b) Reservist Corps members
- (c) Juvenile Corps

3. Active Corps shall consist of men who are capable of taking part in all the activities of organization.

4. Reservist Corps shall consist of men who due to age, occupation or physical disability are not able to serve on the active corps.

5. Juvenile Corps shall consist of boys under sixteen years of age.

6. The Muslim National Guards shall be organized under the authority, control and supervision of the Working Committee of each Provincial Muslim League subject to the final authority of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

7. The Working Committee of each province shall appoint to properly qualified persons for the purpose of (a) organizing the Corps (b) giving them training and (c) Officering them.

8. A Guardsman, on being declared eligible, shall sign the following pledge in duplicate on the prescribed form:

Pledge — I . . . Son of . . . solemnly swear by Allah, and the Holy Quran, that I hereby of my own free will surrender myself to the Muslim National Guards organization. I shall unflinchingly obey my officers and shall remain faithful to the organization and its aims and objects. So help me Allah Amin!

9. The Head Quarters of every provincial organization shall maintain a classified list of the vocation and profession of every guardsman under its command.

10. A guardsman shall not be a member of any other political organization except the Muslim League, or of any Volunteer Corps.

11. It shall be impressed on all guardsmen that courtesy to all ranks and classes of society shall be observed.

12. Uniform: 1. Khaki Coat or shirt, Khaki trousers and Khaki cap or turban.

Or. 2. Grey Coat or shirt, Grey trousers and Grey cap or turban.

Provided however that every province will have the option to select either of the two colours but shall keep and maintain the same colour and uniform throughout that province.

Enclosure 3

Resolution No. 7 (of 2nd Sept. 1940)

The Working Committee have carefully considered the notification of the Government of India of the 6th of August 1940 together with the explanatory communique issued by the Government of India on the 24th of August with regard to the Volunteer Organizations. The Muslim National Guard Corps were started over two years ago and the aims and objects of the organization are defined in Resolution No. 4 of the Working Committee passed on the 17th of June 1940, which runs as follows: 'To train and discipline the Muslims in coordinate activity for social and physical uplift of the Muslims and to maintain peace, tranquillity and order in the country'.

Recently instructions were given to the Provincial Muslim League to strengthen the Muslim National Guard corps and to give them such training as would enable them to discharge their duty of maintaining peace, tranquillity, and order in the country worthy of the best traditions of Islam, to assist at and control the meetings of the Muslim League and generally for the purpose of social service and uplift. The Committee, therefore, are of opinion that the ban imposed by the Government is not intended to prohibit or restrict such legitimate activities. In these circumstances the Committee direct the various Provincial Leagues to exert every nerve to start, organize, and strengthen Muslim National Guards and the Committee trust that their activities will be carried on within the limits of the law.

187: Government of India to all Provincial Governments

File No. 28/3/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Government of India
Home Department

Express Letter

Secret

From
Home, New Delhi

To
All Provincial Governments,
Chief Commissioner, Delhi/Ajmer-Merwara/Coorg.

No. 28/3/44 - Poll (I)

New Delhi, the 12th July 1944

Please refer to our letter No. 28/3/43 - Poll (I), dated 21st April, 1944,¹ regarding the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, in paragraph 3 of which it was suggested that any Province which did not consider the existing Central Government notifications of 5th August 1940 sufficient should make use of its powers under *inter alia* Defence Rule 56 (1) to control parades and camps.

The steps now being taken by the Council of Action of the Muslim League to organise the 'Muslim League National Guards' necessitate a fresh consideration of the whole problem. It is certain that, if the Muslim League succeeds in organizing a formidable private army, other bodies, either in imitation of it or in competition with it, will go ahead on similar line and the result might be a most serious threat to public order. We consider therefore that the time has now come for all-India action more stringent than that hitherto taken.

3. A letter, a copy of which was forwarded to you with our letter No. 28/2/43 - Poll (I), dated the 26th June, 1944,² has been addressed to the Muslim League; and we are examining separately the form which action should take, should it later prove necessary for the Central Government to proceed directly and specifically against the Muslim League National Guards or any other volunteer organization. Meanwhile we propose to supplement our notifications of 5th August 1940 with a ban on camps and parades held by political and communal organizations. It was at first intended to issue an order under Defence Rule 56 (1) for this purpose; but the power there conferred is limited to public processions, etc., and this term, as explained in sub-rule (2) of the Rule, might limit the efficacy of the order. It is now proposed to take the desired power by an amendment of Defence Rule 58 (1). A suggested redraft of that sub-rule and a draft notification to be issued under it are enclosed.³ It is, however, out of the question for the Central Government to issue an order of this kind, for the enforcement of which we should have to rely on Provincial Governments, unless we are assured of your substantial support and your willingness to enforce it strictly and impartially against all political and communal organizations. It will be seen that under the notification the permission of the

Central Government would be required for the holding by any political or communal organization of any camp or parade. This might be criticised as an undue centralization of authority. I am to explain that the intention is to refuse permission to any such organization; and the exercise of this power by the Centre alone might be desirable both as securing uniformity of practice and as relieving Provincial Governments of possible embarrassment if a power of discrimination lay in their hands. We should be glad to have your views and, if you accept the above proposals, an assurance of support on the above lines. As the matter is urgent, we should appreciate a reply by not later than the 1st August 1944.

4. As regards the draft of the sub-rule and the notification mentioned above, we realise that the terms 'camps and parades' and 'political' and 'communal' organizations are somewhat indefinite; and there may be difficulty in proving in court that a particular assembly or procession amounted to a camp or parade or that a particular organization, e.g. the Khaksars, was a political or communal organization. We feel, however, that these terms are well understood and in the majority of cases no great difficulty need be apprehended in interpretation; and if organizations did persist in challenging the ban, the remedy would be to take action against it directly and specifically as suggested in the first sentence of paragraph 3 above. We should, however, be glad of any suggestions you can make for the improvement of the proposed rule and notification.

5. As regards another measure which has been suggested, viz., the prohibiting or restricting of *all* kinds of *uniform* or the wearing of any form of emblems, etc., the difficulties in formulating an order which would not hit harmless organizations are great; and we doubt whether there will exist any need for such an order if the step proposed above is taken. But if any Provincial Government desires such an order to be issued, we should be glad if they would send a draft for our consideration.

Signed
(Vishnu Sahay)
Joint Secretary to the Govt. of India.

No. 28/3/44 – Poll (I), New Delhi, the 12th July 1944.

Copy to:

S.G.G. (Personal),
S.G.G. (Public)
Political Department
External Affairs Deptt.,
War Department
D.I.B.
D.M.I.

By order,
Signed
(Vishnu Sahay)
Jt. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

1. Doc. 139.
2. Not printed.
3. See Doc. 188.

188 Draft Notification (holding of camps, parades or drills etc.) dt 12.7.44

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Draft Rule

For sub-rule (1) of rule 58 of the Defence of India Rules the following sub-rule shall be substituted, namely;

(1) The Central Government or the Provincial Government may, for the purpose of securing the defence of British India, the public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the war, by general or special order prohibit, restrict or impose conditions on the holding of performance by any organization or class of organizations of any camp, parade, exercise, movement, evolution or drill.

Government of India.
Home Department

Draft Notification

In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (1) of rule 58 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the holding by a political or communal organization of any camp or parade without the previous permission in writing to the Central Government.

189 Official Notings reg. M.L.N.G. (dt 14.7.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

It is of course well known that there has been a Muslim League volunteer organization in existence for some years, and the Muslim League have from time to time made efforts to rouse enthusiasm for the organization and increase its membership and influence. It is only fairly recently, however, that their efforts have produced any marked response. The Karachi Resolution, in its instructions to the Council of Action to organise the National Guards, was not therefore an innovation nor in fact does the new draft Constitution and Rules of the All-India Muslim League National Guards contain any significant departure from the aims and objects and organization laid down in the Resolution of June 1940,¹ though it goes into greater detail regarding organization. It does indeed contain an added 'function' –

(b) 'To foster amongst Muslims the spirit of service and sacrifice for the nation, country and humanity'. Even so, there is little in the organization as laid down on paper to which we can object. We might contend that a breach of our notification of 5-8-40 is implicit in the instructions for the wearing of uniform; or that the whole organization with its framework of

officers, uniform and discipline is clearly military; but these are not strong arguments with which to confront the stand taken by Liaquat Ali.

2. I should say therefore that any attempt to enter into further correspondence with the Muslim League would be a mistake. They have had their warning; our letter of 24-6-44² did not really invite any reply; and if we continue the correspondence — beyond possibly acknowledging Liaquat Ali's letter — we are likely I think to land ourselves in the same sort of fruitless controversy as we had with Allama Mashriqi.

3. Some clarification of the position may be necessary for the benefit of Provincial Governments. I would suggest that we should wait until the new rules and orders about parades & camps have issued. We could then separately ask Provincial Governments to ensure that Muslim League National Guards were not allowed to infringe any of our notifications. We might, as a form of indirect pressure on Provinces who might be expected to be weak in their application of these notifications to the Muslim League, indicate that if in practice we found that Provinces were unable to control the activities of the National Guards through these notifications then we should be obliged to proceed directly against the organization itself (our new Defence Rule 27A might also be ready by that time).

Signed
14-7-44
(S.J.L. Olver)
Deputy Secretary

J.S.

One of the aims & objects according to the Resolution of 1940 — i.e. portion marked 'A' on p.46 is to maintain peace, tranquillity & order³ — that is practically a police function. This is repeated in para. 4 of the recent functions in the latest constitution and rules.

We cannot however build an argument on this — it is what an organization seeks to do which is important and not its paper constitution.

The warning against private armies was clear enough and I agree there is no advantage in arguing the matter further with the League on the basis of the Guards constitution or whether they will become private armies.

Further action should await the rules and notification about parades and camps by political and communal organization.

The Nawabzada's letter may just be acknowledged, with perhaps a sentence that: 'we note that there is no intention of developing these guards into private armies'.

Signed V. Sahay,
14/7

H.M.(I)

It is odd that we should not have had on record the resolution of the Working Committee of 2-9-40⁴ — which was passed after specific consideration of our notifications of 6-8-40.

2. I agree with J.S. that an acknowledgement of the letter should be sent; but I don't think we need add a sentence as proposed.

3. Further action can wait as proposed.

Signed
Home Member

1, 3 & 4. Enclosure to Doc. 186 (Enclosure 2).

2. Not printed.

190 Circular by V.D. Savarkar, President Hindu Sabha

Jayakar Papers, File. No. 724
[NAI]

Hindu Mahasabha Presidential Office
Savarkar Sadan, Bombay 28, 16-7-44.

Circular

Observe The First Week in August 1944 As An 'Akhand Hindustan & Anti-Pakistan Week'.

As was long expected and definitely foretold by me in my Presidential address at Cawnpore and several of my statements and speeches which I delivered in defending the attitude which the Hindu Mahasabha had taken up in refusing to join blindly the 'Quit India But Keep Your Army Here' movement started by Gandhiji and which has now ended as foreseen into a miserable fiasco and disgraceful surrender, the proposal conceived by Gandhiji and propagated by Rajaji to concede the right to majority Moslem provinces in particular, to secede from our Indian Nation and set up separate and sovereign state in virtue of their own self-determination & at their own sweet will, has at last materialized into a solid fact & they have actually submitted it to Mr Jinnah and the Moslem League without consulting any other organizations in India and in particular, the Hindu Mahasabha which is the largest representative body of the Hindus and possess an all-India prestige and position.

It is the duty of every Hindu Sanghatanist, of a genuinely national citizen of India, to denounce this proposal as uncompromisingly and undauntedly as possible. Their first step is meant to inform the Moslems and the Government of it and to rally round the public opinion in its favour. *Our first step should therefore, be to inform* the Government and the Moslems of our determined condemnation of and opposition to it and to mobilize and consolidate our forces to oppose it as soon as any practical step is taken by them. With this end in view I call every provincial & local Hindu Sabhas under its jurisdiction to *observe the first week in August 1944* as an '*Akhand Hindustan & Anti-Pakistan Week*' in the following manner:

1) Every Hindu Sabha, from local to the provincial one, should hold one or more open organizational meetings and get the resolution passed on the grounds indicated above denouncing the proposal. All Hindu Sanghatanists should take up the pledge to oppose the Provincial self-determination principle aiming at the vivisection of our Motherland and defend the national integrity and unity of Hindustan from the Indus to the Seas.

2) Each local Hindu Sabha as well as the Provincial ones should try to issue statements to the above effect, in addition to the above resolution by the foremost leaders of the localities, towns and cities in condemnation of this anti-National and anti-Hindu proposal. Along with the Hindu Sanghatanists, those leaders who belong to other genuinely national organizations such as the liberals, the Nationalist League of Hindustan, the Democratic Swaraj Party, Mr Arundale's Party and such others should also be persuaded to ~~sign~~ these statements.

3) The statement issued by me as the President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, a copy of which is enclosed¹ herewith should be reprinted by every Provincial District and Local

Hindu Sabhas, in local languages & distributed in to thousands the local public. This statement is also published verbatim in the well – known paper, 'Mahratha' of Poona.

4) Copies of their solutions and statements be sent to the Viceroy, the local newspapers, and especially to the 'Mahratha' of Poona, so that the news regarding this movement may be centralized in some one well-circulated paper.

5) No Hindu Sabha, Local or otherwise, should fail to try its best to carry out the above programme as intensely as possible.

D.V.D. Savarkar, President.

1. Not printed.

191: Government of India to Government of Bombay

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Home Department/Office.

Serial No. (38)

D.O.

Letter

Draft Memorandum

Telegram.

No. 28/3/44 – Poll (I)

dated 17-7-44

Secret

H.V.R. Iengar, Esq, CIE, ICS,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

My dear Iengar,

We have seen in a report from Sind reference to an 'agreement' which it appears was arrived at between the Bombay Government and the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh laying down what acts would be considered as falling within the definition of 'military drill'. We should be interested to see a copy of this 'agreement' if there is in fact any such 'agreement'.¹

Yours sincerely,

V. Sahay

1. In this connection Doc. 66 may be seen.



192 D.I.G. Bihar to the Chief Secretary Government of Bihar

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl.) File No. 558/44
[Bihar State Archives]

Office of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Bihar.

Patna, the 22nd July 1944.

No. 5850 S.B.
103-43.

Express

To
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar.

Please refer to your Express Memo. No. 4481 C. 558/44 dated the 19th July 1944¹ regarding proposed measures for dealing with political and communal organizations. I agree that there have been recently symptoms of communal competition in the training of 'private armies', and that the proposed measures should be acceptable and should be enforced impartially against all such organizations.

2. As regards the Draft Notification, it may be considered whether it is necessary or desirable to add 'sectarian' to 'political or communal' in defining organizations. Should not the prohibitions, restrictions or conditions extend to 'instructional classes'?

3. Another point which may be worthy of consideration at this stage is the matter of instructors. Experience has shown that political organizations sometimes utilise the services of military deserters, or dismissed or discharged police personnel, for training in the handling of arms or for physical training. (This consideration might extend to demobilized members of all combatant services.) It is for decision whether participation by personnel of this kind in such political or communal activities, should be specifically penalized — apart from any penalties under the existing criminal or military law.

4. If the proposed step is taken, there should be no need to prohibit or restrict all kinds of uniform, etc.

Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
C.I.D., Bihar.

GRW

¹ Not printed.



193: Extracts from evidence of W.H. Kirby, Rationing Advisor

Dept. of Food, Government of India before Famine Enquiry Commission on
28.7.44. Nanavati Papers – Vol. II
[NAI]

Chairman: — However, rationing was finally introduced in Calcutta on the 31st of January 1944, but only after some very unpleasant discussions had taken place. The Minister was adamant over the question of the retail shops and he wanted to have a monopoly of Government retail shops and fixed the number as 400 shops. We explained to him many times that 400 shops for the large population of Calcutta was ludicrously small. If the population of Calcutta was four million and it was thought to feed them with 400 Government shops, it just could not be done. The number of shops in Bombay with half the population of Calcutta is something like 1,600 and at the most conservative estimate in Calcutta there must be at least 2,000 shops. But it was inconceivable that the Bengal Minister would be able to organise 2,000 Government shops, and we suggested that the first thing to do was to select the retail shops of Hindu and Muslim traders and then reinforce those with Government shops, if the retailers were either small or inefficient, or were not prepared to conform to rules and regulations.

11. In Bombay has the Government selected the ordinary shop keeper? — No, Sir. When the Government of Bombay introduced rationing in Bombay, there was complete non-co-operation by all the wholesalers in the grain trade and the majority of the retail trade. So the Government dismissed the wholesale trader and said they were prepared to deal with the retailer only. Something like 650 selected retailers signed declarations, and were prepared to work the scheme. About three hundred or more industrial concerns set up their own grain shops for their employees as part of the scheme, and Government themselves opened up about 250 Government shops. I should have mentioned that in Calcutta the industrialists, who had seen the writing on the wall, set up their grain shops, which were properly organised. These shops had not been drawn into the scheme, at the time of the first discussions but were subsequently and have proved invaluable.

12. Why was the Bengal Minister so keen on having Government shops? — I think that his first motives were very good ones. He was convinced that the average retailer of Calcutta was a very poor specimen. He juggles with weights and with measures, and prices and since under any rationing scheme every retailer and wholesaler, who has a license from the Government, is really a Government agent the Government must be perfectly sure that the Government agent is a trustworthy person. I do not know whether it is permissible for me say so, but Sir, if you think it incorrect, let it be struck off the proceedings. It is, one could not help feeling that since 90 per cent of the retailers in Calcutta were Hindus, the Minister very much wanted to encourage the Muslim trader, and that the staff that would be appointed to the Government shops would be mainly Muslim. That was the general feeling. In fact, there were very strong protests from the Hindu trading community on that particular point. Here I would like to say that the Bengal Minister was responsible for obtaining the services of a Mr Mukherji, who was the Senior Manager of the Bata Shoe Company, to run a chain of Government shops. Mr Mukherji has had training in retail trade in England, Germany,

Czechoslovakia and America, and there is no doubt that the standard of these Government shops in Calcutta is of the very highest order, and I must say that the Minister did well in working on those lines with a high degree of efficiency. What I could not appreciate was the undue delay in setting up Government shops and did feel that more could have been done in making the existing retail shops conform to the required standards.

A direction was issued in connection with the setting up of the organization for the bringing in of rationing not later than the 31st of January, the direction related chiefly to retail and distribution. One of our first items of policy for food rationing in India was training personnel on food control, to ensure uniformity.

13. Bengal then sent Hartley to Bombay? and 4 others – Yes, this was on the 23rd August. And by September Hartley had a complete scheme of rationing.

14. How long did they take to bring it in? With the right spirit it could have been done by working all out, in a couple of months. And of course if again the right spirit was there and they had asked for any help, I was quite prepared myself to take over the job temporarily as Controller of Rationing. We could have spared some people from the Government of India, eventually of course several of them go from Delhi to Calcutta. We could have got one or two senior officers from the provinces if only they had asked for them. They did eventually, but it was too late to cope with the crisis.

15. What about the appointments of subordinate clerks? – The appointment of subordinate staff was a great difficulty. This work of selection was given to the Private Secretaries of certain Ministers. For the headquarter staff, they wanted some 700 to 1,000 persons and altogether they wanted 3,000.

16. And there was delay in getting the staff? – Yes, definitely. Very poor material was at this stage available because all the other Government organizations as well as of course the industrial concerns themselves in Calcutta had taken everybody of any use from the labour market.

17. There was shortage of staff? – Yes, undoubtedly. And then it became apparent that a training centre for clerks had to be inaugurated, and Mukherji put that in.

18. So that, the chief cause of the delay was the non-availability of staff. They were also trying to keep up the communal proportion in the staff? – I know there is the 50 : 50 rule in Bengal 3/4 I think so, or shall I say, one of the chief causes.

19. Well, now, is the rationing scheme working well? – From the reports that I have recently had, I can say that the scheme is Working very much better than it was expected. I think it should be stated that by far the majority of officials and non-officials and the people of Calcutta were convinced that a rationing scheme would never succeed. But it has succeeded. The complaints that we are getting now are all almost infinitesimal. The biggest complaints were in connection with the quality of the food grains and there was a complaint against the size of the ration. Well, I don't know whether any rationing scheme anywhere in the world would satisfy anybody in respect of the size of the ration. But you will always get a certain number of people who have money or people who have facilities who will always defeat any rationing order, and it is so easy for people to say that the rationing scheme is going very well because it has a big flourishing black market. There is always a black market in food control and, to use the expression in the U.K., we have always administratively to keep an eye on the hole in the net and when it gets over a certain size, then have to close that hole by vigorous enforcement, and communal inspection.

20. The black market is not easily detected in Calcutta or in any town in India because

of the difficulty of preventing supplies from getting across the border. Is it not? — Yes. It is much easier to get the foodstuffs in. But I think it is quite true to say that Calcutta rationing is a success. The people are now becoming used to it. They are becoming disciplined and I have seen it stated, in fact, that there is now a large number of the ordinary population in Calcutta who would like to see more commodities to come under rationing.

194: Government of Bihar to the Government of India

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl.) File No. 558/44
[Bihar State Archives]

(Reply to the letter of 12.7.44. Doc. 187)

Express Letter

Draft

Secret.

To
The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Please refer to your Secret Express letter No. 28/3/44 — Poll (I) dated the 12th July 1944.¹ The Provincial Government agree that the draft rule 58 (1) proposed by the Government of India is suitable and that a draft notification should be issued as proposed by the Government of India prohibiting the holding by a political or communal organization of any camp or parade without the previous permission in writing of the Central Government. The necessity for these measures is perhaps not so apparent in this province as in some others, but the Provincial Government will fall into line and enforce the orders against all political and communal organizations. There will, of course, be borderline cases and there may be organizations which claim to be social and not political while there are other obviously harmless organizations. Each such case will have to be dealt with on its merits.

2. As regards the wording of the rule and notification, the Provincial Government consider that although the words used are not definite, it is better to keep them fairly broad, but it is suggested that the word camp be qualified by the word 'training' camp, as it is really the training which it is claimed to prohibit. A suggestion has been made that the word 'sectarian' might be added to 'political or communal' in the notification. But the Provincial Government think that this would lead to further complications and it is better not to insert it.

3. If these steps are taken, the Provincial Government, agree that it will not be necessary to prohibit the wearing of all kinds of uniform or the wearing of emblems.

Signed
Chief Secretary to Government.

¹ Doc. 187.

195: Communalism at Dacca extracts from Casey's Diary (dt 30.7.1944)

R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 3
[NMML]

July 30th

In a note explanatory of the Dacca stabbings, John (the outgoing D.M.) 'No Hindu or Muslim, no matter how upright, honest or public minded he may be, is to be trusted for a single moment when he is making a statement about members of the opposite community and their actions. Dacca, is divided, throughout the 24 hours, into two camps, each of them feeling a deeprooted distrust of anything said or done by the other. The vast majority would never commit any crime of violence themselves but communalism has taken such a hold on even the wisest soberest that they do not, for one moment, consider that a crime committed by a member of his community is anything like as bad as the same committed by a member of the other. This state of mind provides an atmosphere in which the youth of Dacca know for certain that, no matter what excesses they commit, they will not be given away by their own community.

I believe that Section 93 would remove the main present cause of trouble in Dacca.'

196 Government of India to all Provincial Governments

Govt. of Bihar Pol. (Spl.) File No. 558/44
[Bihar State Archives]

Secret

Government of India
Home Department

Express Letter

From
Home, New Delhi

To
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners,
Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg.

No. 28/4/44 - Poll (I)

New Delhi, the 31st July 1944

Please refer to correspondence resting with our letter No. 28/3/44 - Poll (I) dated 12th July 1944,¹ about measures for the control of 'private armies'.

2. Should the measures proposed to curb the activities of volunteer organizations, i.e. the existing notifications of *5th August* 1940 banning military drill and the wearing of military uniforms and the proposed further ban on parade and camps, prove ineffective in the case of any particular organization, it will be necessary to proceed direct against the organization concerned. Under Part II of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, Provincial Governments, already have the power to declare unlawful organizations dangerous to public order. We consider it necessary that the Central Government also should have this power.

3. The alternative means of securing these powers are —

- (a) while leaving Defence of India Rule 27A intact, by adding a sub-rule which would make the provisions of sub-rules (2) to (5) not only to 'Fifth Column' organizations but also to other organizations dangerous to public order, or
- (b) by amending Defence Rule 27A so that it should hit such organizations also instead of being directed exclusively against Fifth Column organizations.

The latter alternative appears simpler; and we would propose accordingly amending Defence Rule 27A

- (i) by omitting the word 'either' preceding clause (a) in sub-rule (1) and
- (ii) by substituting for the words 'and in either case' immediately succeeding clause (b) of that sub-rule the word and letter 'or (c)'.

It will be observed that this will give the Central Government and Provincial Governments concurrent powers to proceed against such organizations and further that it reproduces the principal provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, with the exception of that part of section 17 (1) of the Act which penalizes membership of an unlawful association; it has not been thought necessary to reproduce this provision.

4. We should be glad to have very urgently any comments you may wish to make on this proposal. If no reply is received by 15 days from date of issue of this letter, we shall take it that you accept it.

Signed
R. Tottenham
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of India.

No. 28/4/44 – Poll (I)
New Delhi, the 31st July 1944

Copy forwarded for information to S.G.G. (Personnel), S.G.G. (Public), Political Department, E.M.D., Defence Department, War Department, D.I.B. and D.M.T.

Signed
S.J.L. Olver
Under Secretary to the Government of India

By order,



197 Talks with Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy – (dt 1.8.1944) Extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 6-7
[NMML]

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy called. He says that he will get the Agricultural income-Tax Bill through by the third week in August.

He raised the question of the political position here, and I spoke to him – off the record – with a good deal of frankness. He referred to the obvious disadvantages that Section 93 administration would entail – with both Muslims and Hindus hostile – and without a Ministry as a buffer between the Executive and the people. It would be said that Section 93 had taken Bengal back to the period before 1860 – i.e. to the pre-Executive Council period.

He realises that – (1) the present situation in the Assembly is almost impossible; (2) the Ministers have their heads full of politics instead of administration; and (3) the administration in the Districts is very nearly demoralized. He canvassed the possibility of an All-Party Government. He said that was the best solution – one in which the teeth of the bad M.L.A's would be blunted. He admitted, however, that it was almost impossible for me to have *Fazlul Huq* or *Dr S.P. Mookerjee* in any Government.

He said that a general election was the real solution although he realized that it was virtually impossible. He (*Sir Bijoy*) believes that a veiled hint by me in some public statement in respect of Section 93 would have a salutary effect.

198 Note on the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh training camps held in various provinces during the months of May and June 1944 – followed by Official Comments (dt 29.7.1944)

File No. 28/3/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

United Provinces

An Officers' Training Camp was held in Benares from May 19th to June 16th, 1944 attended by about 400 volunteers from different parts of India. Admission this year was restricted to old, trusted and zealous workers who after training would be able to open new branches and so extend the Sangh. This camp was divided into First and Second year classes, consisting of thirteen sections under thirteen trained instructors. Practical training was given to the volunteers in physical exercises, Indian games, lathi, sword and dagger practices and attack and defence tactics; dagger exercises were done by about 60 volunteers at a time. The camp was searched on 30.5.44 to recover the daggers which offended against the Arms Act, but only one was seized as the rest had already been removed by the organizers. Daily lectures

were also given on unity, organization, discipline, self protection, the necessity of Hindu awakening and sangathan and on the importance of the 'Dhwaj' (the flag of the Sangh). Examples from epics like the Mahabharata were quoted and the volunteers were exhorted to sacrifice their lives for their country in the same way as Shivaji, Rana Pratap, and others. No uniform was, however, worn by the volunteers, who were clothed in shirts and shorts of different colours and designs.

Great precautions were taken to preserve the secrecy of the proceedings and of the Volunteer's identity. No outsider could enter the Camp without a special pass and volunteer sentries were posted round the Camp and at the gate throughout the day and night. The volunteers were given express instructions not to leave the camp or to talk to outsiders, or to write about details of the Camp. The local police were given two passes to enter the camp and attend certain lectures but they were continually shadowed and were not allowed to take down notes. (The main object of this was probably to keep on the right side of the authorities and to avoid any clash or issue of stringent orders, so that the Sangh organizers will be able to proceed with their activities unhampered for some time yet.) Secret meetings were, however, organised at odd hours of the day and night to avoid police interference and the District Magistrate had to order the organizers under rule 56 D.I.R. to give previous notice of any meetings and to permit shorthand reporters to take notes of such meetings. It was then decided to close the Camp on 16.6.44, earlier than was expected, in order to avoid any breach of Government restrictions.

Prof. M.S. Golwalkar, the All India Organizer of the Sangh, gave instructions to the volunteers and made several speeches. He is reported to have said that Congress' non-violent policy had made the Hindus into cowards. They would never be able to attain independence in that way; freedom could be achieved only by blood sacrifice and the main object of the organization was to organise and strengthen the Hindus generally, first to overcome the Mohammedans and finally to oust the British. With these objects in mind, every volunteer should try his best to strengthen the Sangh by opening new branches and by the annual enrolment of at least two new members. They were also exhorted to contribute generously to the Sangh's funds. Golwalkar warned the volunteers not to indulge in politics but quietly and secretly to carry on Sangh activity so that after 2 or 3 years, when their strength would be about 25 lakhs, they would be able to fight their way to India's independence.

A training camp for Instructors was held in Aligarh from the 7th to the 17th May 1944, attended by 112 volunteers from various districts. Lectures were given on the aims and objects of the Sangh and instruction was given in lathi-fighting and other physical exercises. Great stress was laid on the necessity of maintaining secrecy.

A ten days Districts Training Camp commenced at Budaun on 7.5.44. About 120 volunteers heard the usual speeches which stressed the necessity of intensifying their enrolment drive and of establishing branches in rural areas. It was said that the Sangh at Budaun was primarily to see the Hindus united and to overawe the Muslims. A member of the City Sangh was expelled for disclosing secrets.

A First and Second Year Officers' Training Camp, attended by about 600 volunteers from the Punjab, Delhi and the U.P., was held in Meerut from May 27th to June 25th, 1944. A Martial spirit and simple habits were emphasised and strict discipline was maintained. Entry at the gate was by passes. The Volunteers, who wore no uniform were given training in physical exercises, Indian games, drill, and sword, spear and dagger fighting. At a general inspection which was attended by about 500 visitors in addition to the volunteers, Prof.

Golwalkar said that the Sangh stood for unity amongst Hindus and aimed at the revival of Hindu culture and civilization and the re-establishment of a Hindu Raj in India. He exhorted the volunteers to 'prepare workers, willing to offer sacrifices'. Every volunteer, he said, should act as a soldier and should obey the order of the Sangh, but he is understood to have remarked that the Sangh had no intention of acting against Government. Baba Apte of Nagpur made, in the course of one of his speeches, some objectionable remarks about the Europeans in India. It is understood that the Police once raided the Camp but only a few lathis and some documents were recovered.

Central Provinces

Summer Officers' Training classes were held at

(i) Nagpur from the 8th May to 7th June — one consisting of 250 First and Second Year Volunteers from the Nagpur City branches and another consisting of 350 officers from various parts of India.

(ii) Akola from the 5th May to the 4th June 1944 for about 300 volunteers, also for about 100 volunteers of the R.S.S. Samiti (the women organization).

(iii) Harda (Hoshangabad) from 11th May to 10th June for about 600 first and second year officers from C.P. districts and also other parts of India.

It is stated that great discrimination was exercised in the selection of volunteers with a view to safeguarding the secrecy which surrounded all activities.

The daily programme consisted of physical training, lathi drill, so-called intellectual classes and also discussions on political and historical events with the object of inculcating a spirit of Hindu nationalism on an anti-Muslim and anti-British basis. On the last day of the Nagpur class about 650 volunteers assembled to give a demonstration of physical drill, lathi-kathi and the usual sports. The audience of 600 persons was greatly impressed. No speech was then delivered but next day while giving the volunteers a send-off, Prof. Golwalkar asked them to make the best use of the training they had received and to popularize the Sangh. A reliable report states that while conducting the intellectual classes, Prof. Golwalkar exhorted the trainees not to be afraid of Government which was likely to take action against the Sangh although it had remained aloof from every kind of political activity.

Bombay

About 500 volunteers from neighbouring districts and Kolhapur and Sangli States attended the annual Officers' Summer Training Camp at Poona from the 25th April to 24th May 1944. The daily programme consisted of outdoor exercises, games, study classes and lectures. Most speakers dwelt on the organization, discipline and utility of the Sangh to Hindu Society and to the Hindu Nation. Some of them alluded to the life of the late Dr Hedgewar (Founder President of the Sangh) and advised their listeners to follow his example. Prof. Golwalkar stressed the importance of the Sangh, the necessity of team work and the submergence of the individual to the organization. The Sangh, he said, would carry on its activities despite all difficulties and would not stop till it had achieved its aim. The lectures were mostly stereotyped and it is believed they did not arouse much interest.

A camp attended by about 250 volunteers was also held at Thalawadi, Belgaum, from the 25th April to the 24th May 1944. The training curriculum included physical exercises, lathi drill, Indian games, intellectual classes, study circles and private lectures. No outsiders were allowed to attend the classes or private lectures.

Madras

In Malabar District R.S.S. members were trained at five camps in Calicut, one in Nilambur and one in Palghat; physical and lathi drill was performed. One or two volunteers at the Nilambur Camp were noticed wearing khaki shirts and shorts and black caps. Towards the end of June greater interest in some of the physical training classes was reported.

Sind

Although no Camps have been reported from this province, it might be mentioned that 8 or 10 batches of the members of the Sangh met daily in Karachi during the second half of June to perform physical exercises. Each batch varied from 50 to 100 volunteers and it was stated that the movement seemed to be gaining in popularity.

Official Comments
22nd July 1944

Intelligence Bureau, Home Department

We forward herewith a note [above document – Ed.] compiled in this Bureau, on training camps held by the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in various parts of India during May and June 1944.

We think that this information will interest Home Department in view of their Express letter No. 28/3/44 – Poll (I), dated 12.7.44 to all Provincial Govt. etc., which proposed the banning of Camps and parades by Communal and Political organizations. This ban would appear to cover much, if not all, of the objectionable activities described in this note.

(G.A.J. Boon).
Assistant Director (L).
29.7.44–4.8.44

Home Department (Mr Olver).

D.I.B.u/o No. 60/D.G/44–(2), dated Aug. 1, 1944.

Provincial Govt.'s replies to the letter of 12.7.44¹ are being collected on a separate file which will be submitted shortly.

As remarked by D.I.B., a ban on camps will, if enforced, put an end to most of this activity. But enforcement is the crux and at present it is here the weakness lies, rather than in the powers available, which if properly used are already very wide.

S.J.L. Olver.
3/8/44

We must obviously wait until provincial replies are complete but D.I.B.'s note should of course be taken into consideration along with them.

R. Tottenham
4.8.44

1. Doc. 187.



199 Talks with David Hendry (dt 4.8.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 12

[NMML]

Dt 4.8.44.

David Hendry called. I showed him my last two political letters to the Viceroy. He agrees with my attitude. He has ceased to be leader of the European Group, which now goes to Johnny Walker. He will give my interpretation of the present political situation some circulation amongst the European Group, although without quoting me. He agrees that we have to consider, before long, whether the Secondary Education Bill can be allowed to continue before the Assembly. He also agrees that the European Group cannot be expected to give support indefinitely to the present Government if they persist in attempting to get the Secondary Education Bill through.

200 Discussion with the Viceroy (dt 5.8.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 13–14

[NMML]

Dt 5.8.44

As regards 93, he [the Viceroy – Ed.] admits that he and I have changed places. He reiterates his regrets that the Cabinet turned down his proposal last December. This is obviously rankling. Although he admits that his telegram to Amery (After my last visit to New Delhi) is still the position, he says he would be rather embarrassed at 93 now, when the possibility of a political arrangement is beginning to show. He dwells on the fact that Hindus and Muslims in his Viceroy's Council can work amicably together on practical problems without communalism arising, and he implies from this that a getting together in the wider sphere of All India politics is not impossible. However, he admits that the personnel of his VR's Council is hand-picked and that they don't represent the great political parties. His view is based on logic and not on sentiment and emotion that is more important than logic in large political affairs. I said I could see no alternative to Pakistan, as a stage on the journey. He said that Pakistan was impossible and that the more intelligent of the Muslims realized it. He still hankers after an agreement between Congress and the League that will result in a joint Government at the Centre governing All India. He admits that the next month will go far to show if this is possible. If the Gandhi-Jinnah talks show no progress towards agreement, he admits that within a month or two, he may be able to tell me that his attitude towards 93 here has changed. By that time, I should know if Nazimuddin and the Opposition groups here are likely to get anywhere on the Secondary Education Bill, and whether or not H.C.M. wishes to pursue the Education Bill or not. On this will depend a lot.

Should I advise H.C.M. to drop the Bill – or let him go his own way and hang himself and his Government?

The V.R. seems to visualize the possibility of elections in the present 93 provinces and coalition Governments – if the Gandhi-Jinnah talks go well.

201: Talks with D.A. Brayden (extracts from Casey's Diary)

R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 15

[NMML]

Dated: 6-8-44.

D.A. Brayden (acting D.I.G., Intelligence Branch, under Mannooch) called. *Barnes* (head of Special Branch, Calcutta Police) works closely with him. We had good talk about the political future in India. He suggests that, at the end of the war against Japan, we should have free elections in all Provinces and that the Provincial Legislatures be asked to nominate a given number of delegates (proportionate to the Provincial populations) to a Central Convention to discuss the political future of India. The total numbers of the Convention should be about 200. It would then elect an Executive of about twelve people. Meanwhile, we (the British Government) would (in the light of the knowledge and experience gained since 1938) put down on paper the best form of Constitution for All-India that we can devise – and this would be thrown into the ring, before the Convention. If they can devise anything better, well and good. If they can't agree on an All-India Constitution at all (i.e. if the Muslim League maintain their present attitude) then this would become apparent and the Muslim League would secede from the Convention – or fighting would break out – or something positive. At any rate, the deadlock would be broken and we would have done the right thing.

Brayden thinks that fighting is inevitable in any event. East Bengal – the home and birthplace of practically all the subversive movements – would lead the van. he believes there is no escaping this – and that, revenge would spread the flames throughout India – and that nothing that we could do would stop it. If Indian troops were to become involved, the Hindu troops would side with the Hindus the Muslims with their own community, and civil war would result.

202 Talks with H.C.M. and H.M. (dt 7.8.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 16-17

[NMML]

August 7th

H.C.M. and H.M. (Agriculture) called together. Decided to appoint Khan as Special Officer

in the Agriculture Department, to see how he fares in the Four or five months before *Carbery* goes. Also to make *Mustafa* a Deputy Director of Agriculture, in charge of 'Grow More Food'.

H.C.M. said that the Nawab of Dacca and five or six others were probably coming over to the Government side in the coming week.

Speaking of the forthcoming Gandhi Jinnah talks, H.C.M. said that the Muslim League would never accept inclusion in an All-India Central Government as they could not work out the future of the Muslim Provinces with the limitations on their autonomy that the control by the Centre of Finance, Army, Currency and Customs would entail. They will agree to the present all-India Government only until the end of the war but they could not accept it as a permanent measure. Gandhi had already accepted the principle of Pakistan. No doubt a long period of wrangling was ahead. As to whether there should be a plebiscite or not, and if so whether all the population or Muslims only should vote, H.C.M. thought that, if the Gandhi Jinnah talks were fruitful, then it was logical that the rest of the working Committee and the All-India Congress Council should be let out of jail. The Muslim League did not want any Constitutional change until after the war.

203 Government of Bombay to the Government of India

File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

No. S.D. - 1867
Home Department (Political)
Council Hall, Poona

9th August 1944

From H.V.R. Iengar, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

To The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department

Subject: Muslim League National Guards.

Sir,

With reference to your Express Letter No. 28/2/43 - Poll (I), dated the 28th June 1944, on the subject noted above, I am directed to inform you that no reaction on the part of the Muslim League to the Government of India letter to the General Secretary of the League has so far been noticed in this Province. In fact, Muslim Leaguers in this Province do not even seem to be aware of that letter.

Your obedient servant,
Signed

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

204: Talks with Dr J. Lowe (dt 12.8.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 23-4

[NMML]

August 12th

Dr J. Lowe (Professor of Tropical Medicine) called.

I had previously got him to do a long memorandum for me on malaria control. He says that the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine is the only such Institute in India, with teaching, research hospital facilities. Government provides a proportion of the running costs — the balance being from endowments by British business interests, Tea, Jute Associations, etc.

I must endeavour to get some increased activity going regarding malaria control, regarding which nothing appears to me to be happening.

He tells me that H.M. (Public Health) appears to be insisting on the appointment of Muslims to all vacancies. 2 Muslim Assistant Professors who were recently appointed quite useless — and inevitably they would expect to be made Professors in a few years' time.

205 Governor's observation on Bengal Politics (dt. 13.8.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 24-5

[NMML]

August 13th

I hear on good authority that the Nawab of Dacca having seen the light (i.e. joined the Muslim League) was not due to political conviction, but to the powerful argument of his co-trustees of a family Wakf (Nazimuddin, Shahabuddin, etc.) that if he didn't, they'd vote him out of the management of the family Wakf, for which he is paid Rs 3000 a month. This evidently proved a simple but convincing method. *Fazlul Huq* (not knowing the real reason) has become very upset and is said to be scratching his head as to how he can get back into the Muslim League, thinking that a political landslide towards the Government side is in train!

One of these days, I will have to tell *Sir Nazimuddin* that he and I have quite different ideas as to the function and responsibilities of a Chief Minister. He seems to regard the paramount task of a Chief Minister as that of endeavouring to ensure the continued political existence of his Ministry and not including responsibility for policy and performance of public business. A Chief Minister should lead and drive his team of Ministers, spurring them on in their respective spheres of public business, not necessary originating policy himself, but insisting on their producing plans and proposals which he scrutinizes and, if necessary, criticises before they evolve into Cabinet proposals. He should insist on being informed as to the executive

progress of matters that Cabinet has decided upon. The essential administrative function of a Chief Minister has been almost wholly lacking.

In a note of Pinnell's on the events of 1942 and early 1943, he comments on the political situation in terms reminiscent of the present. . . . 'The first and second Fazlul Huq Ministries were far too much concerned with party and factional questions to apply their minds to coordinating policy'. . . . 'The second Fazlul Huq Ministry was an uneasy combination with no discernible unity of principle and no discernible policy except to keep itself in office'. . . . 'With a few minor exceptions, Dr S.P. Mookerjee made no contribution to constructive Government policy'. . . . 'To the Chief Minister everything was subordinate to maintaining his balance on the political tight rope, whilst being able to satisfy party and personal patronage'.

206 Talks with P.J. Griffiths (dt 14.8.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 26-7
[NMML]

August 14th

P.J. Griffiths came for a talk.

We talked All India politics. He says that Jinnah has sat back all the time, and has been averse to calling his hand. He thinks that a great many Hindus are conscious that, since 1942, Gandhi has led them astray. He believes that a very great many people all over India think that a settlement by agreement is not impossible — although by 'Settlement' he includes the possibility of Pakistan.

Griffiths thinks that we (the British) have done nothing to remove the suspicion in the minds of many that we do not want a settlement. He thinks that nothing will remove this suspicion except the straightforward statement that a Constituent Assembly will be called together at a stated time (say, 12 months) after the termination of hostilities. He thinks that a limited period (say not over 2 years) should be fixed for the deliberations of this Assembly. At the same time, we should say that, if by the end of, say, 2 years no agreed?, constitution emerges, then we will impose a constitution, subject to (1) such a constitution being unchangeable for a fixed period — and (2) there being a stated force of British troops remaining here for a stated time.

He says that the real commitment in the Cripps' offer was that there should be Constituent Assembly which would frame a constitution which would be accepted by H.M.G., subject to — (1) the Constituent Assembly executing a treaty for the protection of minorities — (2) the right of Province to contract out — and (3) the settlement of certain 'necessary matters' (probably the rights of the Services and guarantees for British business). . . . (See page 336 etc. of Coupland.)

Griffiths thinks that Pakistan is an inevitable stage on the journey — and that it will eventually founder for economic and financial reasons — i.e. because the two 'Pakistans' are not economically self contained areas.

He believes that *Leo Amery* thinks that, if we stand firm and make it known that we will accept nothing less than a Hindu — Muslim agreement on an All-Indian Central Government then the Pakistan idea will fade out.

207: Talks with Nazimuddin (dt 15.8.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 27-8
[NMML]

August 15th

I saw *Sir Nazimuddin* and fixed it with him about *Stevens* and *Williams*.

I then saw *Suhrawardy* and put him right about *Stevens-Williams*.

We then got to discussing Pakistan-Bengal. He says the party is drawing maps of Pakistan and are divided between those who want All-Bengal and Assam (with 52 per cent Muslim majority) and those who want a truncated Bengal plus a part of Assam (with 63 per cent Muslim majority). I said that the closer they get to a 50-50 position, the more bloodshed there would be. He agrees with me that Pakistan could only be a stage on the journey.

208: Observations on Hindu-Muslim relations (dt 16.8.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 29
[NMML]

August 16th

M.R.A. Baig (Central Organizer, National War Front) called. He says that Sir Sultan Ahmed wants to alter the name to 'National Home Front'.

Baig seems a most intelligent, youngish. Muslim from Bombay. He thinks that Jinnah does not really want Pakistan but that he is using the movement to ginger up the Muslims and to secure for them a place in the sun by getting them united and making them conscious of the necessity for economic, educational and other advancement. After fifteen years of such gaining up, he thinks that Jinnah believes that the Muslim will be able to hold their own with the Hindus, and that will then agree to an All India Government with the Hindus. This does not carry much conviction with me. The longer the separatist Pakistan idea is canvassed, the more it gets buried in the Muslim mind, and the more determined they will get not to cooperate in a Central Government in which they would (either now or in fifteen years) be swamped by the Hindus.

He asked me not to judge the Muslims of India by judging the Muslims of Bengal, who he says are the dregs of the Muslims, only low caste Hindus who changed their religion to avoid the disabilities of their low caste.

He asked if I thought that the 'Big Brother' movement had any possibilities in respect of bringing the Muslims and Hindus together. The idea is attractive, but I do not think it would work under present conditions.

209

Extracts from evidence by Mr Humayun Kabir before Famine Enquiry Commission 1.9.44

Nanavati Papers – Vol. III

[NAI]

36. *Chairman*: Have you got to say anything about the future, any ideas of the future to prevent a recurrence of famine? – Well I would answer it by adding one more point which I have mentioned in my memorandum and that is the use of more land for cultivation. The 'Grow More Food' campaign has not been pressed as much as it ought to have been pressed. In February 1943, we in the Legislature submitted a unanimous report that the jute cultivation in Bengal should be partially curtailed. The percentage the year before had been about ten annas and we reported that it should not be more than five annas. Later on, it was compromised to have eight annas. Besides this, there was cultivable land lying waste. That must be utilized, but all depends on political background. Here it is a very unfortunate fact that there has been lack of co-operation between the different political parties and an element of bitterness has been brought in, which is almost un-precedented.

37. You think that could have been avoided? – Yes. Certainly. The whole bitterness arose out of the attitude of the League Party, because every other group agreed to form an All Party Ministry, but they would not come in. It was first in December, 1941, when Mr Fazlul Huq formed the Progressive Coalition Ministry that there was some talk of an All Party Ministry. At that time I don't think they pressed that the League should be included, but from July or August 1942 he made repeated appeals to them to come into the Ministry. In his letters to the Governor, some of which were published, in his statements in the Legislature and even during the Budget Session of 1943, he again and again said, let us have an All Party Ministry and he offered to stand out if he was an obstacle to the formation of an All Party Ministry.

38. *K.B. Afzal Husain*: Your statement as it stands, is not quite correct. – Would you please correct it?

39. The only persons they were not adding were Mussalmans-Well, when all the parties are prepared to co-operate and one party says we are not prepared to co-operate, I take it to be an attitude of non-co-operation and I hold the League entirely responsible for that and for causing political bitterness in Bengal.

40. *Chairman*: Well, return to the future. We have made certain suggestions as you will notice in summing up. Inflation, we have placed first of all, as the most important factor in creating the famine. The impact of war did not strike the other provinces with that intensity which we had here. Even in Travancore and Cochin the conditions were pretty serious.

41. *Mr Ramamurty*: They succeeded in pulling through – Yes. One reason perhaps of that was that steps were taken in time. The Bombay Government started rationing before any other Provincial Government. In Bombay I found the rationing system working very well indeed and here this was delayed. There were mistakes also so far as the Governmental policy was concerned. Denial Policy played a very big part in the whole question and so far as the Provincial Government was concerned they made mistakes at times. I will give you one example which I pointed out in the Legislature. They announced that they would have

rationing, without making any preparations in Calcutta, from a certain date and the result was that it immediately created a panic in the market. I think I referred to this in March 1943.

42. *Chairman:* That was Fazlul Huq Government? — Yes.

43. Do you think the introduction of rationing, if it had been possible early in 1943, would have been a great factor working to prevent the famine? — It would have helped to prevent the famine but, again, there was the question of political background and without some sort of political settlement, it was not possible. In February and March 1943, the League was most vehement in its criticism of food policy. As soon as they came to office, they changed their tone. Naturally the bitterness which they had created was returned, possibly with interest, by the new opposition. That was, after all, inevitable in a way. Even though attempts were made at co-operation, the League Ministers made it impossible. There was one suggestion made, I think, in the Legislature in September 1943, that there should be a Food Council in which all parties ought to be represented. This would be a nucleus around which co-operation might gradually grow up. That did not prove successful. Here again, I have to blame the League, because they did not ask for co-operation. They decided a policy and threw the papers and said this is our policy. Naturally there can be no question of co-operation or consultation in such cases. I can give you another instance. Certain of these pamphlets of Governments were issued. We had gone to Burdwan for a meeting and we found that these were distributed among some of the people in Burdwan, but they were not circulated among the members of the Legislature. That was not inviting co-operation. At any rate, you could not get very good co-operation in such an atmosphere.

Note. Other parts of this evidence may be seen in chapter VIII. Doc. 91

210: Extracts from evidence from Dr N. Sanyal of the Congress party and Dr A.C. Ukil before Famine Enquiry Commission on 1st September 1944

Nanavati Papers – Vol. III

[NAI]

35. *Chairman:* What were your suggestions in paragraph 23? — That the handling of the food situation should be taken out of the area of party politics and should be completely entrusted to a Central Food Council representative of all parties.

36. Do you think that it was possible to take it out of party politics in Bengal? — It was possible, but the difficulty was created by Sir John Herbert. Please keep it on record. There was practically a situation when all parties were prepared to work together, but on the advice of some permanent officials certain deliberate steps were taken to break up that solidarity.

37. *Mr Ramamurty:* When was this? — That was early in March 1943 and it continued till the end of March when the Fazlul Huq Ministry was turned out.

38. *Chairman:* What were the steps taken? — Mr Fazlul Huq was promised and he was asked to resign only with the promise that a Ministry composed of all parties was to be formed;

but soon it was found that the European trading interests influenced the European official interests to get a Muslim League Ministry installed contrary to the demands of the situation.

39. On what do you base your statement? — The entire Assembly proceedings from February to March, during that Budget Session, will show how deliberate were the activities of officials, and I will show you from the speech of the leader of the European party (witness look up the proceedings). . . . I think it is much easier for you to get the things from Mr Fazlul Huq's own statements made in the House. (Witness handed over a booklet containing Mr Fazlul Huq's speech).

40. Are you certain that Mr Fazlul Huq's statements are absolutely correct? They may not be absolutely correct but I did find other evidence also to show that a conspiracy was going on between the Governor at the head of some section of the permanent officials and the Europeans trading interests here to replace the Fazlul Huq Ministry.

41. And what is your evidence? — The evidence is in the proceedings of the Assembly and the conferences and if you like to know — and this was made no secret — in various discussions and even we ourselves were approached — the Congress Party officially were approached by the Muslim League leaders and by the leaders of the European Group to withdraw co-operation or support from the Fazlul Huq Ministry.

42. Did that show official action? The Muslim League is a Political party, the European Group is also a political party; and it does not follow that, because these political parties asked to withdraw support from the Fazlul Huq Ministry, there was official backing to it? — Well, there is more than evidence in other directions. . . . In September 1942 an interesting thing happened. The European Group sponsored a motion in the Assembly suggesting full support to all measures of repression taken by some executive authorities in connection with certain political disturbances.

43. It was in September 1943 or 1942? — 1942, I mean.

44. Measures taken by Fazlul Huq's Government? — That was so. The whip of that party proposed an amendment. The Deputy Speaker was conducting the proceedings in the absence of the Speaker. The Governor sent letters quite out of his way to the Deputy Speaker suggesting that he should finish the discussion on the European Party's motion although previously it was arranged that it should not continue beyond a certain date. I possess these letters from the Secretary to the Governor addressed to the Deputy Speaker.

45. Suggesting that the debate should be concluded? — Yes, and that suggested that the Governor was taking an active interest in the European Group's motion in the legislature.

46. Have you got the letters? — I thought it won't be necessary to produce them here. They were letters addressed to the Deputy Speaker. If you like I will get them tomorrow and show you.

47. Let us proceed to para. 21 of your memorandum? — Regarding the Governor's attitude I suppose you have heard Mr Fazlul Huq's evidence. He must have referred to the letters he wrote to the Governor which he read out in the Assembly. It is no secret and copies are now available. They are printed.¹

48. Who printed them? — Mr Fazlul Huq himself. They are also in the Assembly proceedings dated the 5th July 1943.

¹ See Doc. 8.



211: Conversation with Sir Andrew Clow (dt 2.9.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, p. 54
[NMML]

September 2nd.

In conversation with Sir Andrew Clow* (Assam), said that he expected the next Aman Crop in Assam to be low, probably enough for themselves but none for the Army (who got 95,000 tons of Assam rice this last year) or for export, on present prospects.

The question of the cultivation of the alleged 'million acres' (largely in the Upper Assam Valley), by allowing Mymensingh Muslims into Assam, was a highly political one. The Assam Government suspected that it was a device to get a Muslim majority in Assam for Pakistan purposes. The Sylhet subdivision (Surma Valley) was the only real Muslim majority area now. It held 3 million people and was really a continuation of Mymensingh.

The rivalry between the two valleys (Assam and Surma) was keener than the rivalry between Hindus and Muslims in the Province.

The Government was a coalition — 5 Muslims, 1 Christian, 2 Hindus and 2 Scheduled Castes.

Clow has only a handful of ICS officers — and, as he says, 'never was so much expected of so few'.

212: Talks with Shahabuddin (dt 4.9.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 55–6
[NMML]

September 4th.

I had a talk with *Shahabuddin*. He is all for our getting whatever experts we can from outside Bengal and outside India. He says the Press outcry against 'foreigners' can be ignored.

We discussed Pakistan. He says that the movement in Bengal arises principally out of their experiences with the Hindus here over the generations, when the Hindus, according to him, have done everything possible to keep the Muslims down. In addition, the Muslims believe that it would be impossible to frame safeguards that would enable them to withstand the pressure that the Hindus would put on them — and so they will insist on a 'Sovereign State' that they, the Muslims, will run.

I gave Shahabuddin one of the pipes I had made at Dacca, to ask *Mitter* if a small pipe making industry could not be worked up.

213: Talks with Nazimuddin (dt 5.9.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 57–8

[NMML]

September 5th.

I then saw H.C.M. (Sir Nazimuddin). He will not go on with the Secondary Education Bill in the next session of the Assembly – but will concentrate on getting the Rules of Business amended satisfactorily – and may even be so brave as to try to get the Speaker changed.

Nazimuddin has great hopes of getting up to 12 members to cross the floor to the Government side within the next week or so.

I asked him about Pakistan. He said he was just on the point of writing Jinnah telling him where they stood. They want Bengal (less the Burdwan Division), Assam, a Subdivision of Bihar (bounded on the west by the River Sone). This would give them, he says, 58 per cent of Muslims, in place of 51 per cent if all Bengal and all Assam were included. He says the Muslims are more virile than the Hindus and breed quicker.

He says that 'Prince' Yusuf Mirza (who has been following *Fazlul Huq*) was coming over to his side.

Nazimuddin thinks that once this North Eastern Pakistan is established, there will be no one more keen on it than the component Hindus. The Centre has always been controlled by Bombay, Madras and the U.P., who have dominated Indian Policy and who look down on Bengal and have tried to keep Bengal down. The Hindus don't realise that they will have a share in the administration of N.E. Pakistan. He thinks it even possible that Burdwan may come into N.E. Pakistan eventually.

214: Jinnah to Gandhi

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 100–2

September 10, 1944.

Dear Mr Gandhi,

With reference to our talk yesterday (September 9), I understood from you that you had come to discuss the Hindu-Muslim settlement with me in your individual capacity, and not in any representative character or capacity, on behalf of the Hindus or the Congress, nor had you any authority to do so. I naturally pointed out to you that there must be some one on the other side with authority holding a representative status with whom I can negotiate and, if possible, come to a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, and that for the position you had adopted there was no precedent, and that this raises great difficulties in my way.

As you know, I can only speak on behalf of Muslim India and the All-India Muslim League.

as the President of the organization which I represent, and as such I am subject to and governed by its constitution, rules and regulations. I think you realize and will admit that a settlement of the Hindu Muslim question is the foremost and major hurdle, and unless the representatives of these two nations put their heads together, how is one to make any headway with it?

Nevertheless, I explained to you the Lahore Resolution of March 1940, and tried to persuade you to accept the basic and fundamental principles embodied in it, but you refused to consider it but emphasized your opposition to the basis indicated in that resolution, and remarked that there was 'an ocean between you and me and when I asked you what is then the alternative you suggest, you put forward a formula of Mr Rajagopalachari approved by you. We discussed it, and as various matters were vague and nebulous, and some required clarification, I wanted to have a clear idea of what it really meant and what were its implications and asked you for explanations and clarification regarding the proposals embodied in that formula.

After some discussion, you requested me to formulate in writing any points that I thought required or called for explanation and clarification, and to communicate with you and that you would reply in writing before our next meeting on Monday, September 11, at 5.30 p.m. I am, therefore submitting to you the following points which require clarification.

(1) With regard to the preamble: In what capacity will you be a consenting party if any agreement is reached between you and me?

(2) *Clause 1:* With regard to 'the constitution for a free India' referred to in this clause, I would like to know first, what constitution do you refer to, who will frame it and when will it come into being?

Next, it is stated in the formula that 'the Muslim League endorse the Indian demand for Independence'. Does it mean the Congress demand for Independence as formulated in August Resolution of 1942 by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this term, for you know the Muslim League has made it clear not only by its resolutions but by its creed, which is embodied in its constitution, that we stand for freedom and independence of the whole of this subcontinent, and applies to Pakistan and Hindustan.

Next it is stated that the Muslim League 'will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of provisional interim Government for the transitional period'. I would like to know the basis or the lines on which such a Government is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme please let me have it.

(3) *Clause 2:* Who will appoint the commission referred to in this clause and who will give effect to their findings? What is the meaning of 'absolute majority' referred to in it? Will the contemplated plebiscite be taken district wise or, if not, on what basis? Who will determine and decide whether such a plebiscite should be based on adult franchise or other practicable franchise? Who will give effect to the decision or verdict of the above mentioned plebiscite? Would only the districts on the border, which are taken out from the boundaries of the present provinces by delimitation, be entitled to choose to join either State, or would also those outside the present boundaries have the right to choose to join either State?

(4) *Clause 3:* Who are meant by 'all parties' in this clause?

(5) *Clause 4:* I would like to know between whom and through what machinery and agency will the 'mutual agreements' referred to in this clause be entered into? What is meant by 'safeguarding defence, commerce and communications and for other essential purposes' Safeguarding against whom?

(6) *Clause 6:* These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power

and responsibility for the Government of India'. I would like to know to whom is this power to be transferred, through what machinery and agency, and when?

These are some of the important points that occur to me for the moment, which require explanation and clarification, and I hope that you will let me have full details about the various points that I have raised, in order that I may be better able to understand and judge your proposals before I can deal with them satisfactorily.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah.

215: Gandhi to Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 102-3

September 11, 1944

Dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I received your letter yesterday at 3-30 p.m. I was in the midst of appointments. I hasten to reply at the earliest opportunity.

I have said in my letter to you, it is implied in the Rajaji Formula and I have stated publicly that I have approached you as an individual. My life mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power ousted. Hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving Independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together.

I am glad, therefore, that you did not break off our talks when I refused to assume or accept representative capacity. Of course, I am pledged to use all the influence I may have with the Congress to ratify my agreement with you. May I remind you that the Rajaji Formula was designed in the first instance for your acceptance and submission thereafter to the League?

It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But had made no reference to the Lahore Resolution of the League. The Lahore Resolution is indefinite, Rajaji has taken from it the substance and given it a shape. Now for the points raised by you.

1. I have already answered this in the foregoing.
2. The constitution will be framed by provisional Government contemplated in the Formula or an authority specially set up by it after the British power is withdrawn. The Independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands. The basis for the formation of the provisional interim Government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress.
3. The commission will be appointed by the provisional Government. 'Absolute majority' means a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province. The form of plebiscite and the franchise must be a matter for discussion.
4. 'All parties' means parties interested.
5. 'Mutual agreement' means agreement between contracting parties. 'Safeguarding

defence, etc.', means for me a central or joint board of control. 'Safeguarding' means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy.

6. The power is to be transferred to the nation, that is, to the provisional Government. The formula contemplates peaceful transfer by the British Government. So far as I am concerned I would like the transfer to take place as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi.

216: Jinnah to Gandhi

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 102-5

September 11, 1944

Dear Mr Gandhi,

I received your letter of September 11 at 5 p.m. today. I note that you have approached me as an individual, and I have already expressed my views about it. Please do not take it that I acquiesce in the position that you have adopted, for which there is no precedent. Nevertheless, I proceeded to discuss matters with you naturally because I am anxious to convert you to my point of view if possible. I urged on you that the only solution of India's problem is to accept the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan, as briefly laid down in the Lahore Resolution of March 1940, and proceed to settle the details forthwith. You say the Lahore resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the resolution, but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I would, therefore, like to know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is indefinite. I cannot agree that Rajaji has taken from it its substance and given it shape. On the contrary, he has not only put it out of shape but mutilated it, as I explained in my speech which I delivered at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore on July 30, 1944.

You say 'the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving Independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together'. This in my opinion is, as I have repeatedly said, putting the cart before the horse, and is generally opposed to the policy and declarations of the All-India Muslim League, and you are only holding on firmly to the August resolution of 1942. In order to achieve the freedom and independence of the people of India, it is essential, in the first instance, that there should be Hindu-Muslim settlement.

Of course, I am thankful to you when you say that you are pledged to use all the influence that you have with the Congress to ratify your agreement with me, but that is not enough in my judgment although it will be a very valuable help to me.

I once more ask you please to let me know what is your conception of the basis for the formation of a provisional interim Government. No doubt it will be subject to agreement

between the League and the Congress, but I think in fairness you should at least give me some rough idea or lines of your conception, for you must have thought it out by now, and would like to know what are your proposals or scheme for the formation of a provisional interim Government, which can give me some clear picture to understand it.

You have omitted to answer my question as to who will give effect to the findings of the commission and also it is not clear to me what you mean by absolute majority, when you say it means 'a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province' You have not even replied to my question as to who decides the form of the plebiscite and the franchise contemplated by the formula.

The answer to the fourth point does not carry any clear idea when you say 'all parties' means 'parties interested'.

You say 'mutual agreement' means 'agreement between contracting parties'. Who are the contracting parties once a provisional interim Government is established of your conception? Who will appoint that central or joint board of control, which will safeguard defence, etc., and on what principle, though what machinery and agency, and subject to whose control and orders will such a central or joint board be?

You say 'The power is to be transferred to the nation, that is, to the Provisional Government'. That is all the greater reason why I would like to know full details of the provisional Government as contemplated by you and of your conception.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah.

217: Government of United Provinces to the Government of India

File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

From
D.S. Barron, Esqr., I.C.S.,
Secretary to Government,
United Provinces.

To
The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department, New Delhi.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence resting with Mr Olver's secret Express letter No. 28/2/43 - Poll (I), dated June 26, 1944¹ about the Muslim League National Guards, I am directed to say that the Superintendent of Police of Aligarh has reported that a Camp for the Agra Division of the Muslim National Guard Volunteers will be held at Mendu, police station Sasni, district Aligarh, in the first week of October, 1944. The Superintendent of Police has no definite

information that uniform will be worn or that drill will be performed at this Camp, but, as it is definitely a Camp of the volunteers, there is a possibility that such action might be taken.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Secretary.

1. Not printed.

218: M.A. Jinnah to Gandhi

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), p. 105

September 13, 1944.

Dear Mr Gandhi,

When you arrived here on the morning of September 12, to resume our talks, you were good enough to inform me that you had not had time to attend to my letter of September 11, which reached you the same day at 10-30 p.m. We met again today without having received your reply, and I am still waiting for it. Please, therefore, let me have your reply as soon as possible with regard to the various points mentioned in my letter to you of September 11.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. Jinnah.

219: Gandhi to M.A. Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 105-7

September 14, 1944

Dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I have your letter of the 13th instant. I understood from our talks that you were in no hurry for my answer. I was, therefore, taking the matter in a leisurely fashion, even hoping that as our talk proceeded and as cordiality increased mutual clarification would come of itself and that we would only have to record our final agreement. But I understand and appreciate the other view point. We should take nothing for granted. I should clarify your difficulties understanding the Rajaji formula and you should do likewise regarding yours, i.e., the Muslim League Lahore Resolution of 1940.

With reference to the Lahore Resolution as agreed between us I shall deal with it in a separate letter.

Perhaps at the end of our discussion, we shall discover that Rajaji not only has not put the Lahore Resolution out of shape and mutilated it, but has given it substance and form.

Indeed in view of your dislike of the Rajaji Formula, I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore Resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement.

So much for the first paragraph of your letter.

As to the second, I do hold that unless we oust the third party we shall not be able to live at peace with one another. That does not mean I may not make an effort to find ways and means of establishing a living peace between us.

You ask for my conception of the basis for a provisional interim Government. I would have told you if I had any scheme in mind. Imagine that if we two can agree, it would be for us to consult the other parties. I can say this, that any provisional Government to inspire confidence at the present moment must represent all parties. When that moment arrives I shall have been replaced by some authoritative person, though you will have me always at your beck and call when you have converted me, or I you, or by mutual conversation we have become one mind functioning through two bodies.

As to the third point, the provisional Government being the appointing authority, will give effect to the finding of the commission. This, I thought, was implied in my previous answer.

Rajaji tells me that 'absolute majority' is used in his Formula in the same sense as it is used in ordinary legal parlance wherever more than two groups are dealt with. I cling to my own answer. But you will perhaps suggest a third meaning and persuade me to accept it.

The form of the plebiscite and franchise must be left to be decided by the provincial interim Government unless we decide it now. I should say it should be by adult suffrage of all the inhabitants of Pakistan area.

As to fourth 'all Parties' means you and I and every one else holding views on the question at issue will, and should, seek by peaceful persuasion to influence public opinion as is done where democracy functions wholly or in part.

As to fifth, supposing that the result of the plebiscite is in favour of partition, the provisional Government will draft the treaty and agreements as regards the administration of matters of common interest, but the same has to be confirmed and ratified by the Governments of the two States. The machinery required for the settlement and administration of matters of common interest will in the first instance be planned by the interim Government, but subsequently will be a matter for settlement between the two Governments acting through the agencies appointed by each for that purpose.

As to sixth, I hope the foregoing makes superfluous any further reply.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi.



220 Jinnah to Gandhi

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 107–8

September 14, 1944

Dear Mr Gandhi,

I received your letter of September 14,¹ at 4–45 p.m. today in reply to my letter of September 11 (and not of September 13, as you state, which seems to be a mistake), and I thank you for it.

Please let me have, as soon as you can, your promised letter indicating in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is 'indefinite'.

With regard to the provision in the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula that 'the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for Independence', I asked you in my letter dated September 10,² 'Does it mean the Congress demand for Independence as formulated in the August 1942 Resolution by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this terms', to this you replied by your letter of September 11, 'the Independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands'. Hence, I again ask, does it mean on the basis of a united India? I find that you have not clarified this point satisfactorily.

As regards the next part of this clause, the formula proceeds to lay down that 'the Muslim League will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of the provisional interim Government for the transitional period', I requested you by my letter of September 10 to let me know 'the basis or the lines by which such a Government is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me have it', to this you replied by your letter of September 11 under reply, that 'the basis for the formation of the provisional interim Government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress'. But that is not meeting my request for clarification or giving me at least the outlines of such a Government, and that is what I have been asking for. I hope that you do appreciate my point when I am requesting you to let me have rough outlines of the proposed provisional interim Government according to the formula, so that I may have some idea.

Of course, I can quite understand that such a provisional interim Government will request all parties and would be of a character that will inspire confidence at the present moment of all the parties. I can quite understand that when the moment arrives certain things may follow, but before we can deal with this formula in a satisfactory manner, I repeat again that, as it is your formula, you should give me a rough idea of the provisional interim Government that you contemplate and of your conception.

What I would like to know would be, what will be the powers of such a provisional interim Government, how it will be formed, to whom it will be responsible, and what its composition will be, etc. You being the sponsor of this Gandhi-Rajaji formula, should give me some rough idea and picture of it, so that I may understand what this part of the formula means.

In your letter of September 14,³ in reply to my letter of September 11, you informed me that you would have told me if you had any scheme in mind. 'I imagine that if we two can agree it would be for us to consult the other parties'. But that is just the point. Unless I have

some outlines of scheme, however rough, from you, what are we to then discuss in order to reach any agreement?.

As regards the other matters which you have further explained, I have noted the explanation, and I do not think I need press you further, although some of them are not quite satisfactory.

Yours Sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah

- 1 Doc 219.
- 2 Doc 214.
- 3 Doc. 219

221: Gandhi to M.A. Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 108-11

September 15, 1944

Dear Quaid-e-Azam,

This is in terms of our talk of Wednesday, September 13.

For the moment I have shunted the Rajaji Formula, and, with your assistance, applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League.

You must admit that the Resolution itself makes no reference to the two nations theory. In the course of our discussions you have passionately pleaded that India contains two nations, i.e., Hindu and Muslims, and that the latter have their home-land in India as the former have theirs.

The more our argument progresses, the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it were true. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children.

You do not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest but by reason of acceptance of Islam. Will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam? Will Bengalis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamilians, Maharashtrians, Gujaraties, etc., cease to have their special characteristics if all of them became converts to Islam?

These have all become one politically because they are subject to one foreign control. They are trying today to throw off that subjection.

You seem to have introduced a new test of nationhood, if I accept it, I would have to subscribe to many claims and face an insoluble problem.

The only real, though lawful test of our nationhood arises out of our common political subjection. If you and I throw off this subjection by our combined effort we shall be born a politically free nation out of our travail. If by then we have not learnt to prize our freedom we may quarrel among ourselves and, for want of a common master holding us together in

his iron grip, seek to split up into small groups or nationalities. There will be nothing to prevent us from descending to that level and we shall not have to go in search of a master. There are many claimants to the throne that never remains vacant.

With this background I shall present you with my difficulty in accepting your resolution:

- (1) Pakistan is not in the resolution. Does it bear the original meaning the Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan out of which the name was formed? If not, what is it?
- (2) Is the goal of Pakistan pan-Islam?
- (3) What is it that distinguishes an Indian Muslim from every other Indian, if not his religion? Is he different from a Turk or an Arab?
- (4) What is the connotation of the word 'Muslims' in the resolution under discussion? Does it mean the Muslims of the India of geography or of the Pakistan to be?
- (5) Is the resolution addressed to Muslims by way of education, or to the inhabitants of the whole of India by way of appeal or to the foreign ruler as an ultimatum?
- (6) Are the constituents in the two zones to constitute 'Independent States', an undefined number in each zone?
- (7) Is the demarcation to take place during the pendency of British rule?
- (8) If the answer to the last question is in the affirmative, the proposal must be accepted first by Britain and then imposed upon India, not evolved from within by the free will of the people of India!
- (9) Have you examined the position and satisfied yourself that these 'Independent States' will be materially and otherwise benefited by being split up into fragments.
- (10) Please satisfy me that these independent sovereign States will not become a collection of poor States, a menace to themselves and to the rest of India.
- (11) Pray show me by facts and figures or otherwise how independence and welfare on India as a whole can be brought about by the acceptance of the resolution?
- (12) How are Muslims under the Princes to be disposed of as a result of this scheme?
- (13) What is your definition of 'minorities'?
- (14) Will you please define the 'adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards' for minorities referred to in the second part of the resolution?
- (15) Do you not see that the Lahore Resolution contains only a bare statement of the objective and does not give any idea as to the means to be adopted for the execution of the idea and the concrete corollaries thereof?
 - (a) Are the people in the regions falling under the plan to have any voice in the matter of separation and, if so, how is it to be ascertained?
 - (b) What is the provision for Defence and similar matters of common concern contemplated in the Lahore Resolution?
 - (c) There are many groups of Muslims who have continuously expressed dissent from the policy of the League. While I am prepared to accept the preponderating influence and position of the League and have approached you for that very reason, is it not our joint duty to remove their doubts and carry them with us by making them feel that they and their supporters have not been practically disfranchised?
 - (d) Does this not lead again to placing the Resolution of the League before the people of the zones concerned as a whole for acceptance?

As I write this letter and imagine the working of the Resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India. Believe me, I approach you as a seeker. Though I represent

nobody but myself, I aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India. For, I realize in my own person their misery and degradation which is their common lot irrespective of class, caste or creed. I know that you have acquired a unique hold on the Muslim masses. I want you to use your influence for their total welfare, which must include the rest.

In this hastily written letter I have only given an inkling of my difficulty.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi.

222 Gandhi to Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 111–12

September 15, 1944.

Dear Quaid-e-Azam,

I have yours of September 14,¹ received at 9–40 a.m. I woke up at 3 a.m. today to finish my promised letter on the Lahore Resolution. There is no mistake about the date, for I wrote in answer to your reminder of September 13.

Independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. resolution of 1942. But it cannot be on the basis of a united India. If we come to a settlement it would be on the basis of that settlement, assuming of course that it secures general acceptance in the country. The process will be some what like this. We reach by joint effort independence for India as it stands. India, become free, will proceed to demarcation, plebiscite and partition if the people concerned vote for Partition. All this is implied in the Rajaji formula.

As to the provisional interim Government, I am afraid I cannot carry my answer any further than I have done. Though I have no scheme for such a Government if you have one in connection with the Lahore Resolution, which also I presume requires an interim Government, we can discuss it.

The Formula was framed by Rajaji in good faith. I accepted it in equal good faith. The hope was that you would look at it with favour. We still think it to be the best in circumstances. You and I have to put flesh on it, if we can. I have explained the process we have to go through. You have no objection to it. Perhaps, you want to know how I would form the provisional Government if I was invited to form it. If I was in that unenviable position I could see all the claimants and endeavour to satisfy them. My co-operation will be available in that task.

I can give you full satisfaction about your inquiry. 'What I would like to know would be: What will be the powers of such a provisional interim Government, how will it be formed, to whom will it be responsible?' The provisional interim Government will be responsible to the elected members of the present Assembly or a newly elected one. It will have all the powers less than that of the Commander-in-chief during the war and full powers thereafter. It

will be the authority to give effect to the agreement that may be arrived at between the League and the Congress and satisfied by the other parties.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi.

1. Doc. 220

223: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bengal for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

5. A Hindu conference at Barisal in East Bengal and the annual conference of the Calcutta Radical Democratic Party were held during the fortnight. In his presidential speech at the Barisal Hindu Conference, Mr N.C. Chatterjee strongly criticised Mr Rajagopalachariar's proposals for a communal settlement and stated that the battle for India's freedom and unity will have to be fought by the people of Bengal. Resolutions were passed at the Radical Democratic Party's Conference demanding the release of 'anti-Fascist prisoners like Comrade Lokenath Bal and the other Chittagong Armoury Raid prisoners', and the 'immediate setting up of a provincial Government which must be above the influence of reactionary vested interests', and criticising the 'attempts which are being made today to bring about a communal settlement without any reference to the principles of social and political democracy'.

224: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political: The Gandhi Jinnah talks, which began this fortnight continue to occupy a major share of public attention. While the matter is discussed with some reserve as regards the results the balance of opinion is in favour of Mr Rajagopalachari's proposals being accepted. On the whole there is a good deal of optimism that an agreement will be reached, which has been strengthened by the announcement the talks are to continue for some length of time. Congress have held meetings in a number of place canvassing support for such an agreement and communists have been participating with congress organizations at many of these meetings. At Coimbatore a meeting was held under the presidentship of Mr Avinashilingam Chettiar and was also attended by some local communists. At Madanapalle fifty local congressmen attended a meeting held under communist auspices. Similar reports come from various other centres in the presidency. . . .

The split in the Justice Party, which I referred to last time, appears to be rapidly widening. Mr Ramswami Naicker has started on a campaign to justify his attitude and reports come of meeting held by him in Madras City and Tanjore district. The '*Sunday observer*' which more or less reflects orthodox Justice Party opinion has repudiated the resolutions passed at the Salem Conference regarding announcement of titles and offices, propaganda against religion, and change of the name of the Party to 'Dravida Kazhagam'. There is a very considerable volume of opposition to Mr Ramswami Naicker and it is claimed that the resolutions were not binding on the Party and that Mr Naicker had automatically ceased to belong to the Justice Party as he had formed a new political organization which is based on principles and objects fundamentally opposed to the party tenets.

225 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political: The attention of the political world is focussed on the talks going on between Mr Gandhi and Mr Jinnah for the Congress League settlement. Though hoping for the best from the talks, public opinion in general is sceptical about the result particularly as the problem which the two leaders face bristles with difficulties and their view points do not easily admit of reconciliation. In the meanwhile, opposition to Pakistan is gaining strength. Apart from the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs, the Liberal Party is also attempting to mobilize public opinion against Pakistan; for instance, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, a veteran Liberal Leader, has, with the concurrence of several leaders from different parts of India, issued a public statement denouncing the solution of the communal problem on the basis of the division of India.

Hindu Maha Sabha Activities: The Mahasabha continued its propaganda against Mr Rajagopalachari's formula for the Congress-League settlement. Between 11th and 26th August the local leaders addressed eight meetings, with ranging from 15 to 800, in the districts of Maharashtra. They criticised Mr Rajagopalachari's formula as being detrimental to India's integrity and reiterated their faith in Mr Savarkar's leadership and policy. Mr S.L. Karandikar, president of the Maharashtra Provincial Hindu Sabha, in the course of his speech at Poona, observed that the formula was the result of helplessness and pessimism arising out of the failure of Mr Gandhi's movement and that it was a shameful act to purchase independence in the 'Jinnah Black Market'. At another public meeting attended by nearly 1,500 persons at Poona on the 30th August, Mr B.B. Bhopatkar strongly criticised Mr Gandhi for his present communal policy and asserted that Mr Savarkar was the proper man to represent that Hindus and to meet Mr Jinnah on their behalf. The leaders of the Mahasabha also took advantage of the Ganpati celebration held in Bombay City and addressed two meetings on the 27th and 31st August at which they condemned the Muslim's demand for Pakistan and criticised the Congress policy.

The Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Hindu Sabha at a private meeting on the 3rd September passed a resolution calling upon the Hindus to hoist black flag on the day of the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting and issued an anti-Pakistan manifesto denouncing Mr Rajagopalachari's formula as detrimental to the interests of the people.

Sikh Affairs: The Bombay Akali Dal held two meetings on the 27th August and 3rd September when resolutions condemning Mr Rajagopalachari's formula for the Congress League settlement and demanding 5 per cent posts for Sikhs in the Central Government's services were passed. The Shri Guru Singh Sabha also held a meeting on the 3rd September to celebrate 'Anti-Pakistan Day'. Apart from this, a few Sikhs staged minor demonstrations on the 9th September near Birla House where Mr Gandhi is staying by showing anti-Pakistan placards and shouting slogans. They were immediately arrested. A few Sikhs staged a similar demonstration at Chowpatty on the 10th September and they too were arrested. These activities, however evoked no response from the general public.

Khaksars: There were no fresh arrivals of Khaksars in Bombay City during the fortnight. The warnings given to them by the police appear to have had some effect. They have given up marching in single file or saluting in public places. They have also given up the wearing of the uniform and have been on the whole behaving themselves more properly than in the previous weeks. It appears that they have no intention of causing trouble unless Mr Gandhi and Mr Jinnah fail to come to a settlement.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh: Mr M.S. Golwalkar, Chief Organizer of the Sangh, visited Jalgaon in East Khandesh District on August 31st when he attended a flag salutation ceremony performed by 400 volunteers. On the following day, he visited Dhulia in West Khandesh District and addressed a private meeting of some 100 volunteers. He exhorted them to increase the membership of the Sangh and to consolidate Hindu opinion.

Communist and Pro-Communist Activities: In Bombay City, the Communist Party of India continued to mobilize the Labour opinion in support of the Gandhi Jinnah meeting. The Party held eight public meetings between 31st August and 9th September at which resolutions expressing full faith in Mr Gandhi's leadership, supporting the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting and urging the establishment of a National Government at the Centre were passed. A similar meeting with an audience of 700 was held by the Bombay Students' Union (Communist Group) on 31st August when Mr N.V. Gadgil, President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, emphasized the need conceding the right of self-determination to the Muslims and appealed to the audience to stand by Mr Rajagopalachari formula for the Congress League settlement.

226 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

2. *Political:* Political attention has been focused on Bombay and there has been little change in the public reaction reported last fortnight. Nobody really believes that Gandhi can willingly concede the principle of Pakistan, but many believe that he may be prepared to do so in the hope of being able to unite Hindus and Muslims in agitation against Government. The Muslim League attitude is clear cut. If the Gandhi-Jinnah talks are successful the League will support the settlement reached; if they break down it will support Jinnah and throw the blame on Gandhi. Meanwhile the lull in League activities due to the Ramzan continues, although

recruitment for the League continues in a desultory manner and in some place has made progress. There is at present no reason to believe that the number of dissentient Muslim members of the Unionist Party has increased, but the position will inevitably change in the event of a Congress-League settlement. The Ahrars have fallen in public estimation owing to their failure to formulate any policy towards the Rajagopalachari formula and Gandhi-Jinnah discussions. Disunity in the Punjab Hindu Sabha and reluctance to oppose any settlement sponsored by Gandhi have operated against the holding of any 'all parties' Hindu conference and the Punjab Hindus have adopted a policy of 'wait and see'. They realise that they have little hope of successfully opposing any agreement reached by Gandhi and Jinnah and are relying on the Sikhs to oppose Pakistan for them. There is considerable difference of opinion among Hindus over the proposal for a separate Sikh State. Some see in it an escape from Muslim domination; others are opposed to vivisection in any form. This disunity and indecisiveness are not confined to the Punjab, for Shyama Prasad Mukerji has declared that the Hindus are in 'another state of confusion and that not only are they quarrelling with the Muslims but among themselves'. He has also complained that 'it is a tragedy that Gandhi should have given the League a new lease of life just when it was dying and that Jinnah should be gloating over the fact that Gandhi has accepted the principle of the partition of India'.

Sikh opposition remains as uncompromising and resolute as before, and Master Tara Singh, who is convinced that Gandhi and Jinnah must reach an agreement or sound their political death knell, has stated privately that if they come to an understanding which ignores the Sikhs he will call upon all Sikhs to resign from the Congress. To this end he has been trying to collect Sikhs of all shades of political opinion behind him and has even approached the Central Akali Dal. It is doubtful whether Baba Kharak Singh will ever agree to work with him, although he is known to approve the proposal for an independent Sikh State to be carved out of the Punjab and to include eventually the Punjab Sikh States. Akali conferences, some of them well attended, have been held in several districts to condemn the Gandhi - Rajagopalachari proposals. Giani Kartar Singh, M.L.A., is still of the opinion that the Sikhs stand to gain more from the Muslims than the Hindus, in which view he has been supported by the Muslim press, but at the same time is anxious to retain Government support for the minorities. Should the proposal for a separate Sikh State not materialize, he is understood to favour the inclusion of the Sikhs in a Northern India Federation stretching from the N.W.F.P. to Bengal, provided that the Sikhs are guaranteed 19 per cent representation in all political bodies and in the army. This he considers would be more likely to preserve their identity than absorption in Hindustan or Pakistan.

227 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political

The Congress: Some of the Congress leaders, particularly the ex-prime Minister, Babu Srikrishna Sinha, have been doing their best, in the course of their tours to collect money for the Kasturba Fund, to keep up public interest in the Gandhi-Jinnah talks. There is reason to think that

prominent Congress leaders have received instructions from headquarters to do propaganda about the talks and possibly to prepare congress people for concessions to the Pakistan demand.

228: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the first half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

5. Mr B.G. Khaparde of the Hindu Mahasabha, Berar, is organizing an anti-Pakistan Front in Berar. Addressing a meeting at Akola he criticised the Muslims for their changed attitude towards the Hindus among whom they once lived amicably. He attacked Congress for honouring Mr Jinnah and said that if the rejection of Pakistan meant the deferment of independence, it was preferable to independence achieved through an agreement which recognised partition. A number of other Hindu Mahasabha anti-Pakistan meetings were held at different places in the Berar Division.

6. The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has taken little part in anti-Pakistan or 'communal unity' activities. Mr Golwalkar, the all-India organizer, visited the Bhandara district and addressing members said that the Sangh had become an all-India organization and its doctrines should be spread all over the land.

229: M.A. Jinnah to Gandhi

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 112–14

September 17, 1944.

Dear Mr Gandhi,

I have your letter of September 15,¹ and I thank you for it. I note that you have for the moment shunted 'the Rajaji Formula' and are applying your mind very seriously to the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League. It is my duty to explain the Lahore Resolution to you today and persuade you to accept it, even though you are talking to me, as you have often made it clear, in your individual capacity. I have successfully converted non-Muslim Indians in no small number and also a large body of foreigners, and if I can convert you, exercising as you do tremendous influence over Hindu India, it will be no small assistance to me, although we are not proceeding on the footing that you are carrying on these talks in your representative character, or capacity, and my difficulties remain until you are vested with a representative status and authority in order to negotiate and reach an agreement with you.

You have stated in your letter dated September 11, that the Lahore Resolution is 'indefinite', I, therefore, naturally asked you please to let me know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is indefinite. And now I have received your letter of September 15 under reply.

The third paragraph of your letter is not seeking clarification but is a disquisition and expression of your views on the point whether the Mussalmans are a nation. This matter can hardly be discussed by means of correspondence. There is a greater deal of discussion and literature on this point which is available, and it is for you to judge finally, when you have studied this question thoroughly, whether the Mussalmans and Hindus are not two major nations in this subcontinent. For the moment I would refer you to two publications although there are many more, Dr Ambedkar's book and M.R.T.'s *Nationalism in Conflict in India*. We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and, what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions-in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation. Now I shall reply to your various points.

(1) Yes, the word 'Pakistan' is not mentioned in the resolution, and it does not bear the original meaning. The words has now become synonymous with the Lahore Resolution.

(2) This point does not arise, but still I reply that the question is a mere bogey.

(3) This point is covered by my answer that the Mussalmans of India are nation. As to the last part of your query, it is hardly relevant to the matter of clarification of the resolution.

(4) Surely you know what the word 'Muslims' means.

(5) This point does not arise by way of clarification of the text of the Lahore resolution.

(6) No. They will form units of Pakistan.

(7) As soon as the basis and the principles embodied in the Lahore resolution are accepted, the question of demarcation will have to be taken up immediately.

(8) In view of my reply to (7), your question (8) has been answered.

(9) Does not relate to clarification.

(10) My answer to (9) covers this point.

(11) Does not arise out of the clarification of the resolution Surely this is not asking for clarification of the resolution. I have in numerous speeches of mine and the Muslim League in its resolutions have pointed out that this is the only resolution of India's problem and the road to achieve freedom and independence of the peoples of India.

(12) 'Muslims under the Princes'. The Lahore resolution is only confined to British India. This question does not arise out of the clarification of the resolution.

(13) The definition of 'minorities'. You yourself have often said 'minorities' means 'accepted minorities'.

(14) The adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards for minorities, referred to in the resolution, are a matter for negotiation and settlement with the minorities in the respective States, viz., Pakistan and Hindustan.

(15) It does give basic principles and when they are accepted then the details will have to be worked out by the contracting parties.

(a) Does not arise by way of clarification.

(b) Does not arise by way of clarification.

(c) The Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organization of Muslim India.

(d) No; see answer (c)

As regards your final paragraph, before receiving clarification from me you have already passed your judgment and condemned the Lahore Resolution, when you say, 'As I write this letter and imagine the whole working of the resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India' I understand that you have made clear to me that you represent nobody but yourself, and I am trying to persuade you and to convert you that this is the road which will lead us to the achievement of freedom and independence not only of the two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, but of the rest of the peoples of India, but when you proceed to say that you aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India, I regret I cannot accept the statement of yours.

It is quite clear that you represent nobody else but the Hindus, and as long as you do not realize your true position and the realities, it is very difficult for me to argue with you, and it becomes still more difficult to persuade you, and hope to convert you to the realities and the actual conditions prevailing in India today. I am pleading before you in the hope of converting you, as I have done with many others successfully.

As I have said before, you are a great man and exercise enormous influence over the Hindus, particularly the masses, and by accepting the road that I am pointing out to you, you are not prejudicing or harming the interests of the Hindus or of the minorities. On the contrary, Hindus will be the greatest gainers. I am convinced that true welfare not only of the Muslims but the rest of India lies in the division of India as proposed by the Lahore resolution. It is for you to consider whether it is not your policy and programme in which you have persisted which has been the principal factor of the 'ruin of whole of India' and of the misery and degradation of the people to which you refer and which I deplore no less than anyone else. And it is for that very reason I am pleading before you all these days, although you insist that you are having with me only in your individual capacity, in the hope that you may yet revise your policy and programme.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah.

230: Gandhi to Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), p. 115

September 19, 1944.

Dear Quaid-e-Azam,

Many thanks for yours of 17th inst.¹

I am sorry to have to say that your answers, omitting 1, 2, and 6 do not give satisfaction.

It may be that all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore resolution. But I contend that they are very relevant from the standpoint of a seeker that I am. You cannot expect anyone to agree to, or shoulder the burden of the claim contained in the Lahore resolution without, for instance, answering my question 15 (a) and 15 (b) which you brush aside as not arising by way of clarification.

Dr Ambedkar's thesis, while it is ably written; has carried no conviction to me. The other book mentioned by you, I am sorry to say, I have not seen.

Why can you not accept my statement that I aspire to represent all the sections that compose the people of India? Do you not aspire? Should not every Indian? That the aspiration may never be realized is beside the point.

I am beholden to you, in spite of your opinion about me, for having patience with me: I hope you still never lose it but will persevere in your effort to convert me, I ask you to take me with my strong views and even prejudices, if I am guilty of any.

As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ. For, I am wholly unrepentant. My purpose, is, as a lover of communal unity, to place my service at your disposal.

I hope you do not expect me to accept the Lahore resolution without understanding its implications. If your letter is the final word there is still hope. Can we not agree to differ on the question of 'two nations' and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination? It is this basis that has brought me to you. If the regions holding Muslim majorities have to be separated according to the Lahore Resolution, the grave step of separation should be specifically placed before and approved by the people in that area.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi

1. Doc 230

231: Government of India to all Provincial Governments

Govt. of Bihar Poll (Spl.) File No. 558/44
[Bihar State Archives]

Government of India
Home Department

Express letter

From
Home, New Delhi.

To
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners,
Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg.

No. 28/3/44 - Poll (I)

New Delhi, the 20th September 1944.

Replies to our letter No. 28/2/44 - Poll (I) dated 12th¹ July 1944; proposing an amendment to Defence Rule 58 (1) in order to provide further powers for the control of parades and

camps by political and communal organizations have shown general agreement with the proposals, while making certain suggestions as to the drafting of the proposed amendment and order.

2. The question has been further examined here and it is now proposed to leave the existing sub-rule (1) of Defence Rule 58 as it is; to insert a new sub-rule (1A) providing general powers to prohibit, restrict or impose conditions on the holding of camps, parades meetings and assemblies; and to issue thereunder a general order requiring the previous permission of District Magistrates and Commissioners of Police for the holding of camps and parades by political and communal organizations and giving these authorities powers either to refuse permission or impose such conditions as are considered necessary. These conditions could of course include the right of the authorities to enter and inspect the Camp. Copies of a notification amending the Defence of India Rules and of an Order under the new Defence Rule 58 (1A) are enclosed for your information. Both notification and Order will issue on 23rd September 1944, together with the Press Note of which a copy is also enclosed.

3. It will be seen that para. 5 of the order makes a certificate by the Central or Provincial Government conclusive proof on the point whether an organization is one to which clause 2 of the order applies. Shortly after this order was issued we proposed to send you certificates by the Central Government in respect of

- (1) The Indian National Congress
- (2) The All-India Muslim League
- (3) The All-India Hindu Mahasabha
- (4) The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh
- (5) The Anjuman-i-Khaksaran

A certificate in similar form by the Provincial Government will only be required, presumably, in the case of a political or communal organization the activities of which are confined to the Province. These certificates need not of course be published, but true copies of those given by the Central Government may be produced in Court if and when the necessity arises.

4. With reference to para. 5 of our letter of 12th July, only two Provincial Governments, the Punjab and the Central Provinces, favoured the prohibition of all forms of uniform. Our view remains that such a prohibition is not only unnecessary but would prove extremely difficult to apply in practice, owing to the large number of exceptions that would have to be made; and that it should be sufficient to enforce strictly the notifications of 5-8-40 prohibiting military drill and the wearing of military uniforms, and the present order relating to camps and parades. We have, however, no objection to any Province which wishes to do so taking independent action on these lines. If any Province does propose to take such action, we should be glad to see copies of any orders issued and to be informed in due course of the results obtained.

(R. Tottenham)

Secretary to the Government of India

No. 28/3/44 - Political (I)

New Delhi, the 20th September 1944.

Copy with a copy of the enclosures to Secretary to the Governor-General (Personal), Secretary to the Governor General (Public), Political Department, External Affairs Department (with

spare copy for Baluchistan) Defence Department, War Department, Director, Intelligence Bureau and Director, Military Intelligence.

By order,
Signed S.J.L. Olver
Under Secretary to the Government of India.

Enclosure - 1

No. 5-D.C. (82)/44
Government of India
Defence Department
New Delhi, the 23rd September 1944

Notification

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of the Defence of India Act, 1939 (XXXV of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the following further amendment shall be made in the Defence of India Rules, namely:

In rule 58 of the said Rules, after sub-rule (1), the following sub-rule shall be inserted, namely:

(1A). The Central Government or the Provincial Government may by general or special order, with a view to securing that no unauthorized exercise, movement, evolution or drill of a military nature is performed at any place, prohibit, restrict or impose conditions on the holding, or taking part in, any such camp, parade, meeting or assembly, or such class thereof, as may be specified in the order.

Enclosure 2

No. 28/3/44 - Poll (I)
Government of India,
Home Department
New Delhi, the 23rd September 1944

Order

In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-rule (1A) of rule 58 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to make the following order, namely:

The Camps and Parades (Control) Order, 1944

1. (1) This order may be called the Camps and Parades (Control) Order, 1944.
(2) It extends to the whole of British India
(3) It shall come into force at once.

2. No camp or parade shall be held by any political or communal organization in any place, whether public or private, except with the previous permission in writing of the District Magistrate of the district, or the Commissioner of Police of the Presidency town, in which the camp or parade is to be held.

3. The District Magistrate or the Commissioner of Police to whom an application for permission to hold a camp or parade is made by or on behalf of any organization -

- (a) shall, if he has reason to believe that any exercise, movement, evolution or drill of a military nature is likely to be performed at the camp or parade, reject the application;
- (b) may, if he sanctions the application, impose such conditions as he thinks fit on the holding of, or taking part in, the camp or parade with a view to securing that no exercise, movement, evolution or drill of a military nature is performed thereat.

4. No person shall take part in any camp or parade which is held in contravention of the provisions of clause 2 or any of the conditions imposed under sub-clause (b) of clause 3.

5. If any question arises whether an organization is an organization to which clause 2 applies, a certificate of the Central Government or of the Provincial Government shall be conclusive proof on the point.

Enclosure 3

In August 1940, Government issued notifications banning the performance of military drill and the wearing in public of dress resembling a military uniforms. As explained in a Press Note issued at the time, this action was designed to prevent the growth of 'private armies' and to stop militaristic activities on the part of non-official volunteer organizations that could only result in disturbing the public peace and interfere with the security of the country.

2. It has now become necessary to supplement these notifications by taking powers to prevent secret gatherings at which breaches of the orders may occur and to ensure that any proposal on the part of a political or communal organization to hold a camp or parade is brought to the notice of the authority locally responsible for the maintenance of law and order – that is to say the District Magistrate or the Commissioner of Police in Presidency Towns. The new powers take the form of an addition to Rule 58 of the Defence of India Rules and a General order made thereunder which are published today. There is nothing in this order which interferes with any legitimate activity; it merely reinforces Government's determinations to suppress with complete impartiality – the dangerous tendencies which are inseparable from any concerted attempt by non-official political or communal organizations to usurp the functions that are proper to the State, and to the State alone.

Signed
Home Department,
New Delhi,
the 23rd September 1944.

1. Doc. 187

232: Jinnah to Gandhi

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 116–18

September 21, 1944.

Dear Mr Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 19,¹ and I have already given you my answers to

all your questions relating to clarification of the Lahore resolution or any part of it, and I am glad that you admit when you say it may be that 'all my question do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore resolution', but you particularly emphasise your points 15 (a) 15 (b).

I regret to say it has no relation to the context of the resolution or any part thereof. You have brought so many matters into our correspondence which are entirely outside the matter requiring clarification so I have perforce to deal with them. Let me first deal with your letter of September 11.

You say: 'My life-mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling Power being ousted. Hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving of Independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together'.

The gist of your letters up to date is that you are wedded to this policy and will pursue it. In your next letter of September 14,² while you were good enough to furnish me with the clarification of the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, you were pleased to observe: 'I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement'.

In your letter of September 15,³ you say: 'Independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. resolution of 1942'. It is therefore, clear that you are not prepared to revise your policy and that you adhere firmly to your policy and programme which you have persisted in and which culminated in your demand, final policy, programme, and the method and sanction for enforcing it by resorting to mass disobedience in terms of the 8th August 1942, resolution, and you have made clear again by stating in your letter of September 19,⁴ as follows: 'As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ, for I am wholly unrepentant'. You know that the August 1942, resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India.

Then, again, in the course of our discussion when I asked you for clarification of the Gandhi Rajaji formula, you were pleased to say, by your letter of September 15,⁵ as follows: 'For the moment I have shunted the Rajaji formula and with your assistance am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore resolution of the Muslim League'. We discussed it in its various aspects, as you told me you were open to be persuaded and converted to our point of view. I discussed the resolution at great length with you, and explained everything you wanted to understand, even though have emphasized more than once that you are having these talks with me in your personal capacity, and in your letter of September 15, you assured me in the following words with regard to the Lahore resolution: Believe me, I approach you as a seeker, though I represent nobody but myself, and that you were open to conviction and conversion.

You had informed me by your letter of September 11, as follows: 'It is true that I said ocean separated you and in outlook. But that had no reference to the Lahore resolution of the League. The League resolution is indefinite'. I naturally, therefore, proceeded in reply, to ask you by my letter of September 11, as follows: You say that the Lahore resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the resolution; but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principle embodied in it. I would therefore, like to know in what way or respect the Lahore

resolution is indefinite, and I sent you a reminder on September 13, to which you replied by your letter of September 15, not confining yourself really to matter of clarification, but introducing other extraneous matters, with some of which I had already dealt, in reply to this letter of your of September 15, by my letter of September 16, and furnished you with all the clarifications, informing you that you had introduced several matters which could hardly be discussed in a satisfactory manner by means of correspondence.

I have already given you all the clarifications you require so far as the Lahore resolution goes and its text is concerned, You again raise further arguments, reasons and grounds and continue to persist in a discussion on the point, amongst others, whether Muslims of India are a nation, and then you proceed further to say: 'Can we not agree to differ on the question of "two nations" and yet solve the problem on the basis of self determination?'.

It seems to me that you are labouring under some misconception of the real meaning of the word 'self-determination'. Apart from the inconsistencies and contradictions of the various positions that you have adopted in the course of our correspondence, as indicated above, can you not appreciate our point of view that we claim the right of self-determination as a nation and do as a territorial unit, and that we are entitled to exercise our inherent right as a Muslim nation, which is our birth-right? Whereas you are labouring under the wrong idea that 'self-determination means only that on a territorial unit which, by the way, is neither demarcated not defined yet, and there is no union of federal constitution of India in being, functioning as a sovereign Central Government. Ours is a case of division and carrying out two independent sovereign States by way settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance or secession from any existing union, which is now set in India. The right of self-determination, which we claim, postulates that we are a nation, and as such it would be the self-determination of the Muslims, and they alone are entitled to exercise that right.

I hope you will now understand that your question 15 (a) does not arise out of the Lahore resolution or of any part thereof. As to 15 (b) again it does not arise as a matter of clarification, for it will be a matter for the constitution-making body chosen by Pakistan to deal with and decide all matters as a sovereign body representing Pakistan vis-a-vis the constitution making body of Hindustan or any other party concerned. There cannot be defence and similar matter of 'common concern', when it is accepted that Pakistan and Hindustan will be two separate independent sovereign states. I hope I have now given all satisfactory explanations, over and above the matter of clarification of the Lahore resolution, in the hope of converting you as individual 'seeker'.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah.

1 & 4. Doc. 230.

2. Doc. 219.

3. Doc. 222.

5. Doc. 221.



233: Gandhi to Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 118-19

September 22, 1944.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your letter of yesterday (21st inst),¹ so disturbed me that I thought I would post-pone my reply till after we had met at the usual time. Though I made no advance at our meeting, I think I see somewhat clearly what you are driving at. The more I think about the two nations theory the more alarming it appears to me. The book recommended by you gives me no help. It contains half-truths and its conclusions or inferences are unwarranted. I am unable to accept the proposition that the Muslims of India are a nation distinct from the rest of the inhabitants of India. Mere assertion is no proof. The consequences of accepting such a proposition are dangerous in the extreme. Once the principle is admitted there would be no limit to claims for cutting up India into numerous divisions which would spell India's ruin. I have, therefore, suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be.

You seem to be averse to plebiscite. In spite of the admitted importance of the League, there must be clear proof that the people affected desire partition. In my opinion, all the people inhabiting the area ought to express their opinion specifically on this single issue of division. Adult suffrage is the best method, but I would accept any other equivalent.

You summarily reject the idea of common interest between the two arms. I can be no willing party to a division which does not provide for the simultaneous safeguarding of common interest such as defence, foreign affairs and the like. There will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity.

Your letter shows a wide divergence of opinion and outlook between us. Thus you adhere to the opinion often expressed by you that the August 1942, resolution is 'inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India'. There is no proof for this sweeping statement.

We seem to be moving in a circle. I have made a suggestion. If we are bent on agreeing as I hope we are, let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi.

1. Doc 232.



234: Government of India to all Provincial Governments

Govt. of Madras, U.S. Files – File No. 120/44
[TNA]

Government of India
Home Department

Express Letter

Secret

From
Home, New Delhi

To
All Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners,
Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg.

No. 28/4/44 – Poll (I)

New Delhi, the 22nd September 1944.

Replies to our letter No. 28/4/44 – Poll (I) dated 31st¹ July 1944 proposing an amendment of Defence of India Rule 27A to provide further powers for the control of ‘private armies’ showed general acceptance of our proposals.

2. On further consideration, however, we have decided not to proceed with the proposed amendment to the Defence of India Rules unless and until a situation arises in which the powers are needed. We may hope that the order recently issued to control camps and parades (our letter No. 28/3/44 – Poll (I) dated the 20th September 1944)¹ along with the previous notifications of 5th August 1940, will be sufficient. Should this not prove to be the case, we should then have to consider whether these further powers were necessary. We should in that event again consult Provincial Governments.

(R. Tottenham)

Secretary to the Government of India.

U.S. Files 120/44 – TNA
No. 28/4/44 – Poll (I)

New Delhi, the 22nd September 1944.

Copy forwarded for information to the Secretaries to the Governor General (Personal & Public), Political Department, External Affairs Department, Defence Department, War Department, Director, Intelligence Bureau and Director Military Intelligence.

By order,

Signed S.J.L. Olver

Under Secretary to the Government of India.

¹ Doc. 196.

² Doc. 231.

235: Gandhi to Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), p. 120

September 23, 1944.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Last evening's talk has left a bad taste in the mouth. Our talks and our correspondence seem to run in parallel lines and never touch one another. We reached the breaking point last evening but, thank God, we were unwilling to part. We resumed discussion and suspended it in order to allow me to keep my time for the evening public prayer.

In order that all possible chance of making any mistake in matter of this great importance may be removed, I would like you to give me in writing what precisely on your part you would want me to put my signature to.

I adhere to my suggestion that we may call in some outside assistance to help us at this stage.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi

236: Jinnah to Gandhi

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), p. 121

September 23, 1944.

Dear Mr Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 23, May¹ I refer you to my letter of today's date which I sent to you in reply to yours of September 22? I have nothing new or fresh to add, but I may say that it is not a case of your being asked to put your signature as representing anybody till you clothe yourself with representative capacity and are vested with authority. We stand by, as I have already said, the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution of March 1940. I appeal to you once more to revise your policy and programme, as the future of this subcontinent and the welfare of the people of India demand that you should face realities.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah.

¹ Doc. 235.

237: Gandhi to M.A. Jinnah

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 121-2

September 24, 1944.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have your two letters of September 23,¹ in reply to my letter of the 22nd and 23rd.

With your assistance I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement, so that claim embodied in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied, that you must therefore, have no apprehension that the August resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement. That resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement.

I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations by as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the North-West zones, i.e. Baluchistan, Sind, North West Frontier Province and that part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements and parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India.

Differing from you on the general basis, I can recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore of 1940, on my basis and on the following terms.

The areas should be demarcated by a Commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

If the vote is in favour of separation it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can therefore be constituted into two sovereign independent States.

There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two states.

Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League, the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of independence of India.

The League will however be free to remain out of direct action to which the Congress may regard and in which the League may not be willing to participate.

If you do not agree to these terms, could you let me know in precise terms what you would have me to accept in terms of the Lahore resolution and bind myself to recommend to the Congress? If you could kindly do this, I shall be able to see, apart from the difference in approach, what definite terms I can agree to. In yours letter of September 23, you refer to 'the basic and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution' and ask me to

accept them. Surely this is unnecessary when, as I feel, I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance.

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi.

1 Doc 236 - another letter mentioned not printed

2 Docs 233 and 235

238: M.A. Jinnah to Mahatma Gandhi

S.S. Pirzada (ed.), *Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence* (1981), pp. 122-5

September 25, 1944

Dear Mr Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 24,¹ and I thank you for it. You have already rejected the basis and fundamental principles of the Lahore resolution.

You do not accept that the Mussalmans of India are a nation.

You do not accept that the Mussalmans have an inherent right of self-determination.

You do not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise the right of self -- determination.

You do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, North-East, comprising six provinces, namely Sind, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon, as indicated in the Lahore resolution. The matter of demarcating and defining the territories can be taken up after the fundamentals above mentioned are accepted, and for that purpose machinery may be set up by agreement.

You do not accept the provisions embodied in the Lahore resolution for safeguarding the minorities, and yet in your letter under reply you say: 'With your assistance, I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied', and proceed to say 'you must therefore have no apprehensions that the August resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement'.

I have already clearly explained to you that the August resolution, so long as it stands, is bar, for it is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore resolution. You then proceed to say: 'That resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain, and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement'. I am not at present concerned with Britain, but the August resolution as I have already stated is against the ideals and demands of the Muslim League. Further, there is the resolution of Jagat Narayan Lal, passed by the All-India Congress committee in May 1942, at Allahabad, which, in express terms, lays down as follow:

The A.I.C.C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interest of the people of the different States and provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal.'

These two resolutions, so long as they stand, are a complete bar to any settlement on the basis of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan. It is open to the Congress to revise and modify them, but you are only speaking in your individual capacity, and even in that capacity you are holding fast to the August resolution, and you have given no indication of your attitude regarding Jagat Narayan Lal's resolution. I have repeatedly made it clear after we had discussed the Gandhi formula, as you maintained that, to use your own language, 'Rajaji not only has not put the Lahore resolution out of shape and mutilated it but has given it substance and form', and proceeded to say: 'Indeed in view of your dislike of the Rajaji formula, I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement'.

When I asked for further clarification, which you furnished me by your letter of September 15, you started by saying: I have shunted the Rajaji formula and with your assistance I am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore resolution of the Muslim League, and then forward the Gandhi-Rajaji formula was not discussed any further, and the question of your representative character and authority which I had pointed out from the very commencement, therefore, did not arise, as you as you had given me the task of converting you to the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution, and ever since we discussed the Lahore resolution only at great length and examined the pros and cons, and finally you have rejected it.

As a result to our correspondence and discussions I find that the question of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan is only on your lips and it does not come from your heart, and suddenly at the eleventh hour you put forward a new suggestion, consisting only of two sentences, by your letter of September 22, saying: 'I therefore suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if division there must be. I naturally asked you what this new suggestion of yours meant, and wanted you to give me rough outline of this new idea of yours as to how and when the division is to take place and in what it is different from the division envisaged in the Lahore resolution, and now you have been good enough to give me your amplification, in your letter of September 24 under reply, in which you say: 'Differing from you on the general basis I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore, 1940, on my basis and on the following terms. The terms clearly indicate that your basis is in vital conflict with, and is opposed to the fundamental basis and principles of the Lahore resolution, Now let me take your main terms.

(a) 'I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the North-West zones, i.e. Baluchistan, Sind, North-West Frontier Province and the part of Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India' If this term were accepted and given effect to, the present boundaries of these provinces would be maimed and mutilated beyond redemption and leave us only with the husk, and it is opposed to the Lahore resolution.

(b) That even in those mutilated areas so defined, the right of self-determination will not be exercised by the Muslims but by the inhabitants of those area so demarcated. This again is opposed to the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution.

(c) That if the vote is in favour of separation they shall be allowed to 'form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination'. Whereas we propose that we would come to a complete settlement of our own immediately, and by our united

front and efforts do everything in our power to secure the freedom and independence of the peoples of India on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan.

(d) Next you say, 'there shall be treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications customs, commerce, and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties'. If these vital matters are to be administered by some Central authority, you do not indicate what sort of authority or machinery will be set up to administer these matters, and how and to whom again that authority will be responsible.

According to the Lahore resolution, as I have already explained to you all these matters, which are the lifeblood of any State, cannot be delegated to any Central authority or Government. The matter of security of the two States and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution – making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or other party concerned, to deal with on the footing of their being two independent States. As regards the safeguarding of rights of minorities, I have already explained that this question of safeguarding the minorities is fully stated in the Lahore resolution.

You will therefore, see that the entire basis of your new proposal is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore resolution, and as I have already pointed out to you, both in the correspondence and in our discussions, it is very difficult for me to entertain proposals and negotiate and reach any agreement or settlement with you as an individual, unless, they come from you in your representative capacity. That was the same difficulty with regard to the Gandhi-Rajaji formula, and I made it clear to you at the very outset, but the formula was discussed as you asserted that it had met the Lahore resolution in substance, but while you were furnishing me with the clarification of this formula, you shunted it and we confined ourselves to the Lahore resolution, and hence the question of your representative capacity did not arise regarding this formula. But now you have, in your letter of September 24, made a new proposal of your own on your own basis, and the same difficulties present themselves to me as before, and it is difficult to deal with it any further unless it comes from you in your representative capacity.

I cannot agree with you when you finally wind up by saying: 'In your letter of September 23, you refer to 'the basic and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution' and ask me to accept them. Surely this is unnecessary when, as I feel, I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance'. This is obviously far from correct. Why not then accept the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution and proceed to settle the details?.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. Jinnah.



239 Chief Secretary Government of Punjab to all Dy. Commissioners in Punjab

Govt. of Punjab (Office of D.C. Rohtak) File No. H-43
[Punjab State Archives]

Secret

From
F.C. Bourne, Esquire, CSI., CIE., ICS.,
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

To
All Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.
No. S-7014-42BDSB. Simla East, dated the 28th September 1944.

Subject: Camps and Parades.

Sir,

I am directed to enclose copies of:

- (1) Government of India Defence Department notification¹ No. 5-D.C. (82)/44 dated the 23rd of September 1944;
- (2) Government of India Home Department, Camps and² Parades (Control) Order No. 28/3/44 - Poll (I) dated the 23rd of September 1944; and
- (3) A press note issued by the Government of India.³

2. It will be observed that the Camps and Parades (Control) Order requires the previous permission in writing of District Magistrates for the holding of camps and parades by political and communal organizations both in private and public places within their districts, and empowers Districts Magistrates either to refuse permission under clause 3 (a) of the Order or to impose such conditions as they think fit under clause 3 (b) Amongst 'political or communal organizations' within the meaning of the Order, the following must definitely be included:

- (1) the Indian National Congress:
- (2) the All India Muslim League:
- (3) the Muslim Students Federation:
- (4) the All India Hindu Mahasabha:
- (5) the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh: and
- (6) the Anjuman-i-Khaksaran.

The Government of the Punjab will be prepared to consider the certification, under clause 5 of the Order, of other organizations, should occasion arise. It is not the intention of Government at present to prohibit entirely the holding of all camps, and permission for camps may therefore be granted at your discretion, provided of course that no unauthorized drill of a military nature is likely to be performed. If you have reason to believe that drill will be performed, then you are bound under the Order to refuse permission. When you sanction

applications under clause 3 (b) of the Order, the Punjab Government direct that you shall impose whatever conditions you consider necessary and that these conditions should include:

- (a) permission for Magistrates and Police Officers to enter and inspect the camp at any time;
- (b) a ban on the wearing of any kind of uniform badge or distinctive dress.

You will of course seek advice from the Superintendent of Police of your district whenever an application is received from any organization for permission to hold a camp or parade.

3. In view of the Government's determination to prevent the growth of 'private armies' and to stop militaristic activities on the part of non-official volunteer organizations. I am directed to say that the provisions of this Order and of the previous orders prohibiting military drill and the wearing of military uniform (reproduced at pages 95 and 96 in the Volume of Miscellaneous Important Confidential Circulars issued in connection with the War) should be strictly enforced and adequate sentences demanded whenever prosecutions are instituted. Should it be necessary to institute a prosecution for any violation of the provisions of the Camps and Parades (Control) Order, you should apply for a certificate in accordance with clause 5 of the Order. Such applications should be addressed to the Assistant to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, Punjab.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

No. S-7043-17-BDSB. Simla East, dated the 28th September 1944.

Copies are forwarded, for information, to all Commissioners of Divisions in the Punjab.

- 1. See enclosures to Doc 231.
- 2. See Enclosures to Doc 231.
- 3. See enclosures to Doc 231.

240 Official Notings on the Constitution of M.L.N.G. (dt 30.9.1944–20.10.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Intelligence Bureau,
Home Department

A copy of the Constitution¹ and Rules of the Bombay Provincial Muslim National Guards is forwarded herewith for information and retention. This is the first provincial constitution which

has come to our notice. We are enquiring from [A] Bombay whether this has been finally adopted and published by the Bombay Muslim League.

Signed .A.J. Boon
Assistant Director (L)

Home Department (Mr Shaw).

D.I.B. U/o No. 40/M.A./40-II, dated Sept. 30, 1944

Submitted. Re: [A] above. Please see my letter which states that the Constitution has been issued by the Provincial Committee of the 'National Guard'.

Signed S (I) may see.

In the 'Constitution', Rules of the Bombay Provincial Muslim National Guards there is a reference to 'parade' in para. 6 (d) Para. 6 (e) provides for something suspiciously like a public parade under the 'guise of attending mosque. 'Extra drill' is mentioned at para. 18. Although there is a section describing the type of drill that would be performed it seems probable that there were instructions on this point previously which may have been suppressed for the moment.

2. I do not know whether the instructions on the subject of uniform, para. 13, fall within the purview of SS 59 DIR. I think I want more details on this point.

3. I think we might refer the Bombay Govt. to our letter No. 28/3/44 - Poll (I) dated 20 Sept. 44 and to the camps and parade order asking, if any, action is proposed.

G.A.T. Shaw
Signed
2.10.44

DS (I)

We have already seen the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League National Guards at p. 29 corr. The Constitution and Rules of the Bombay Provincial Muslim National Guards, which we have now received back from the Bombay Govt. and from D.I.B., makes a considerable advance in the direction of a private army. There are now lance-corporals, corporals and Sergeants with one, two or three chevrons respectively on their sleeves; lieutenants and captains with one and two stars respectively on their shoulders, whistle cord and cross belt; and district and provincial commanders with similar badges of rank. There is also a quartermaster and an aide de camp to the Provincial commander; instructions for military 'Salutes to officers; and the uniform for the rank and file (known as guardsmen) now provides for only a forage cap' as headgear (instead of 'cap or turban', 'military slacks', and brown shoes. There is also 'extra drill' as a punishment. One of the aims and objects is 'to maintain peace, tranquillity and order in the country: - this in itself is nothing new as it appeared also in the all - India constitution; but our Press Note on the Camps, Parades order has come since then, and has expressly pointed out that this is a function of the State alone.

2. It is not clear whether this Bombay Constitution has been finally adopted and published and if so whether it was before or after the Camps of Parades Order. DIG is enquiring whether it has been adopted and published, and the Bombay Govt. merely says it was 'recently issued'. It certainly must have been prepared before the Camp & Parades order. I doubt if any action

by us is possible until we know the facts about this and watch further developments and see the other Provincial Constitutions when issued. The question of the publicity given to our Camp & a Parades Order is also relevant and I am still awaiting P.I.O.'s report about that.

3. Quite apart from the Camps and Parades order, there is the question of whether the proposed uniform is going to contravene the notification of 1940 under DIR 59. It is difficult to say without seeing, but the effect of the Bombay instructions would certainly be to cut much of the 'musical comedy' element and introduce further approximation to military dress which as far as I know – have not appeared before. But here again until we know the actual facts and developments it is too early to take any action. DIB may be asked to let us know the full facts about this Bombay constitution when ascertained, and if it has actually been adopted – whether before or after the Camps and Parades order. In acknowledging the Bombay Govt.'s letter we might draw attention to our letter No. 28/3/44 – Poll (I) giving instructions about the Camps & Parades Order as well as the notification relating to military uniforms.

F.G. Cracknell
4/10/44

Secy.

If practical effect is given to this Bombay instructions, the Muslim League Guards can hardly avoid coming up against one or other of our orders. The movement is of course frankly military and it might be worth considering whether we could and should ban the use of military titles of rank. Our powers in this respect may be examined.

2. As regards the uniform, the colour may prevent it from being regarded as an indication of a military uniform but it is important to remember that our order of 1940 [A] forbade the wearing of any dress resembling that worn by any official force – not only the army. The point is whether this Muslim Guard uniform is likely to produce the impression on uneducated people that its wearers carry some kind of official authority.

3. We might also examine the possibility of banning the wearing of badges of rank in any way similar to those authorized for the armed Forces, Police etc.

4. Apart from examining the points included in paras 1 & 3, I think it would be sufficient to acknowledge the Bombay Govt. and ask them (a) to let us know if actual attempts are made to put the instructions into practice and (b) what their view is about A in para. 2 above.

R. Tottenham
4/10

28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

Signed
5/10/44

Draft below.²

I submit a draft letter to Bombay for approval. The other points will be considered after issue.

F.G. Cracknell
Signed

Secy.

Issue and resubmit for action on para. 1 & 3 of Secy.'s note 4-10-44.

Serial No. 30 (issue)

Signed

Resubmitted.

Signed
9/10

DFA (NI)

With reference to paras 1 and 3 of Secretary's note dated 4th October, our only powers as far as I can find are under Rules 48, 58 and 59 of the Defence of India Rules. Badges of rank are mentioned in Rule 48, but this rule apparently refers to impersonation. The organizations with which we are concerned are not trying to pass themselves off as members of the British forces but are trying to create the impression that they have a military or official nature equivalent to that of the British forces. Rule 48 does not, therefore, apply. Rule 59 empowers us to prohibit the wearing or display in public of any distinctive dress or article of apparel or any emblem'. If a badge of rank is an emblem, we could prohibit the wearing of specified badges under this rule; and even if it is not, I should think we could ban the wearing of any uniform having such badges as being 'distinctive dress'. If under this rule we banned the wearing of any uniform having such badges of rank on the sleeve or on the shoulder, it would cut out these undesirable imitations, but the usual complications as regards boy scouts and girl guides would arise. Moreover, it is to be considered whether the use of such badges is not already covered to all intents and purposes by our existing order, i.e. whether the use of a particular number of chevrons on the sleeve or stars on the shoulder will not in itself convert the uniform into one which uneducated persons might assume to be official.

2. As regards military titles of rank, I can find no provision under which we could ban their use. It does not appear to be a sufficiently important point for special action. So long as these organizations have offices, it does not matter very much what they call them. I doubt if such words as 'corporal' and 'lance corporal' would survive for long in their correct form, nor is it likely they would mean very much to the average uneducated person.

F.G. Cracknell,
Deputy Secy.,
12-10-44

Addl. Secretary.

I am inclined to think that we may have to ban badges of rank in imitation of or resembling official badges or rank by members of political or communal organizations. But we may watch the effect of the recent order for the present. H.M. may like to see these notes. It is strange that our recent orders seem to have passed almost unnoticed by the Press!

R. Tottenham,
2/x

H.M.

I think that we may watch. I am inclined also to think that we have gone as far as is necessary on paper. Our orders, if they are enforced, are sufficient to prevent 'private armies'. The only people that can enforce them are Prov. Govts and District Magistrates. They will probably

ignore technical breaches but are fairly certain to act in the case of serious infringements of law.

J.A. Thorne
14/10/44

S.G.G. (Public) may now see the file.

G.A.T. Shaw
10/10

S.G.G. (Public) Mr Wyndhan.

H.D. U.O. No. 28/2/43 - Poll (I) dated 19-10-44

Seen thanks. We would be glad to see again if this boils up further on especially in any ministerial Province.

G.C. Wyndhan
Signed
0/10/44

1. Not printed.

2. (Draft) - Not Printed.

241 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political

The news of the breakdown of the Gandhī-Jinnah talks come towards the end of the fortnightly and it is too early to gauge reactions correctly. The general feeling however appears to be widespread disappointment, as there had been quite a considerable amount of optimism as to the outcome of these negotiations. Prayers and meetings for the success of the talks had continued throughout this fortnight, and had not been confined to Congress circles alone. In Madras City the Madras District Muslim League held a meeting under the presidency of the Mayor to support the talks and the Pakistan formula, in Madanapalle it is reported that the Muslims offered prayers at the local mosque on the 27th day of Ramzan for the success of the negotiations. In Guntur, Malabar and Tajore districts also, various meetings were held mainly by Communist controlled Ryote. Associations and Labour Unions, and the results of the talks had been eagerly awaited by all.

The split in the Justice party has assumed definite shape with the holding of a conference in Madras of the Justice party men, who had broken with Mr Ramswami Naicker. They elected Mr B. Ramachandra Reddy as interim Leader and passed a number of resolutions repudiating the stand taken by Mr Naicker. The latter continues his campaign to canvass support for his 'Dravida Kazhagam' and reports continue of meetings held in south Arcot, Tanjore and Tinnevely districts, many of them in connection with his 60th Birthday. At a meeting held in Tuticorin it is reported that a sepoy on leave made a speech condemning

the attitude of the Government in interning Jeevarathnam, a 'Communist Justice party worker, and more or less implying that such actions would result in the soldiers turning against the Government. The local police have reported his name to the officer commanding his unit.

242: Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political

The outstanding political event during the fortnight was the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks for the Congress-League settlement. The reasons for this are obvious. Both the leaders approached the problem from completely different angles and each tried to convince the other of the correctness of his view point. The attention of the public was centred on the talks for over two weeks and the initial reaction to the news was one of disappointment. This was due to the fact that the general public, though it was never very optimistic about the outcome, entertained a lingering hope, particularly in view of the prolongation of the conversations, that the two leaders would come to some reasonable settlement, and remove one of the biggest hurdles in India's path to freedom. The Liberal Party, the Hindu Mahasabha and others who are opposed to the settlement of the communal problem on the basis of vivisection of India do not regret the breakdown. Congress minded people anxious not to give annoyance to Muslims console themselves and the Muslims by arguing that the breakdown of talks is to the good of the country as the partition of the country was in the interest of the British rulers who encouraged division to maintain their own interests.

The appeal made by the Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Hindu Mahasabha asking all Hindus to fly black flag on their houses on the day of the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting referred to in my last letter met with little response from the public in Bombay City. Only about eight such flags were noticed.

Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh: Mr M.S. Golwalkar, the Chief Organizer of the Sangh, during his tour in Maharashtra, visited Chaligaon in East Khandesh District, Sholapur, Ahmed Nagar, and Wai and Karad in Satara District between 3rd and 15th September. In Sholapur he attended a flag salutation ceremony performed by some 700 volunteers and held private discussions with volunteers whom he advised to concentrate on establishing equality amongst Hindus. He addressed two rallies of Sangh volunteers at Wai and Karad and advised them to strengthen the organization. At Ahmednagar, he supervised the activities of the local branches of the Sangh.

Students Activities: At a meeting held on the 9th September at Ahmedabad under the joint auspices of the Ahmedabad Students Union and the All Ahmedabad Muslim Students Union speeches were made expressing hope that the Gandhi-Jinnah talks would bear fruitful results.

Mr N.V. Gadgil, President of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, addressed about 400 members of the Students' Federation, Ahmednagar, on 15th September. In the course of his speech he supported Mr Rajagopalachari's formula for a communal settlement and advised the students to propagate pro-Pakistan views amongst the public.

243

Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

2. *Political* – (a) General: It is not possible yet to appreciate the reactions of the Chief Political and communal organizations to the breakdown of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks and to the correspondence released. Most district officers have reported that intense interest and hopes had been aroused by these talks among the educated classes, and, although the Sikhs and minorities are relieved at the failure of the Congress and League to impose an arbitrary and an unwanted settlement upon them, there will be considerable disappointment mingled with a sense of shame among nationalists. The attitude of the main political parties towards the discussions showed little change during the fortnight. Congress was prepared to support any settlement sponsored by Gandhi; the Muslim League was inactive and waiting on events, however much the more orthodox Hindus and the Hindu Mahasabha resented any proposals to sell out to the Muslims and to subordinate the Mahasabha to Congress, it seemed doubtful whether the Hindus would have the courage of their convictions to oppose a settlement to which Gandhi had given his approval. Moreover, dissensions within the Punjab Hindu Sabha operated against any united front. Sikh determination to resist Pakistan, if necessary by force, continued to grow, and the Akalis exploited to the full the opportunity afforded by the discussions to hold a number of well attended meetings and to rally the rural classes behind them in opposition to the Gandhi-Rajaji proposals. At these meetings speakers dilated on the Moghal atrocities in terms which augur ill for the communal peace of the Province and emphasized the necessity for guarding the Sikhs against any possibility of their revival under Pakistan. The creation of separate Sikh State was advanced increasingly strongly as the only remedy for the preservation of the political entity of the Sikhs, and there was a growing demand that the Sikhs should be regarded as a separate nation, that Government should specifically differentiate between them and other minorities, and that Hindus and Muslims should treat with them direct and not through any constitution-making body that might be set up in the future. At the same time the Sikh leaders made it clear that acceptance by Government of any agreement reached by Gandhi and Jinnah ignoring the Sikhs would bring them into direct conflict with Government. The Communist threat to the Gurdwaras at the next elections was not overlooked at these meetings, and Akali attacks on the Communists became more outspoken and bitter. Although the Akalis have a stronger hold over the Sikh masses than the Communists, they have neither their energy nor capacity for hard work and organization and are becoming disturbed by the growing Communist influence in the Central Punjab districts.



244 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

There is reason to fear that the immediate result of the fiasco will be a general deterioration in communal relations, and an encouragement to those who are openly expressing the defeatist view that there is no solution except to fight it out. There is reason to think that some Congress people and C.S.P. workers believe the statement made by Nagindas Master that after the failure of his talks with Mr Jinnah, Mr Gandhi will call for another mass movement and will himself court imprisonment. The extremists in 'Tata Workers' Union are believed to be reorganizing themselves in preparation for a mass movement.

245 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from C.P. & Berar for the second half of September 1944

File No. 18/9/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

3. *Communal:* Dashera and Id. passed off peacefully everywhere, but not before considerable tension had been created in Jubbulpore as the result of provocative speech made by Maulana Burhan-ul Haq, the leading Muslim League leader of the town, to an Id. gathering of about 10,000 Muslims. He urged at the meeting that 'Kaffara' (cow sacrifices) should be performed at the principal mosque in Jubbulpore at the actual time of passing of the main Dashera procession outside the mosque.

The Deputy Commissioner reports that after considerable negotiations the Muslims agreed that, for this Dashera, 'Kaffara' would be performed after the processions had passed the mosque. The processions passed off peacefully, the Deputy Commissioner adds, with the unprecedented spectacle of Muslims offering pan supari to the processionists, although 'Kaffara' was performed after the procession had passed the mosque. On the earlier Id day Hindus had offered pansupari to Muslims returning from Id, and the Muslims returned the complement on Dashera day. This was a regular feature of these festivals in the olden days, and apparently amongst certain sections of the two communities an attempt is being made to revive this sort of friendly intercourse. The Commissioner reports, however, that a new point of disagreement has now arisen as to the time, relative to the Dashera precession, at which 'Kaffara' should be performed, and this may again trouble in future years.

Anti-Pakistan propaganda in Berar continues under the inspiration of Mr B.G. Khaparde, the Hindu-Mahasabha leader.

In view of the Government orders prohibiting Government servants from joining the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, the Jubbulpore branch decided that relatives of Government servants should attend the Sangh classes and that Government servants themselves should

only be required to do propaganda amongst their friends. 'Intellectual classes' for instruction in the principles of the Sangh were held at various towns in the province. Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh propaganda continues to be carried on steadily and vigorously in many directions.

Khaksar have decided to open a regular office in Jubbulpore so as to organise Khaksar activities in a systematic manners.

246 Government of India to the Government of Bombay with reply

File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Secret

File No.
Serial No. 30

No. 28/2/43 - Poll (I)

Dated 7th October 1944.

To
The Secy. to the Govt. of Bombay,
Home Department (Special),
Poona.

Reference your letter No. S.D. - 2226, dated 28th September 1944,¹ forwarding a copy of the Constitution and Rules of the Bombay Provincial Muslim National Guards.

2. We should like to be kept informed of any attempts that may be made to put the Constitution and Rules into practice. We should also like your opinion as to whether the new uniform contravenes our order of 1940 under Defence of India Rule 59 (1), i.e. whether it any way resembles any official uniform or is likely to produce on uneducated people the impression that its wearers carry some sort of official authority.

R. Tottenham
Secretary.

Reply to the above letter.

Express Letter

Home Department (Political)
Bombay Castle, 11th November 1944.

Secret

No. S.D.-2543

To
The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Reference your Express Letter No. 28/2/43 - Poll (I), dated the 7th October 1944.

The Constitution and Rules of the Bombay Provincial Muslim National Guards, a copy of which was sent to you with our letter No. S.D. 2226, dated the 28th September 1944, have been put into practice and are being acted upon.

The question whether the uniforms described in rules (13) and (1) contravene the Government of India Notification of 5th August 1940 is at present being examined by this Government.

Bombay Special.

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

1. Not printed

247 Talks with Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy (dt 10.10.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 99-101

[NMML]

October 10th

Sir Nazimuddin called.

He mentioned the degree to which Bengal had been denied foodstuffs etc. from surrounding Province (including U.P.) by restricted action of other Provincial Governments and said that he thought that I would have to have a conference of the Governors concerned in an endeavour to get them restore the position.

I agreed to this and said that I would do this in the third week of November.

Nazimuddin suggested that I should get (from Civil Supplies and Agriculture Departments) a list of the items that used to be imported into Bengal and which other Provinces had now stopped.

I asked Nazimuddin whether he was satisfied with the state of public health of the Province, at which direct question he looked rather stunned. I said I thought that H.M., PH & LSG, was much more interested in legalistic niceties than in rectifying the appalling state of the Provincial public Health. I said also that I thought he was not interested in appointments unless he could get Muslims appointed.

H.C.M. said that he thought I was doing him an injustice.

I said that the fact remained that essential appointments (to which I had already drawn his attention) on the D.P.H.'s staff were still unfilled.

I told H.C.M. that it looked as if we were unlikely to get more than 50 of the 140 military officers from G.H.Q., and that their quality was unlikely to be very good so I had heard from *Mudie* – and that this made it all the more necessary for us to recruit and undertake to train men to take the place of those Army officers that we now had and whom G.H.Q. would probably recall before very long.

I said that I understood also that no progress had been made with the recruiting of Civil medical officers to replace the 40 odd Army medical officers (now on Civil health duties in the Districts) and who had to return to the Army by the end of the year.

249: Talks with S.C. Mitter and Nazimuddin (dt 14.10.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 109-10
[NMML]

October 14th

I then saw *S.C. Mitter*. He wants me to write the Viceroy supporting his Departmental letter to the G. of I for an increase in the price of silk. He will send copy of the G. of B. letter to the G. of I.

He told me confidentially that he believed that *Karim* was completely unsuitable for the post of the Director of Industries. A frantic search for a Muslim is proceeding. *Shahabuddin* is asking *Ghulam Mohammed* (Hyderabad) to find one.

Mitter believes that the gap is constantly widening between the Muslims and the Hindus in Bengal, already arising out of unfair preference of Muslims all along the line that is given to them by this Government. He believes that the existing bad state of the administration in Bengal is primarily due to communalism. He thinks that there has been a 50 per cent. decline in the efficiency of the administrative machine in the last five years, for this reason.

Mitter thinks very highly indeed of *Kirpalani*.

Mitter believes that if he were given a good Deputy, he could do the Government of India work and also the work of the Director of Industries (Bengal) at the same time

He gave me to understand that his real reason for severing his connection with the Government of Bengal was the constant frustration and hanky-panky that he had suffered from, by reason of his being a Hindu.

I then saw *Sir Nazimuddin*.

He tells me that the opposition to the Agricultural Income Tax Bill in the Legislative Council collapsed on October 12th, and that all that now remains to be done is to clear up the point about the missing word 'No'. He said that it was possible that the Opposition would try to take this to the High Court, but failing this, he thinks that we should get the Bill in about a week.

He was relieved that the Pujas had passed by without any incidents of any consequence.

He brought with him a list of the measures to be passed in the Assembly in the next sitting – and the time that each of them should take, totalling about 10 sitting days. He suggested the meeting of the Assembly on November 20th, to which after discussion, I agreed. I said that I thought that he might meet with considerably greater opposition than he anticipated to the amendment of the Rules of Procedure. He said that, if the Speaker have any noticeable trouble in this regard, he would seriously consider getting rid of him – if his numbers permitted but that he did not want to be committed firmly to this at this stage.

He seems hopeful of getting some more supporters over from the Opposition between now and November 20th.

I told him that *Dr S.P. Mookerjee* had asked to see me on Monday.

The Bengal private Forests Bill was not amongst the list of measures to be passed this sitting. I asked him to include it and to get it published in the Gazette, so as to save time later.

I repeated to him what I have stated many times before, that I was convinced that he was trying to go too fast in respect of the Mussalmanisation of the administration — and that I did not see how the Government's attitude in this respect squared with his desire to impress on Hindus the fact that Eastern Pakistan would be a joint Muslim-Hindu enterprise. I said that I though that it was rather significant that *Ayyar*, *Mitter* and *Lakshmanan* were all leaving the Bengal administration in one month. I said that I realized there were ostensible reasons to explain why each one was leaving — but that I was convinced that the real reason was that the Government was making it clear that no Hindus were wanted — and that if this drift went on, it would be an extremely bad thing for Bengal — as there were a wholly insufficient number of qualified Muslims to take their places.

250 Talks with Shyama Prasad Mookerjee (dt 16.10.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 113–14
[NMML]

October 16th.

I then saw *Dr Shyama Prasad Mookerjee*, whose main purpose was to submit again his aim of creating something towards an all party Government. He said that the Hindu point of view was now practically entirely unheard and ignored by the Bengal Government. He asks if the interests of the Province of Bengal would not be furthered by a more broadly based and more representative Government. He says that the Hindus of Bengal cannot submit much longer to their present position of practical exclusion from public affairs in Bengal. Very soon they will want to know more precisely where they stand.

He told me about the starting of his new paper, to be called 'The Nationalist' (and not 'The Hindustan'). a man called *Goenka*, lately the editor of 'The Indian Express' of Madras is going to be editor.

He reminded me that the Cyclone of 1942 occurred exactly two years ago today.

He proclaimed against the present Ministry taking advantage of Control Orders (particularly of Textiles and anti-malarial drugs) by giving licences to Muslims who had never carried on these business before, to the exclusion of genuine Hindu traders.

I asked him if he spoken to *Nazimuddin* about all this and he said he had and that he is coming to see him again in a weeks time. He implied that he would not seek Cabinet rank in any such reorganized Government.



251: Talks with Nazimuddin (dt 17.10.1944) extracts from Casey's Diary

R.G. Casey's Diary, pp. 114–15
[NMML]

October 17th

I then saw Sir Nazimuddin, who is going through a mood of great optimism regarding the rice procurement position. He had clearly been given a superficial account of it all by *Suhrawardy* and suggested wholesale turnover of Government rice reserves in East Bengal at low prices.

I said that I would like to wait another month at least before I accepted his very optimistic present view.

I told him of my talk with *Dr S.P. Mookerjee* yesterday. *Nazimuddin's* viewpoint is that the Hindus are principally represented in the Bengal Assembly by Congress who will not join or support any Government. The adhesion of the *Krishak Proja* and *Fazlul Huq* groups (both of whom are all Muslim) would not increase the Hindu representation in the Government. *Dr S.P.M.'s* plea, therefore, resolved itself into the Government accepting him and his 14 Hindu supporters (of whom 4 are landlords' representatives). Even if the Government accepted them, the Hindus of Bengal would still be able to say that their voice was not adequately heard in the Government.

I told H.C.M. that I had told *Dr S.P.M.* that I would see *Kiran Sanker Roy* (Congress). He says he is clever and sharp and very anti-Muslim Hindu – and not a big man.

252 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Sind for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Towards the end of October, the Government of Sind issued an order Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, prohibiting the printing or publishing the '*Satyartha Prakash*' unless Chapter XIV was excluded therefrom. Chapter Fourteen is of course well known as containing a rather scurrilous attack on Islam, and during the last three years there has been a great deal of agitation amongst Muslims in Sind, the Punjab and elsewhere to have the publication of the '*Satyartha Prakash*' prohibited altogether. The Government of Sind had previously taken no action in the interests of communal unity, but on receipt of information that *Arya Samajists* had collected a sum of money and arranged for the publication of some thousands of copies in Sind with the obvious intent of popularizing the book and thus offending Muslims, Government decided to take the action referred to above.

This step created almost immediate reactions, both in Sind and in the rest of India. An

adjournment motion was moved in the Central Legislative Assembly, but was heavily defeated when the Congress refused to support the motion. The local English Press, which is pro-Congress, had attacked Government very strongly for its action; but was rather nonplussed in view of the attitude taken by the congress at Delhi and for some days there after, there was no adverse comment. Articles have, however, now started re-appearing in the press, urging Government to withdraw the ban and to adopt a more tolerant attitude to the Hindus. There have been meetings of Arya Samajists up and down the Province, while at a few meetings of Muslims, a demand has been made for the complete proscription of the entire book.

253 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

(b) *Hindu* – A conference of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha was held at Ludhiana from November 10th to 12th at which Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, Dr B.S. Moonje and other prominent Hindus spoke. Apprehension of communal trouble over the *Satyartha Parkash* controversy necessitated the banning of processions and meetings for and against the *Satyartha Parkash* question under section 144 CPC. The proceedings of the conference, which attracted audiences of 5–10,000, were intensely communal and designed to develop Hindu consciousness, unity and martial spirit, but at the same time there was much outspoken criticism of Congress, the CR formula and of Gandhi for negotiating with Jinnah over the partition of India. Demands were also made for the resignation of all Congress M.L.A.'s on the ground that they had failed to protect Hindu rights. Such criticism is, however, little more than a symptom of the Hindu Sabha's disapproval of the present Congress policy. Communism in its turn was roundly condemned and a resolution was passed excommunicating Hindu Communists from Hindu society. The dominant notes of all speeches were, however, the stress laid on the indivisibility of India and unrelenting opposition to Pakistan in any form.

(c) *Sikhs* – Following the release of Udham Singh of Nagoke and his supporters, referred to in my last fortnightly report, Akali politics have drifted appreciably towards Congress with little opposition from Giani Kartar Singh and against the judgment of Master Tara Singh, but both groups are unanimous in their opposition to Pakistan and the Communists. It is, however, doubtful whether Nagoke will be able to direct Akali Policy for long, and it is possible that his energies may be diverted from political to religious work. Meanwhile, in order to build up a strong Akali organization to oppose Pakistan and Communism, Master Tara Singh has proposed a scheme for the employment of 100 carefully selected Sikhs to enlist 10,000 Akali ready to make any sacrifice to resist Pakistan after the war, while the S.A. Dal¹ has decided to set up National Kisan Committees to counteract the influence of the Kirti Sabha and to collect 2 lakhs for religious and political purposes.

1. Shiromani Akali Dal.



254 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bihar for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political – In the Political sphere attention was directed to what is considered the misuse by the Sind Government of the Defence of India Rules against the Satyarth Prakash. The Hindi daily *Rashtravani* observed 'If the fourteenth chapter is really fraught with dangerous potentialities then the Government of Sind should have asked the Government of India to ban its circulation throughout India. This is a misuse of the power of Sind Government and at the same time it brings a slur on the Defence of India Rules'. The Hindi daily *Aryavart* criticised not only the Sind Government, but also the attitude of the majority of the Congress members in the Assembly. 'Their action was not only anti-national and unjust, but it was also immoral for them to be elected on the votes of the Hindus and injure their interests in the legislature'. Dr Moonje's slogan of 'Do, die or kill', received prominence and was headlined in the Hindi Press.

255 Government of India to the Government of Bombay

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Home Department

Express Letter

No. 28/2/43 – Poll (I) Dated 23-11-44.

Secret

To
The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department,
Bombay.

Reference your express letter No. S.D. – 2543 dated 11th November 1944.¹

2. We should like your conclusions urgently as regards, to what extent the behaviour, of the Bombay Provincial Muslim National Guards, acting under their 'Constitution and Rules', contravenes our notification No. 74/3/40 – Political (I) dated 5th August 1940 under Defence of India Rule 59 (1) and the Camps and Parades Order forwarded with our letter No. 28/3/44 – Poll (I) dated 20th Sept. 1944.

D.S. (I).

¹ Doc. 246 (Letter No. 2).

256 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Punjab for the second half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

(b) *Sikhs* – The silver jubilee conference of the Jullundur district Akali Jatha, held at Jandiala from November 25th to 27th, afforded the Akali Party an opportunity of answering the anti-Akali Communist Propaganda at Jandiala last September and of giving publicity to its change in policy following on the release of Udham Singh of Nagoke and other Congress Akalis. The various sessions of the conference were well attended and attracted some 8–15,000 people. The primary object of all speakers was to counter the growing Communist influence in the *Doaba* and a large measure of success appears to have been obtained. Words were not minced, and the Communists were described as unprincipled and opportunist atheists and Russian agents who under the cover of socialism were betraying the Sikhs and were working for a system which would destroy religion and the private ownership of land, while at the same time by their support of Pakistan they were threatening the Sikhs with Muslim domination. They were further accused of being financed by the British Government and of having embezzled large sum of money sent from abroad. Next to the Communists Pakistan was subjected to severe condemnation, and it was made clear that the Sikhs were prepared to resist it to the last. The change in Akali Policy was stressed by claims that the Akalis had made greater sacrifices in national movements than any other Community and that they were still solidly behind Congress in its demand for India's independence. Past differences were unconvincingly discussed, but at the same time the Sikh opposition to the C.R. formula was emphasized. The subject of Army recruitment was avoided, and although there was some criticism of the Punjab Ministry and the British Government speakers were on the whole restrained and indicated that the Akalis at present had no wish to come into conflict with either.

Akali policy is built on the shifting sands of opportunism and changes with the political tides, but with the Nagoke group in power would appear likely to follow the lines of a crusade against Communism, pro-Congress but strong anti-Pakistan propaganda, naturally towards recruitment and no direct clash with the British Government and Unionist Ministry. The recent election of Jathedar Mohan Singh to the Presidentship of the SGPC represented a compromise between the two rival groups and has made it unlikely that Sikh interests will be subordinated to the Congress, even though Giani Kartar Singh has been temporarily eclipsed.

257 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Bombay for the second half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Hindu Affairs – The proscription of Chapter 14 of the book '*Satyarth Prakash*' by the

Government of Sind referred to in my last letter was the subject of considerable comment and counter-comment in the communal press in this province. Newspapers under the influence of the Hindu Mahasabha are strongly condemnatory and quote the statement attributed to Mr V.D. Savarkar that if the holy book of one sect was banned on certain grounds, similar demands were bound to be made by the Hindus against the Quran, by the Jews against the New Testament and so forth. On the other hand, Muslim papers such as the 'Daily Khilafat' 'Daily inquilab' applauded the action of the Sind Government. The Daily Khilafat even went to the length of suggesting that all copies of the book in Sind should be seized. Unfortunately, comments on both sides were very bitter and recriminatory and tended to cause increased tension between the Hindus and the Muslims. Apart from this, three small meetings were held at Poona, Sholapur and Surat on the 12th and 13th November and two in Bombay City on the 19th November at which resolutions condemning the action of Sind Government were passed. A similar resolution was passed by the Poona City Municipality at its meeting on the 15th November.

258 Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Madras for the second half of November 1944

File No. 18/15/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

One such question, that of Dravidasthan, attracted some attention in the press. In a comment on Mr E.V. Ramswami Naicker's speech at a Madras public meeting, the *mail* subjected the demand for a separate State in South India to close criticism. It stated that the complex question of defence and the still more complication problem of an independent Dravida Nad's relations with other countries, including the rest of India were not tackled by the advocates of separation. Though some would dismiss that demand for Dravidasthan as a form of midsummer madness and others proclaim it as a political stunt to win back for its chief apostle some of his lost popularity, the paper observed, an appeal to sentiments too deeply rooted might not be frustrated by mere ridicule or scorn. But the journal expressed the hope that the work of the advocates of Dravidasthan might be undone by their own extravagances and that in the end the robust commonsense of a policy of all-India unity might defeat them. It attributed the cause of the separation demand to the attempt by the intellectually favoured to secure control of the sources of power, to obtain monopoly of administrative office and stated that if this was removed, the tendency to separation, observable in North as in South India, in Bengal as in Madras, might be combated and the chances of United India made brighter.

259: Government of Bombay to the Government of India

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Express Letter

Secret

No. S.D.-2736

Dated 6th December 1944.

To
The Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Reference correspondence ending with your Express Letter No. 28/2/43 – Poll (I), dated the 23rd November 1944,¹ regarding Muslim National Guards.

2. The question whether uniforms described in rules (13) and (14) of the new Rules of the Bombay Provincial Muslim National Guards contravened the Government of India Notification of 5th August 1940 was examined. Excepting the distinguishing badges of rank by officers, the uniform of the guards is that already approved by this Government. It is merely in the rules, it seems, that provision has been made for the use of badges of rank, as they are not used at present apparently for fear of the breach of the law. At any rate they are not used in public.

No reports about the breach of the recent Camps and Parades (Control) Order by the Muslim National Guards have been received so far by Government. The behaviour of this organization is generally within the law at present.

Bombay Special.

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

1. Doc. 255.

260: Official Notings reg. volunteer organizations (dt 12.12.1944–19.12.1944) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Submitted.

Refer to the 'uniform' approved by the Bombay Govt. is not quite clear but please see para. 4 of the summary attached with this letter on S.D. – 1792 at 31–7–44.¹

Signed
12/12

Bombay apparently are satisfied with the behaviour of the Muslim League National Guards so far and consider no action necessary. But I think we must find out about this Government approved uniform. (The reference quoted by office relates to the R.S.S. Sangh).

F.C. Cracknell

Signed

12/12/44

Addl. Secretary

Yes. Please dial to Bombay. I think we may find that we were not altogether happy about this 'agreement' with the R.S.S. Sangh and suggest that there may be dangers in any action that officially recognizes and gives that approval to 'volunteer' or 'militant' organizations of a political or communal character. We would like to know they are satisfied on this point.

R. Tottenham.

13.12.44

It may be that the Bombay Govt. sanctioned the wearing of a particular uniform by these quarters in exercise of its powers under our orders under DIR 59 (1). So perhaps we might defer comments until we know the facts. I submit a draft express letter.²

Signed

14/12

Very well. Issue.

R. Tottenham

19/12

Doc. 196

2 Not printed

261: Report on the activities of the Muslim League National Guards (dt 28.12.1944)

File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Secret

At a meeting of the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League held at Lahore in February 1944, a sub-committee consisting of Qazi Mohd Isa, Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan and Yusuf Abdulla Haroon was formed to reorganize the Muslim National Guards on a sound basis. The constitution and rules drawn up by this sub-committee were later adopted by the Committee of Action when it met in Lahore at the beginning of May 1944.

2. According to this constitution the National Guards were to consist of:

- (a) Active Corps;
- (b) Reservist Corps; and

(c) Juvenile Corps.

Its aims and objects were to be the same as those of the All India Muslim League and its functions included:

- (a) the training of Muslims in coordinate activity for their social and physical uplift and maintenance of public peace; and
- (b) the fostering amongst Muslims of the spirit of service and sacrifice.

'Majlis-i-Ala' was to be the principal executive body consisting of one 'Salar-i-Ala' (Supreme Commander) and four other members, known as 'Nazims', who were to be appointed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League. Provincial organizations were to work under the direction of the Provincial Muslim Leagues. In each province there was to be a Suba Majlis consisting of one 'Salar-i-Suba' (Provincial Commander), to be appointed by the Salar-i-Ala in consultation with the President of the Provincial Muslim League, and five other members to be appointed by the Provincial Working Committee.

3. In May 1944, Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Central), was appointed 'Salar-i-Ala' of the All India Muslim League National Guards and soon afterwards he proceeded to various provinces on a reorganization tour. This resulted in some effort to revive activity. On 24.6.44, however, the Government of India drew the attention of Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All India Muslim League, to the Government notification of 5th August 1940, which prohibits the holding of parades of a military nature, and suggested that if any instructions had been issued by the League for the reorganization of the National Guards on lines which would contravene the Government orders, they should be withdrawn: In his reply, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan explained that the organization was intended 'to train and discipline Muslims in co-ordinate activities for social and physical uplift of the Muslims and to maintain peace, tranquillity and order in the country', and he added that it was not the intention of the Muslim League to contravene Government's orders on the subject of military drill.

4. On July 28, Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan issued a statement 'exposing malicious propaganda' in certain quarters that the League was aiming to set up an army in the garb of Muslim National Guards. He explained that the League's sole aim was to organize Muslim youths with a view to infusing into them 'a spirit of tolerance, sacrifice and discipline'.

5. A resume of the Muslim National Guard' activities in various provinces during the year 1944 is given below:

Assam: In July, the Provincial Muslim League appointed a sub-committee to collect funds and to organise the Muslim National Guards, but nothing substantial was done.

Baluchistan: Nothing to report.

Bengal: The Bengal Provincial Muslim League has been unable to pay much attention to organizing the National Guards due to its preoccupation with matters of more urgent political interest.

On April 23rd a Muslim National Guards Training Centre was opened in Faridpur Town. The Bengal Minister of Education and about 40 volunteers were present. Abdul Hashem, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, explained that those who were being trained at this centre would help Muslims in the event of enemy action as well as act as soldiers for the attainment of Pakistan. At a prize distribution ceremony held shortly afterwards, when two Ministers — Mr Shahabuddin and Mr Suhrawardy — were present, it was announced that up to that time only 114 National Guards drawn from 14 districts of Bengal had joined the Training Centre. The intention was that these men would in their turn train National

Guards at their own district centres. Some speakers on this occasion described the aim of the National Guards as social service in the event of a Japanese invasion of Bengal. After this, there was no activity worth mentioning and the organization of the movement was left entirely to one Benazir Ahmed, a member of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Working Committee who has a terrorist past. During the recent Provincial League elections some attempts were made to enrol volunteers, particularly at the instance of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, Salar-i-Ala, who had complained of the failure of the Bengal League to appoint a 'Suba Majlis'. The Nawab also announced that he would soon visit Bengal to undertake a tour of various districts.

A few Muslim National Guards have been occasionally present at Muslim League meetings in Calcutta.

Bihar: In most districts, the Muslim National Guards organization either does not function at all or is unimportant. Even in Muzaffarpur, where there are some 500 volunteers, no particular activity has been noticed except for a certain amount of propaganda in favour of Pakistan and social work. Lathi training has now been suspended.

Bombay: Activity in this province has been confined to the districts of Poona, Ahmedabad, Belgaum, Nasik, Bombay Suburban and Thana. National Guards are reported to have taken part in processions, and functions organised by the League, held flag salutations and weekly parades and kept order at Muslim League meetings.

On 'Pakistan Day' on 23.3.44, Muslim National Guards volunteers went round Muslim Localities in Bombay and sold Pakistan flags which brought in about Rs 2,500. A flag salutation ceremony in the morning was performed by both the Muslim League and the Muslim National Guards. During a camp at Bhiwandi (Thana) in the last week of May, attended by about 62 volunteers parades, physical exercises, lectures, and games were held.

Since the decision in May 1944 to revive the movement, there has been some reorganization in Bombay itself. A few branches have been opened and numbers have grown. The 'Constitution and Rules of the Bombay Provincial Muslim National Guards' came to notice in August. While reproducing only the essential sections of the All India constitution it goes on to give details of duties to be performed by the volunteers. These include attendance at parades and monthly flag salutations. Attendance at the principal mosque on Fridays, either in uniform or wearing any other emblem of the organization, is made obligatory. Details of the duties and powers of the various officers of the Guards are also given; the officers are designated as Lance-Corporals, Corporals, Sergeants, Lieutenants, Captains, District or City Commanders, Divisional Commanders and the Provincial Commander. The uniform is to be of greymalasia cloth and the officers are to wear chevrons and triangular stars – the number varying according to rank. Greetings prescribed in certain cases are to be in the military as well as in Muslim style. National Guards have to possess an identity card and to wear an armlet on the right arm, when attending functions in 'plain clothes'.

C.P.: Nothing to report.

Delhi: There has been no activity except by a few Muslim National Guards who have attended meetings and helped to receive party leaders. The organization has been quiescent in view of there being no President of the Provincial Muslim League who could do the work. Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan's efforts to reorganize the Muslim National Guards here were also unsuccessful on this account.

Madras: The organization, which exists only in Madras city and two or three districts, has not yet come to prominent notice.

N.W.F.P.: There has been no activity and the organization exists only in name. In June, Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan and some members of the Committee of Action toured the Province but their efforts to revive the organization aroused little enthusiasm.

Punjab: Reorganization of the National Guards commenced with the arrival of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan in May. He explained its aims and objects and emphasised the necessity of dissolving the Muslim Students' Federation and incorporating it in Muslim National Guards. During the same month it was reported that the Committee of Action proposed forming a training centre at Lahore and employing members of the Provincial Muslim Students' Federation on League propaganda and the organization of Muslim National Guards during their holidays. It was also decided to raise Rs 1 lakh (half to be collected by the Provincial Muslim League and the other half to be donated by Jinnah from the All India Muslim League funds). The schemes, however do not appear to have made any headway and activity has been confined to groups of Guards collecting on special occasions such as in Lahore on 'Pakistan Day', when a few volunteers participated in the celebrations, and Jinnah's visit to Sialkot in April, when fifty volunteers in green shirts went there from Lahore. They wanted to take sword with them but this was forbidden by the local authorities.

According to a recent report, however, an unlicensed procession of 88 Muslim National Guards was taken out at Multan on 8.10.44 at the time of a Muslim League meeting. Gatka fighting, lathi fighting and sword fighting were performed in the course of the procession, which was watched by about 150 people but which was not accompanied by any responsible leader. It was decided to launch a prosecution in respect of this unlicensed procession.

Sind: The enthusiasm displayed by the Muslim National Guards at the All India Muslim League Session held at Karachi during Christmas, 1943, quickly waned. With the departure of the other members to their homes, those stationed in Karachi became a little apprehensive lest action be taken against them for a clear violation of Government orders.

The Muslim National Guards in Sind have the support of Yusuf Haroon, M.L.A. (Central); and his two brothers, Saiyad and Mahmood, are important office bearers. Possibly on account of a rift between them and the then Home Minister soon after the All-India League Session, the Haroon family have considered discretion the better part of valour for in spite of occasional talk of defiance of authority, a police warning has usually been a sufficient deterrent against Muslim National Guards holding parades or mass demonstrations. In Karachi, Muslim National Guards appeared on eight occasions from January-June in numbers ranging from fifty to sixty. Usually these exhibitions coincided with public meetings or processions on such occasions as 'Pakistan Day', 'Ghaus Pak Day', etc. 'Prophet's Day' (8.3.44), for instance, was marked by a public gathering of about 6000 people and a procession in which a number of Muslim National Guards in grey uniform took part.

In spite of the fact that the Provincial Government had refused to allow a parade of Muslim National Guards in Karachi on 'Ghaus-e-Pak' day (5.4.44), 62 volunteers in uniform joined in the procession which was about 200 strong and which was headed by the Guard band. In this connection, Yusuf Haroon issued a statement that the Karachi police had at first objected to the Muslim National Guards marching in formation but when he threatened to take the law into his own hands, 'knowing that the law was on his side', the police had withdrawn their objection. Haroon added that if the Sind Ministry was going to accept meekly all orders from the Centre, then the Provincial League would have to consider 'withdrawing their representatives' from it. In reply M.H. Gazdar, the then Home Minister, issued a statement explaining the violation of an undertaking given by Yusuf Haroon that no Muslim National

Guards would wear military uniform and that consequently the Police had recommended prosecution which was, however withdrawn on Haroon expressing regret.

The Home Minister poured ridicule on Haroon's threat to break up the Ministry and said that the Provincial Government, irrespective of all other considerations, was bound to comply with all orders of the Central Government which were designed to secure a uniform policy.

At a private meeting held on 7.6.44 in Karachi, Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan advised members of the Guard to concern themselves with civic affairs rather than politics. Since then, no important activity has been observed.

Outside Karachi, the National Guards organization has made little headway and in towns where it exists, seldom more than half a dozen volunteers have assembled to hold a parade. In Karachi only 150 out of a paper strength of 600 volunteers can be considered as active members.

U.P.: Little appears to have been done towards reorganizing the Muslim National Guards in compliance with the revised constitution which came into force in May 1944, with the exception of a few districts, no particular activity has been reported and the terms of the ban on military drill and the wearing of uniform, imposed by the Central Government, have generally been respected. In Cawnpore, however, volunteers are reported to have been holding military parades for a week before any function in which they were to participate and also to be carrying *lathis*. The volunteers wear uniform whenever there is a fair, procession, important Conference or meeting the Muslim League. No regular training has been reported.

6. The latest reported strength of the Muslim National Guards in various provinces is as follows:

<i>Assam.</i>	Not
<i>Baluchistan.</i>	Known
<i>Bengal.</i>	1,132.
<i>Bihar.</i>	6,979.
<i>Bombay.</i>	2,710.
<i>C.P.</i>	Not known. .
<i>Delhi.</i>	200.
<i>Madras.</i>	538.
<i>N.W.F.P.</i>	5,706
<i>Punjab.</i>	182 (Nov. 1943 – said to have increased since)
<i>Sind.</i>	1,000.
<i>U.P.</i>	9,392.

262 Government of Bombay to the Government of India

File No. 28/2/43- Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Express Letter

Secret.

No. S.D.-180

Dated 20th January 1945.

To
The Under Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Reference your express letter No. 28/2/43 - Poll (I), dated 15th December 1944,¹ requesting to be furnished with further details of the Muslim National Guard uniform approved by Bombay Government and the circumstances in which the approval was given.

On the receipt of the Government of India Notifications of 5th August 1940, Bombay Government asked the District Magistrates and the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to report whether any of the organizations used uniforms resembling official uniforms. After scrutinizing the reports received from the officers concerned they were told that the use of Sam Browne Belts and badges of rank on shoulders were objectionable and should not be permitted.

Later, when the Government of India letter No. 28/3/42 - Poll (I), dated 20th April 1942, was received, the Government of Bombay examined the uniform worn by the Muslim National Guards and found that it bore resemblance to army uniform because of its design and that it also resembled, both in design and colour, the uniform prescribed for the A.R.P. Units. It accordingly directed that the wearing of the uniform should be disallowed. The Muslim League authorities in Bombay protested against that decision on the ground that no objection was taken in respect of the uniform till then. The question of suitable alterations in the uniform was thereupon discussed between the President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League and Government and eventually Government conveyed its approval, after seeing specimens of the uniforms, on the following conditions:

- (a) no top pockets.
- (b) every uniform will have a crescent embroidered on the uniform on the top left side.
- (c) all uniform coats will have long sleeves.

The uniform as finally approved has neither top pockets nor shoulder straps or badges is thus distinguished from any military uniform

A photograph of a Muslim National Guard wearing the present uniform, which is as approved by this Government, is enclosed.

Bombay Special

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

263 Official Notings on M.L.N.G. (dt 27.1.1945) (extracts)

File No. 28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Home Department.

Notes on pages 79 and 80 may be seen. The F.R.¹ shows that there were discussions between the Bombay Government and the Provincial Muslim League as a result of which a Government approved uniform was evolved which does not resemble a military uniform.² The action does not strictly come under our Order No. 74/3/40 dated the 5th August 1940 and merely amounts to the Bombay Government having given advice as to what kind of uniform could be held not to offend against that order. Whether it is better to follow this course than to have no discussions on the subject at all and leave the organization to find out by bitter experience what uniform can and what cannot be worn is a point for consideration.

2. On the point of whether the approved uniform is objectionable in any way. I think we can agree after seeing the photograph that it is not an impressive or official looking effort. It would, of course, be a very different matter if the uniform described in the 'Constitution' are worn, but the Bombay Govt. have said in their earlier letter that fear of the law has so far prevented its appearance. The position apparently is that Muslim National Guards are well aware of the fact that they will get into trouble if they adopt this uniform as they know exactly how far the Bombay Government is prepared to let them go. Incidentally D.I.B.'s note dated 12th January, on the previous page, shows that the Constitution and Rules have now been finally adopted and circulated. Whether this means that the uniform prescribed therein will also be adopted in the near future remains to be seen.

3. Addl. Secretary may also see the report on the activities of the Muslim League National Guards during 1944. It does not reveal any progress except possibly in Bombay and Sind. Apparently the Provinces with the largest numbers are by no means the centres of greatest activity as a comparison between para. 6 of the Report and the narrative of activities will show.

Signed
27-1-45

(F.G. Cracknell)

Addl. Secretary.

28/2/43 - Home Poll (I)

I agree that there is nothing much to alarm us so far. But we shall have to watch the next League's meeting in Lahore. I presume that the provincial Govt. know all about it and will take necessary action.

I think it was a pity that the Bombay Govt. went so far as they did, by agreeing to a uniform (although it and the Guard inside it are not very impressive) to give official recognition to the organization. But that cannot be helped now.

R. Tottenham,
27/1

1. Fortnightly Report not printed. 2. Doc. 260.

XIX

Developments in the Princely States

The documents in the Princely States have been arranged in territorial groups, which are listed alphabetically. Thus Baroda comes first, and Western India Agency — the imperial authority overseeing a number of small Gujarati speaking states — comes at the end. Within each territorial group, the classification of documents observes the thematic numbering followed for the documents for British India, and within each category the documents are arranged chronologically. The roman numeral in brackets after each serial number of a document indicates of which earlier chapter it is also relevant.

Baroda

Baroda state was a success story of internal reforms, where the alliance of landowning peasants and a progressive bureaucracy presided over by the Diwan Sir V.T. Krishnamachari had, before the war, insulated the state from the Congress-inspired movements in the princely states.¹ During this period, after an initial display of sympathy with the Congress activists of 1942, the Praja Mandal made peace with the authorities, promised to support the war efforts, at the risk of a split within its ranks. The dissident 'Rashtriya Praja Mandal' did not cause much worry to the Diwan, who launched a successful experiment in participatory government, as the reports on the session of the 'Dhara Sabha' show: The efforts of Indulal Yagnik to mobilize the Kisans did not make much headway, and Krishnamachari firmly dealt with the R.S.S., who were persistent in their activities.

Central India Agency

The evidence here relates mainly to the States of Indore and Rewa, in both of which there are political activities in the Praja Mandal, the student Community, and Communal Organisations and also by labour leaders and the C.P.I. They mirror developments elsewhere in India.

Eastern States Agency — (Mainly Orissa States)

The specific features of this area is reflected in the varieties of discontent which the documents reveal. Being within the military jurisdiction of the Eastern Command, rumours of war damage and activities of the I.N.A. figure in the evidence. Being a neighbouring area of Bengal, it was affected indirectly by the Bengal famine — some documents refer to the resentment of the peasants at Ispahani's procurement methods. (These supplement the data in Chapter VIII). The feudal agrarian relations of the small states and the existence of a number of tribal folk in this area resulted in peasant unrest, and movements for the upliftment of the aboriginal tribes. We have more evidence here than elsewhere — perhaps because of the topography — that many Congress insurgents were hiding in the Orissa States. Proximity to Central Provinces which was infested by the RSS explain the influence of that organisation in some states.

Madras States Agency — (Travancore, Cochin and Pudukottai)

There is considerable political activity in these states, especially in Travancore and Cochin, which had a high degree of literacy. The Diwan of Travancore had an aversion to Communism,

and he repeatedly complained about their activities, although the C.P.I. never interfered with the war effort or in the efforts to increase war production. The British interests were alarmed at the political-cum-economic strikes organised by a labour leader belonging to the R.S.P. — Sreekanthan Nair* — and that was how the R.S.P. wished to continue its role in the Quit India Movement. As already mention in Chapter XI, the student movement broke in two between nationalists and C.P.I. supporters. This process started in this area and spread to parts of the Madras Presidency. This area was leading in social progress in constitutional reforms and the abolition of untouchability.

Manipur

There could be little effective anti-Raj activity here, because Manipur had massive military encampment there, being right in the war zone on the Burma frontier. We have no evidence as to what was the political fall-out of the economic distress created by the war, about which both the Kisan Sabha bulletin (VIII, No. 1) and the reports to the Secretary of State (VIII, No. 3) are in agreement.

Mysore

Since Mysore was one of the most progressive states of India, where a constitutional regime and an efficient administration had been in operation for a long time, there was no sustained anti-government activity in sympathy with the '42 rebellion. The report on Student activities (XI, no. 8) show that there had been a strong strike wave among them after August 1942, disrupting education institutions but by early 1943 it had subsided, and the government confidently released the detanus. The British Resident was surprised to find the Communist Party persuading the workers not to strike for the sake of the war effort (V, no. 5).

Punjab States Agency

The documents show that the ruling elite of these states (the Princely families and the British Residents) were uneasy of the policy of the Government of India towards the C.P.I. especially as the Kisan demonstrations grew in strength. It is not surprising to find the influence of the supporters of the I.N.A. here because this was a catchment area for military recruits.

Western Indian States Agency

Before the war, this area had been the scene of Congress penetration into State Politics — the Satyagraha in Rajkot being the most important so it is not surprising that there was infiltration by Congressmen associated with the '42 rebellion in this areas and a few cases of sabotage and insurgency, all of which the authorities were able to control.

At the end of the chapter, under the head 'General' we have placed documents which have a bearing on all Princely States. The reaction of the small Princes to the imperial Scheme of Attachment of States — which could be justified in terms of administrative efficiency — reveal a regressive tendency. How far this opposition had any popular support is debatable. A report from Orissa shows that the people approved the idea of a common High Court and Similar benefits which the attachment scheme would bring.

1). Hardiman, 'Baroda: the structure of a "Progressive" State', in Robin Jeffrey (ed.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power* (Delhi, O.U.P., 1978), p. 131.

Princely States (1) Baroda

1 (I): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat states for the fortnight ending the 31st of January 1943

Crown Representative Records (hereafter C.R.) File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

Vernacular leaflets published by the Prajamandal were distributed in Baroda city on the 26th January. The pamphlets exhorted readers to take a pledge that the fight for independence should continue and that by the 26th of January 1944 complete independence should be won for India.

A conference was organized by the Prajamandal in connection with the observance of a 'Day of Protest against atrocities' at Miyagam in Baroda District. Nearly 1000 persons among whom were many boys and girls were present for the opening session but under orders of the Baroda Government the meeting was not allowed to be held.

2 (I) Note on the first session of the Dhara Sabha held during the year 1942–43

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 76 (C-15/2028)
[Gujarat State Archives]

The first session of the Dhara Sabha for the current year was held on 15th February 1943 and lasted for four days.

2. There were 116 resolutions, out of these, 99 were discussed and the remaining 17 were postponed to the next session. The following table shows the nature of disposal of these resolutions:

<i>Accepted or accepted with modification by government</i>	<i>Carried by majority</i>	<i>Rejected by majority</i>	<i>Withdrawn</i>
33	8	4	54

3. There were in all 19 official and 3 non-official Bills. Out of the 19 official Bills.

(a) the following 12 Bills Viz.

- (i) the Bill to amend the Cotton Ginning Factories Act
- (ii) three Bills to amend the A class Municipalities Act

- (iii) the bill to amend the B class Municipalities Act
- (iv) two Bills to amend the local Baroda Act
- (v) two Bills to amend the Criminal Procedure Code
- (vi) the Bill to amend the land Revenue Code
- (vii) the Bill to amend the Abkari Acting, and
- (viii) the Bill to amend the Rent Regulation Act.

were carried through the third reading and passed by the House.

- (b) (i) the Bill to amend the court Fee Act.
- (ii) One Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure code
- (iii) the Bill to amend the Public Religious Buildings Act
- (iv) the Bill to amend the Police Act
- (v) the Telephone Bill, and
- (vi) the Sharda Peeth Shankaracharya Bill were referred to select Committees, and
- (c) the Bill to amend the Penal Code was withdrawn by the government.

Out of the 3 non-official Bills,

- (a) the Bill to amend the Civil Procedure Code as reported on by the Select committee was carried through further readings and passed by the House.
 - (b) the Shops Establishments Bill was dropped on the recommendation of the Select committee whose report was taken into consideration and adopted by the House; and
 - (c) the Bill to amend the Debt Conciliation Act as reported on by the Select Committee will be taken up for further reading at the next session.
4. There were in all 6 motions for leave to introduce Bills as a result.
- (a) leave was granted to introduce two Bills to amend the Hindu code and the Bills were referred to a Select Committee
 - (b) the House refused leave to a Bill to amend the Cooperative societies Act and to a Bill to amend the Rent Regulation Act. But in the latter case a Committee was appointed to consider whether the Act required any amendments:
 - (c) the mover of a motion to introduce a Bill to amend the B Class Municipalities Act was asked to bring in a fresh Bill on the lines of amendment already made in the A class Municipalities Act: and
 - (d) the motion to introduce a Bill to amend the Criminal Procedure Code was withdrawn.

S.A. Kamtekar
Secretary

3(I) First Session of the Dhara Sabha (Baroda) (contd)

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 76 (No. C-15/2028)
[Gujarat State Archives]

The first session of, the Dhara Sabha for the year 1942-3 met on 15th February 1943. H.E. the President in his introductory speech referred to the large number of resolutions passed by the

members on the point of food problem and gave the details of arrangements made in connection with the solution of this problem in the State. The other important points emphasized by H.E. the President were the Standard Cloth scheme and the 'War efforts' of the State. . . .

2. The proceedings of Dhara Sabha evoked keen interest both in the local and outside press as well as in the general public, especially as the session was held after a long time. . . .
[Omitted: items discussed and summaries of press reports — Ed.] These reports were characterized by a tone of general approval.

4(I): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Baroda and the Gujarat state for the fortnight ending the 15th March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

The Members of the State Prajamandal who were detained under the State counterpart of the Defence of India Rules during the recent Congress disturbances have been released on parole, from the 16th on their giving an assurance to the Baroda Government that they would cancel their resolution regarding the war effort. The improvement in the war situation and the futility of the Congress Movement have strengthened the hands of the sober elements in the local organization. the persons released on parole are:

1. Mr Pranalal T. Munshi
2. Mr Chunilal Shah.
3. Mr Chhotabhai Sutaria.
4. Mr Maganbhai Shankerbhai
5. Mr Lalitchandra Diwanji

5(I): V.T. Krishnanachari,* Dewan of Baroda to Resident, Baroda State

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 76 (No. C-15/2028)

Baroda,
16th March 1943.

Secret

No. C-126/40

Dear Mr Jardine,

Political Situation — My Letter No. C-125/5 dated 20th August 1943.¹

The members of the State Prajamandal who were detained under the Defence of Baroda Rules have given satisfactory assurance that they will cancel the resolution regarding war efforts

and call off the movement. They are therefore being released on parole. The improvement in the war situation and the futility of the Congress movement have strengthened the hands of the sober elements in the local organization.

Yours sincerely,
Signed
V.T.K.

L.W. Jardine Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Baroda

1. Not printed.

6(I) Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda & Gujarat States for the fortnight ending the 15th April 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43
[NAI - Acc. No. 361]

First half of April 1943.

The compromise between the Baroda Prajamandal and Baroda Government was accepted by the Managing Committee. However it is believed that a serious split has occurred among the members of the Managing Committee. It is probable that some of the members will refuse to accept the compromise and break away taking with them a part of the student element.

7(I): Diwan of Baroda to the Resident, Baroda State

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 76
[Gujarat State Archives]

Secret

No. C-125/41

Baroda, 23rd April 43.

My dear Mr Jardine,

Political Situation - My Letter No. C.-125 dated 16-3-1943

After I wrote my last letter¹ there have been developments in the political situation. A section of the Prajamandal dissatisfied with the working committee for calling off the Movement while Mr Gandhi is in detention has constituted itself in a body called 'The Baroda Raj Prajamandal Rashtriya Party' to oppose the 'settlement'. They held a meeting and decided to

continue the programme outlined by the Prajamandal in its resolution of 18th August. The Government of Baroda have therefore detained under rule 20 of the Defence of Baroda Rules about twenty persons concerned in this movement.

This new organization commands no particular weight in the State and nothing serious is expected the result of its resolution.

Yours sincerely,

V.T. Krishnamachari

L.W. Jardine, Esquire C.I.E., I.C.S.
Baroda

1. Doc. 5.

8(I) Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat State for the fortnight ending 31st May 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

On 25th May a procession of about 600 persons was taken out in the Baroda City by the newly formed Rashtriya Party of the Prajamandal under the leadership of one Chunilal Shah, a prominent leader of the Prajamandal. The procession terminated near the Jubilee Gardens where a meeting of about 600 persons was held. Mr Chunilal Shah delivered a speech in which he said that their fight was not against the Baroda Government but against British Imperialism. He asked the people to sabotage war efforts and to carry on the fight until their goal was achieved. He also criticised the policy of the Baroda Government in connection with the agreement with the Prajamandal and exhorted students to go to villages and do constructive work.

9(I) Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States for the fortnight ending 15th June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

On 9th June a procession of about 50 boys and girls was taken out in the Baroda City by the newly formed Rashtriya Party of the Prajamandal to celebrate 'Gandhi Din'. The procession terminated near the Jubilee Gardens where a meeting of about 300 persons was held under the presidentship of Mr Chunilal P. Shah. Mr Shah during the course of his speech said that he was a firm believer in the Prajamandal resolution of 18th August 1942 protesting against

the war efforts of the State and that he was against the agreement made by the Prajamandal with the Baroda government. So long as Mr Gandhi and the Congress leaders were in jail and a national Government not established, every Indian should continue the movement. Mr Jaswantlal Shah and others also spoke at the meeting. Mr Shah stated that the Rashtriya Party were not in favour of sabotage or violence. The following resolutions were then passed by the meeting:

- i) Congratulating the members of the working Committee of the Prajamandal Rashtriya Party who were detained by Government, and Mr Ishwaracharya, the President of the Visnagar Rashtriya party Committee who was sentenced to two years R.I. and a fine of Rs 100
- ii) Congratulating the people of India for continuing their activities in the present movement and facing arrests etc. boldly.
- iii) Requesting the Baroda Government to treat all the persons arrested in the present movement as political prisoners and give them special treatment in jail.
- iv) Requesting the people to unite and establish taluka committees of the Rashtriya party.
- v) Asking the people to curtail their daily wants by using Khaddar, avoiding liquor, tobacco and other extravagant expenses.

10(I): V.T. Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda to the
Resident Baroda State

G.O.I. Political Dept. File No. 24 – P(S)/42 (No. C-15/2028)

[NAI]

Confidential
No. C.125

Camp: Bunseeverick,
Mussoorie,
18th June 1943.

Dear Mr Jardine,

Details of the settlement with the Baroda Raj Praja Mandal – Your confidential d.o. No. C.B. 2/9/E dated the 14th June 1943.

I enclose a note showing the conditions on which the Prajamandal leaders were released. These conditions have been fulfilled.

Yours sincerely,

Signed
V.T. Krishnamachari

L.N. Jardine, Esqr. C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Resident for Baroda,
baroda

Terms of the Settlement with the Praja Mandal

The Government will release the detainees (In this term, the accused in the Navsari Mill case are not included)

2. The President of the Praja Mandal (Mr Sutaria) will issue a circular to all Prajamandal committees in the State that the resolution of 18th August is held in abeyance and should not be acted upon. In particular, all Prajamandal workers should obey Government's order and laws.

3. The President will convene a meeting of the working Committee for cancelling the resolution of the 18th August in so far as it relates to the war and activities connected therewith. A draft of the resolution to be passed is attached.

4. The Government will then rescind their notification of the 18th August declaring the Prajamandal and unlawful organization.

All persons under trial or in jail for violation of orders in regard to processions and meetings will be released as soon as the working committees' resolution is passed. Fines levied from persons convicted of the above offences will not be recovered on submission of applications.

Crimes involving violence (which is not of a purely technical nature) or sabotage are not included in this amnesty. Baroda, 16th March 1943.

Resolution to be Passed by Prajamandal

In view of the general change in the world situation the committee resolves to drop the resolution of the 18th August so far as it relates to war efforts and the progress outlined in the resolution.

Resolution Dated 18th August 1942 Passed by the Praja Mandal

After the fall of Malaya, Singapore and Burma the threat of invasion on India is increasing. Besides this, the whole of India is exercised over the worsening situation on the Russian and the Chinese fronts. In these pitiable and critical circumstances the British Government also have appealed to the people of India for the defence of the country. But the vim, vigour and vitality to withstand foreign aggression can be forthcoming only if India is free and it has its own national governments, except this there is no other way in which this can be done.

The danger to India applies all the same to Indian States also. If India is attacked, the States will not be free from its repercussions. We are of the opinion that all the war efforts and measures hitherto adopted by the State are for the strengthening of the British Imperialism. In these circumstances, the Baroda Raj Praja Mandal definitely believes and begs the Baroda Government most earnestly that, instead of helping the present alien war by offering contributions, military and other resources, the State should utilize these solely for the protection of the subjects, their training and preparations.

The Managing committee of the Praja Mandal registers its strong protest against the recent arrests of Indian leaders, despite their having kept the door of compromise open and without the British Government availing themselves of the opportunity for the possible compromise and against the firing on unarmed people and such other acts of repression. And this meeting views with anxiety the situation that has been created owing to this repression because its influence has spread to Indian States also. This meeting of the Managing Committee of Baroda Raj Praja Mandal emphatically urges the British Government to withdraw these repressive measures. This meeting also resolves that, so long as repression continues and compromise

acceptable fully to India is not arrived at with Indian leaders, it invites the people of the Baroda State to take all possible steps to hinder all war efforts in the State.

It is very natural that at the time of such emergency the people of the Baroda State should look to the popular organization like the Baroda Raj Praja Mandal for a lead. Hence, the Managing Committee of the Praja Mandal has, after most serious consideration of the whole situation put forth the above just and proper demand. The Baroda Raj Praja Mandal has no desire whatsoever to come in conflict with the Baroda State; notwithstanding this, it calls upon to the people, till the popular demand is conceded, to put into practice in complete nonviolent way the directions and instructions which it gives from time to time to obstruct all war efforts in the State.

The fate of the states is inevitably linked with that of India; and therefore, with a view that the people and the Government of Baroda can meet the coming menace and do their work in a respectable manner and that the dignity of both the State and its people as a unit of Free India may be safeguarded and the people may live a honourable and self-respecting life, aligning themselves with the people of British India. This meeting of the managing committee of the Baroda Raj Praja Mandal requests H.H. the Maharaja Saheb to concede immediately to the people the right of self-Government under His aegis.

Signed C.J. Sutaria,
resident, Baroda Raj Praja Mandal

11(I): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States for the Fortnight Ending 30th June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

On 27th June the Baroda Police arrested one Babubhai Kanaiyalal Patel of Baroda, a member of the Prajamandal Rashtriya Party of the Baroda Prajamandal who was suspected to be printing objectionable leaflets in the Rashtriya Press.

12(I): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States for the fortnight ending first half of July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

On 9th July vernacular pamphlets published by Baroda Prajamandal Rashtriya Party giving direction for the celebration of 'Gandhi Day' exhorting the people not to help the British

Government in any way for the sake of world peace were distributed in the Baroda City. In the evening a procession of about 100 boys and girls was taken out. It terminated near the Jubilee Gardens where a meeting was held under the Presidentship of Mr Chunilal P. Shah. Mr Shah during the course of his speech said that they had assembled to celebrate: Gandhi Day with a view to acquire India's freedom and secure the release of Mr Gandhi and other Congressmen from jail. He added that India had no concern whatsoever with the present war and that every one should therefore try to sabotage war efforts. He also explained to the people the meaning of 'Quit India' and said that they had no enmity with the Britishers but with British Imperialism. Finally he exhorted the people not to change their attitude so long as the congress leaders were not released and national Government not established.

13(I): Working of the Dhara Sabha Budget Session 19.7.1943

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 76
[Gujarat State Archives]

After the introduction of Government of Baroda Act the third budget session of the Dhara Sabha was held on 19th July 1943. As usual this was the longest of the session held during the year.

The proceedings of the session were watched with great interest both by the members of the Dhara Sabha and the general public. In a detailed and interesting speech H.E. the President announced the formation of postwar reconstruction fund with an initial capital of Rs 30 lakhs and the provision of Rs 10 lakhs for development of the newly attached areas. These items, along with the increase in the allotment for nation building departments evoked very keen interest among the members.

The budget was on the whole very favourably received and the discussion by the members largely centered round the details of the machinery set up for carrying out the programmes. Several members paid glowing tributes to the Government for a well balanced budget even in these critical days which impose additional expenditure on the Government.

The local press reported the proceedings in full. The balanced figures of the budget were very prominently displayed by many of them. It also paid tributes to the Government for preparing non-deficit budget without imposing any additional taxation on the people though the cost of administration had increased owing to war connection.

The press outside Baroda also favourably reviewed the proceedings of the Session and published numerous details mentioned in H E. the President's speeches. Almost all appreciated the sound financial position in the State and the progressive character of the administration. Among the important English newspapers that reported the proceedings of the session at length, may be mentioned the *Times of India*, *Statesman*, *Hindu*, *Morning news*, *Hindustan Herald* etc. The Gujarati press outside Baroda also devoted considerable space to the proceedings of the session. Concluding speech of H.E. the President attracted very wide notice of the press and was displayed in flag-headlines. The day to day discussions were also reported.

During the season some of the members presented resolutions appealing the Government to extend the tenure of the Assembly in view of the prevailing conditions.

Other Reforms

During the period following the February session of the Assembly several important orders were passed, the most notable ones being the order regarding post-war reconstruction, the abolition of the pilgrim taxes at Dwarka, encouragement to the growers of food crops, saving campaign and the excess profits ordinance.

The notable event of the period was the settlement with the Prajamandal party in the State and consequent suspension by the Prajamandal of the August resolution, so far as it related to war and other activities connected therewith. Thereupon the Government cancelled their notification declaring the Prajamandal an unlawful organization and released all persons under trial or in jail connected with these activities, those involved in sabotage or cases of violence not being included.

14(I) Terms of Settlement with Praja Mandal.

Bombay Chronicle — Baroda amnesty, cols 4-6, 26th July 1943

[Press cutting found with Jayakar Papers - NAI]

Dt 26-7-42

In accordance with the promise given by the revenue members of the Govt. of Baroda in the State Legislative Assembly on July 23th the terms of the settlement arrived at between the Government and the President of the Baroda Raj Prajamandal have been released to the Press.

They are as follows:

A meeting of the working committee of the Prajamandal is to be held for cancelling the resolution of August 18 in so far as it relates to the war and activities connected there with.

The Govt. would then rescind their notification of August 18 declaring the Prajamandal an unlawful organization, and all persons under trial or in Jail for violation of orders in regard to processions and meetings would be released. Fine levied from person convicted of the above offences will be refunded on application to the courts. Similarly fines not yet recovered will not be recovered on resubmission of application.

Crimes involving violence which is not of a purely technical nature or sabotage are not included in this amnesty.

15(I): Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Baroda and Gujarat State for the fortnight ending 31st July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43

[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

On 18th July a partial hartal was observed in the Baroda City to celebrate 'Martyr's Day' and leaflets published by the Baroda Prajamandal Rashtriya party announcing the intention of the Party to organise a procession of about 150 boys was taken out in the evening after which speeches were made.

On 24th July leaflets published by the Baroda Prajamandal Rashtriya Party were distributed in Baroda City announcing that all political prisoners including one Babubhai Patel who was arrested in connection with the printing of objectionable pamphlets had gone on hunger strike as a protest against their alleged maltreatment in jail. Babubhai Patel is since reported to have been released on medical grounds.

It does not appear that the Rashtriya Party has obtained much popular support in the State.

On 25th July a partial hartal was observed in the City as a protest against the atrocities committed by Government. In the evening a meeting of about 400 persons was held in the Jubilee Gardens under the Presidentship of Mr Chunilal P. Shah who criticised the food situation and the atrocities committed by the police in India. He also exhorted the people to observe a complete hartal in the Baroda City and all over the State on 9th August the day of the arrest of Mr Gandhi.

The Budget session of the Baroda Legislative Assembly opened on the 19th July 1943. Sir V.T. Krishnanachari Dewan of the State in his address dealt at some length with the food position in the State among other subjects.

16(I): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States for the fortnight ending 31st August 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43

[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

On 18th August the Baroda Prajamandal Rashtriya Party celebrated 'Prajamandal' and 'Martyr's Day'. In the evening a procession of about 500 persons was taken out under the leadership of Mr Chunilal P. Shah. A meeting was held in the Jubilee Gardens in the course of which Sunderbhai Parmanand Patel, Chunilal P. Shah and Miss Indu Desai delivered speeches. Miss Desai referred to the scarcity of food grains, sugar and kerosene. Mr Shah spoke on the activities of the Prajamandal and the steps taken by the Baroda Government to declare its working committee unlawful and to detain members. He also criticised the

arrangements made by the Baroda Government for the control of foodstuffs and said that the Baroda Government had so far not been able to deal with the question adequately. He further said that Mr Gandhi did not want Germans or Tojo to come to India but he wanted Independence for India.

On 19th August the Baroda Government arrested some of the leading members of the Rashtriya Party including Mr Chunilal P. Shah and Mr Pashabhai Amin leader of the Mehsana Prant Rashtriya Party. They have been detained under section 26(1) of the Defence of India Rules as applied to the Baroda State. As a protest against the arrest of these people, a procession of about 1000 boys was taken out in the evening. At a meeting near the Jubilee Gardens Messrs. Krishnalal Zaveri, Vallabhbhai Kamathe of Amreli and Miss Indu Desai delivered speeches protesting against the arrests and criticizing the Dewan for his action. Mr Krishnalal Zaveri has since been arrested and sentenced to 6 months H.T.

On 22nd August Jayantkumar Yagnik and Fulabhai Patanwala, of the Prajamandal Rashtriya party were arrested by the State Police. Mr Pashabhai Amin who was sentenced to six months R.I. reference para 2 above went on hunger strike in Visnagar jail as a protest against the Baroda Government's refusal to grant him a daily allowance. Subsequently an allowance of annas twelve a day was granted him and he has broken his fast.

17(I): Working of the first session of the Dhara Sabha 1943-4

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 76
[Gujarat State Archives]

The first session of the Dhara Sabha for the year 1943-4 was held on 11th October 1943 and lasted for four days. The proceedings of the session were, as usual, watched with great interest both by the members of the Dhara Sabha as well as by the general public.

In his opening speech H.E. the Dewan-President expressed his gratification at the generally satisfactory seasonal conditions and the sufficiency of food grain in the State. He then, referred to the Government's food policy in clear terms, dispelling all the doubts of the public with regard to it. He also referred to the saving movement in the State and exhorted the members and the public in general to join the movement in large number and spread it to the remotest village. He concluded his speech with the bright optimism of the final victory of the allies and the war efforts in the State. The speech was well received by the members.

There were in all seven official and two non-official bills, 12 motions asking for leave to introduce bills, and 32 resolutions. Among the important Bills there were, Bills to amend the Village Panchyat Act, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Local Board Act, the Stamp Act, the Income Tax Act and the Protection of land holding of backward communities. The Bill to amend the Rent Regulation Act was carried through all the three stages after a heated debate. The House adopted without discussion the first reading of the bill to amend the Hindu Code. The object of the bills is to afford relief to a Hindu husband or wife in the event of either the one of the other refusing to stay with the other for a period of three years after the attainment of majority despite the willingness of the other party to lead a conjugal life.

Almost all the members took a lively interest in discussions of the Assembly. The discussion

centered round the food policy in the State, the regulation of purchases, sale and distribution of the food grain through licensed dealers. A number of members from different areas presented before the House the subject from different angles, the Dewan-President wound up the discussion by explaining the members the different factors involved with regard whole food problem.

In his concluding speech H.E. the Dewan Saheb made important announcements one in connection with extension of the life of the present Dhara Sabha by one year from 1st November 1943 and the other about the granting by H.H. the Maharaja Saheb the request of Mr Motilal Desai, the law member to retire from 16th November 1943 and inviting Mr Manibha Desai to become a member of the executive Council in his place.

The press outside Baroda published important items in H.E. the Dewan-President speech and reported it favourably. The outside Gujarati press including the *Sandesh* 'the *Vandemataram*' and the *Bombay Samachar* and the English press, the *Times of India*, and *Statesman* published H.E. the Dewan Saheb's speech and important items of the debate of the Dhara Sabha. The Marathi press, the '*Dnyanprakash*' the '*Navakar*', reported a gist of the speech of H.E. the Dewan Saheb.

18(T): Note on the July and October session of the Dhara Sabha

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 76
[Gujarat State Archives]

19-10-43

(A) July Session

The Budget session of the Dhara Sabha was held on 19th July 1943 and lasted for six days.

2. On the first day the Resident in his inaugural speech explained the main features of the Budget for the year 1943-4 and presented it.

3. Consideration of the bills was then taken up. There were in all 13 official and 3 non-official bills. All official bills were passed. They included the Telephone Bill and the Wills Bill, which were new measures. Of the 3 non-official bills here passed, 1 was referred to a select committee, and the second reading of 1 was postponed for allowing the mover to suggest an amendment in the light of the discussion. There were 12 motions asking for leave to introduce bills. Two of them, which were discussed, were lost and the remaining could not be discussed for want of time. Of these motions that could not be taken up for want of time, two proposed to introduce Bills for the regulation of caste and other dinners.¹ The President suggested that under section 18 of the Government of Baroda Act previous sanction of His Highness would be necessary for introducing the bills, but that as some regulation in the matter was called for in view of the food situation the Revenue Member would meet some members of the Dhara Sabha and discuss the question with them as a measure.

The next two days were taken up by the General discussion of the budget, from which it was evident that the budget was much appreciated by the members.

4. There were in all 32 resolutions, out of which 12 were, congratulatory. Of the

congratulatory resolutions, there were several conveying the good wishes of the Dhara Sabha to the Talukders and chiefs & the people of the estates in Kathiawar, Sabarkantha and Rewakantha attached to the Baroda State 17 resolutions could not be taken up for want of time. The remaining 3 resolutions which pertained to the budget were taken up on the fourth day and were accepted with modification.

5. The remaining part of the fourth day and the following two days were occupied in discussion of the cut-motions. Of 85 cut motions tabled, 65 were discussed and 20 were guillotined for want of time. The cut-motions that were discussed were either not pressed or withdrawn on information given by Government members.

(B) October Session

6. The first session of the Dhara Sabha for the year 1943-4 was held on 11th October 1943 and lasted for four days.

7. There were 7 official and 2 non-official bills. of the 7 official bills 4 were passed, 2 were withdrawn and one was postponed to the next session. Of the 2 non-official bills, 1 was passed and 1 was postponed for further reading. There were 12 motions asking for leave to introduce bills, permission was granted to 3 bills, motions were rejected by the House, 1 was ruled out of order and 2 were withdrawn. The remaining 2 were not pressed in view of the discussion that took place in regard to them.

8. There were 132 resolutions. Of these, 11 were accepted, 18 were accepted with modification. 1 was carried, 101 were not pressed or were withdrawn and 1 was postponed to the next session.

9. In concluding the session the president made the following announcement regarding the extension of the life of this Dhara Sabha.

I am authorized by His Highness the Maharaja to say that having regard to general as well as local conditions, he has decided that the life of the present Dhara Sabha which expires on the 15th of November shall be extended by one year. the reasons as I said are general as well as local. The general reason is this. On account of the fact that India has become a base for war operation in the East, the country has to meet economic and other difficulties caused by the impact of war on all aspects of its life on a scale hitherto unprecedented and the efforts of all Governments and the people to meet these difficult conditions. The Government of India have extended the life of the legislative Assembly and the Council of State on these grounds. His Highness also had in mind the conditions under which and the atmosphere in which elections held in the State are conducted.

The President announced that His Highness had granted the requested retirement of Mr Motilal Desai, the law Member, from the 16th of November and had invited Mr Manibhai V. Desai, another non-official member of the Dhara Sabha, to become a member of the Executive council in his place.

Secretary,

Dhara Sabha, 19.10.43

1. [This refers to inter-dining between different castes and religion — Ed.].



19(I): V.T. Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda to the Resident of Baroda State

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 76
[Gujarat State Archives]

Confidential
No. C-15/33.

Huzur Cutcherry,
Baroda, 28th October 1943.

To
L.W. Jardine Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S. ✓
Resident for Baroda, Baroda.

Working of the reforms embodied in the Government of Baroda Act.

Reference your confidential memo No. C.B. 17/1-A dated the 7th October 1943.¹

2. The budget session of the Legislative Assembly was held on the 19th July 1943 and lasted for six days. After my opening speech there were general discussions on the budget and cut motions.

3. There were thirteen official Bills on the agenda. All of them were passed. There were three non-official Bills, one was passed, one was referred to a select committee and the discussion of the third was postponed till the next session.

4. There were thirty two resolutions. Of them twelve were congratulatory. Most of these resolutions conveyed the good wishes of the Assembly to the Chiefs and Talukdars and the people of the areas attached to the Baroda State under the merger scheme. Of the remaining resolutions, three were accepted with modifications and the rest were postponed.

5. Of the eighty-five cut motions, sixty-five were either not pressed or withdrawn.

6. The first session of the Legislative Assembly for the year 1943-4 was held on the 11th October 1943 and lasted for four days.

7. There were seven official and two non-official Bills. Out of the official bills, four were passed, two were withdrawn and one was postponed. Of the non-official Bills, one was passed and the other was postponed.

8. There were 132 resolutions. Of these, eleven were accepted, eighteen were accepted with modifications, one was carried and one was postponed. The remaining were either not pressed or withdrawn.

9. I enclose copies of my opening address² at the budget session and the first session of the Legislative Assembly which was held on the 11th October.

10. At the conclusion of the October session, the President announced that His Highness as the Maharaja had extended the life of the Legislative Assembly by one year. The President also announced that Mr Motilal C. Desai, BA, LLB, the Law Member, having requested for permission to retire on grounds of health, His Highness had granted the request and had appointed Mr Manibhai V. Desai, BA, LLB another non-official member for the Legislative Assembly to work as a member of the State Executive council in his place.

11. The proceedings of the budget session as well as the October session evoked public

interest and received wide publicity in the local press. Favourable reports of the proceedings have also appeared in the outside press.

Signed
V.T. Krishnamachari

- 1 Not printed.
- 2 Not printed.

20(I) Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States for the fortnight ending the 15th December 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

On December the 7th the Baroda Government released from the Baroda Central Jail the following political prisoners:

1. Nanubhai Vrajlal Patel.
2. Bindulal Parikh.
3. Tribhovandas Dalpatram Pali.
4. Lalitchandra Diwanji.

The more extreme prisoners refuse to be released so long as Gandhi is in jail.

21(I): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat States for the fortnight ending 31st December 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

The Baroda Government released unconditionally 152 prisoners who were arrested by the Baroda State Police in connection with acts of sabotage in Navsari Taluka.



22(I): Praja Mandal Session

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 76
[Gujarat State Archives]

14-15th May 1944

The 18th Session of the Baroda Raj Praja Mandal was held at Kathore, Navasasri District on the 14th and 15th instant under the presidentship of Mr Maganbhai Shankarbhai Patel.

In this resolution they expressed their sorrow at the death of Mrs Kasturba Gandhi, Mahadev Desai, Bagan Asad, Shree Satyamurti, Ranjit Pandit and Vijayraghavacharya.

(2) In this resolution they expressed their sorrow in the death of Masukhbhai Chunilal of Visangar, Chimanlal Ramdas of Kalel and Ambalal Jerdas of Shethe.

(3) In this resolution they showed their sympathy and complimented these who took part in the last Praja Mandal movement, who suffered and were victimized.

(4) In this resolution they expressed their joy at the unconditional release of Mr M.K. Gandhi and wished him long life.

(5) In this resolution they showed their protest against the arrest of the Mahasabha leaders. They believed that when the war was fought on the Indian soil, the only solution to the Indian dead-lock was the release of the national leaders and the establishment of the National Government. Geographically and culturally India was indivisible and one and so they believed that the interest and the freedom of the Native State subject were dependent on the freedom of British India. They therefore heartily seconded the non-violent and peaceful fight for freedom of the country. They also showed their full faith in the leadership of Mr Gandhi.

(6) This resolution is regarding the food grains.

By the policy and arrangement of grains adopted by the Baroda State for the whole Raj and by the way in which it is executed, the troubles of the public have been increased. Existence has become difficult.

II. By the system of permit and controls of import and export, such circumstances have been created that the public may be harassed by the Government officers and servants. Not only this but smuggling, profiteering and bribery have spread to a larger extent.

III. The order regarding the food grains, the unjust policy of the government of fixing the rates and, looking to the personal experiences of the public regarding the purchase and distribution, the Praja Mandal is of the opinion that it is not proper that the Government should intend to solve the whole food question through the officers and the merchants without the public co-operation. Moreover by the Government system of fixing the rates of purchases and distribution both the consumer and the producer are at a loss. The profit earned by the State in selling the corn should be stopped.

IV. The Government should change the present policy and arrangement and should take into confidence the real representatives of the public. The conference also request that proper arrangements for the purchases and distribution of grains should be made through the co-operative sections and village Samities.

V. This Conference boldly declares that the policy of the government is responsible to a greater extent for the unhappy conditions prevailing regarding the grains.

VI. The grains produced in the State should only be exported if it is more than the requirement of the State for one year and a half. The grains should also be imported for giving sufficient to the public while purchasing the grains from the farmers, arrangements should be made to leave with them the grains which might maintain them for one year and a half. For fulfilling the above requirements, the public should also be trained. To guide the public regarding the food problem, to collect the information regarding the troubles that the public have to experience and to represent all the facts thus selected before the Government and the public, one Central Corn Committee of the following members is appointed 1. Mr Maganbhai Shankarbhai Patel. President, 2. Mr Chunilal, P. Shah, 3. Mr Kaniyalal Majumdar, 4. Balubhai Dhatt. 5. Chhetubhai Pandit, 6. Mr Pranlal Munshi, 7. Ahmed Mohammed Patal, Secretary.

(7) This resolution is regarding the Responsible Government. In this resolution they said that the Government completely responsible to the people, progressive and keeping pace with the times has not been established in Baroda. As a result there is no progress and development in the people. The Baroda State have been taking steps to join the Federation, so if the State intend to maintain its position in the future Indian Federation this conference demands to grant Responsible Government at the earliest moment and to achieve that Responsible Government this Conference appeals to the public for all possible attempts.

(8) This resolution is regarding collecting funds for the late for the Mrs Kasturba Gandhi.

(9) In this resolution they said that by delaying the elections of Dharasabha, Panchayats and Municipality, the Government have not fulfilled the condition of the compromise. When the elections were possible elsewhere, there was no reason as to why there should be no fresh elections here. The members elected at present in the institutions (Dharasabha, Panchayats and Municipality) are not the real representatives of the Public. There should be fresh elections in all the institutions and the Executive Council should be formed from the Majority in Dharasabha.

(10) During the last Praja Mandal movement, instances have occurred wherein the police officers under the name of maintaining bundobust, have perpetrated atrocities and taken bribes. As such incidents were harmful to the public and to the prestige of the State, the Prajamandal at the time of the compromise had informed about the inquiry of such cases to bring such cases to the notice of the Government. The Government had also agreed to the make inquiries in connections with such officers.

II. Even then such inquiry was held in the Karjan Taluk and though the public complaints regarding the atrocities appeared true yet at other places-like Saij, Visnagar and Sankheda-such inquiries have not been started and it is believed that the inquiries at these places have been put a stop to.

III. This conference believes and resolves that such officers at the end of the inquiry instead of being retired or removed, should be punished more heavily by which such officers would stop to perpetrate such atrocities again and the trust of the public in the administration would increase.

- a) The officers who have been removed from the services should be tried in the Courts.
- b) The sum of the bribery should be refunded to the people concerned.
- c) The inquiries should be started at the places where they have not been and the offenders (officers and servants) should be punished.

d) The Government should console the public through press-note so that such atrocities may not occur in future.

(ii) This conference believes in the thirteen type of constructive work like Hindu Muslim unity [Removal of] Untouchability, Rural Development, Upliftment of women and Sanitation and Education etc., laid down by Mr Gandhi and appeals the public to take up that work.

(12) After the compromise of the Praja Mandal with the State there is peaceful atmosphere in the Raj. Looking to that the Praja Mandal requests the Government that the criminal cases that have taken place due to movement should be forgiven. Those who have been punished for such offences should be pardoned. Such cases should be withdrawn. Pending cases against the absconders should also be withdrawn. These who have been punished with fine should be forgiven and the fines should be refunded.

(13) To create awakening amongst the public and to give movement to the goal of Praja Mandal, this conference believes the necessity of establishing the public service institution (Loka Sevak Sanstha). To make arrangements for the constitution of such institution and the members, a Committee of the following members was appointed. 1. Mr Maganbhai S. Patel, 2. Mr Manilal Parikh, 3. Dr Veniala N. Modi, 4. Mr Chunilal P. Shah, 5. Mr Pramlal; T. Munshi, 6. Mr Chhotabhai Sutaria, 7. Mr Keshavilal J. Shah.

(14) In this resolution the Conference approved of the constitution of the Baroda Raj Praja Mandal with its changes and additions.

(15) In this resolution they elected following new office bearers.

Mr Manilal Prabhudas Parikh	General Secretary
Mr Chimanal Desai	Secretaries.
Mr Chhotabhai Shivabhai Patel.	
Mr Shivprasad Thakkar	Treasurer
Mr Vinubhai Gordhanbhai Shah	Auditors.
Mr Maganbhai Purshotamdas	

(16) In this resolution they appreciated the services of Messrs Chhotabhai Sutaria and Pramlal Munshi.

(17) In this resolution they heartily thanked the Reception Committee for having taken troubles to make this Conference successful.

1. Added by the Editor.

23(I): Working of Dhara Sabha Budget Session held on 24.7.1944

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 76
[Gujarat State Archives]

After the introduction of the Government of Baroda Act, the fourth budget session of the Dhara Sabha was held on 24th July 1944. As usual this was the longest of the sessions held during the year. Its proceedings were watched with great interest by the general public.

2. H.E. the Dewan-President in his speech pointed out the salient features of the budget

and reviewed the food situation in the State. He laid special emphasis on the savings campaign and post-war reconstruction scheme. These items along with the increase in the allotments for nation building departments evoked very keen interest among the members.

3. The budget was on the whole very favourably received and the discussions by the members largely centered round the details. Several members paid glowing tributes to the Government for a well planned non-deficit budget even in these abnormal times which impose much extra expenditure on the Government.

4. The Local press reported the proceedings in full. The salient features of the budget were very prominently displayed by many of them and tributes for a non-deficit budget without any additional taxation on the people, were paid to the Government.

5. The Press outside Baroda reported the proceedings with general appreciation and approval and published details of day to day working. The portions regarding the savings campaign and post-war reconstruction in the speech of H.E. the President were widely quoted.

6. Almost all the newspapers emphasizes the sound financial position of the State and the progressive character of the administration. Among the important English newspapers that reported the proceedings of the session at length may be mentioned the '*Times of India*', the *Statesman*, the *Indian States and Zamindaries*, the *Hindu*. etc. The Gujarati press outside Baroda devoted considerable space to the reports regarding the session. Discussions regarding civil supplies arrangements and prohibition were reported in flag headlines by the Press in general.

7. During the session some of the members presented resolutions appealing to the Government to extend the tenure of the Assembly in view of the prevailing war conditions. For the first time, the elected deputy president presided over the House for a time in this session.

R. Gautam.

24(v) Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat States for the fortnight ending 15th August 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43
[NAI - Acc. No. 361]

On 6th August a procession of about 500 mill hands was taken out by members of the Baroda Communist Party. The procession terminated near the Jubilee Garden. Speeches were delivered criticizing the dearness allowance given to mill hands. The Baroda Government's proposals for compulsory saving were welcomed though it was considered doubtful if they could be made to function owing to the low scale of dearness allowances. There were also protests at the action of the mill-owners in closing their mills whenever it suited them and in providing inferior grain. Other speakers warned the audience that sabotage and violence were not the Congress way and that there should be no violent demonstrations on the 9th. Their leaders would only be released through non-violence.

On 9th August the City observed a hartal. A meeting of the Prajamandal was held in the Prajamandal office, at which a resolution urging the release of Mr Gandhi was passed. In the

evening a procession of About 1500 persons was taken out under the leadership of Mr Chunilal P. Shah. The procession terminated near the Jubilee Gardens where a meeting was held in which Sunderbhai Patel, Chunilal P. Shah and others delivered speeches. Mr Shah during the course of his speech said that Mr Gandhi was India's ideal of manhood. He added that the people of India were starving as the great soul of India was under detention. He explained to the audience that there would be no peace in the world if India was not granted freedom. Finally he appealed to the people to achieve India's freedom by means of non-violence. Pamphlets were distributed some of which appear to be objectionable. The matter has been taken up by the Baroda Government.

On 10th August a meeting of about 800 persons was held in the Jubilee Gardens at which Mr Chunilal P. Shah of the Baroda Rashtriya Prajamandal presided. There were the usual speeches. A meeting was also held by the Baroda Prajamandal at their offices at which members of the Communist Party attended. Prayers for Mr Gandhi and speeches were delivered. Emphasis was laid on non-violence.

Labour

One D.M. Pangarkar a leader of the Communist Party and President of the Kisan Sangh, Surat came to Baroda with a view to establishing a new Kisan Sangh in Baroda. After conferring with local workers Mr Pangarkar returned to Surat. It is reported that a new Kisan Sangh has been established in Baroda.

General

The 9th passed off very peacefully in Baroda. There were meetings and speeches at most of the chief towns but no reports of rowdiness or incitement to violence have been received. Other states have either reported no activity of any kind or only minor activity such as school-boy processions. The Baroda Government are however considering what further action should be taken against the leaders of the Rashtriya Party of whom about 17 are already interned, particularly against Chunilal P. Shah.

There has been an increase in the number of objectionable pamphlets and leaflets and the attention of the Baroda Government has been drawn to this.

25(VIII) Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States for the fortnight ending the 31st of January 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

Shortage of Foodgrains. Acute shortage of wheat and other foodgrains still continues. Arrangements are being made to open a fair price shop for the benefit of the Agency staff and certain sections of the Post and Telegraph Department staff.



26(VIII) Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States for the fortnight ending 31st July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43
[NAI - Acc. No. 361]

Food Situation

The inability of the Food Department to supply Baroda and the Gujarat States with the quota of foodgrains allotted under the basic food plan is causing much consternation in the deficit States who had been counting on this allotment to tide them over till the next harvest.

27(IX): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States for the fortnight ending the 15th February 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) - P(S)/43
[NAI - Acc. No. 361]

Mehsana: Mr Indulal Yagnik a prominent Kisan worker accompanied by one K. Jani arrived at Mehsana on 1st February 1943. They visited Sidhpur, Patan and other places with a view to establish Kisan Sabhas'. It is reported that they met with little response either at Mehsana or at Sidhpur.

28(XVIII): Diwan of Baroda to the Resident, Baroda State

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 41
[Gujarat State Archives]

Secret
No. C-111/11.

*Huzur Cutcherry,
Baroda, 29th July 1943.*

To L.W. Jardine Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Resident for Baroda, Baroda.

Dear Mr Jardine,
Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh - Activities - Your letter No. C.B.6/6/A dated the 15th June 1943.¹

The organization has got branches in this State at Baroda, Navsari and Mehsana. The names of the last members of the Baroda branch are shown on the margin. There are about 300 volunteers in the Baroda branch. They meet in convenient batches every evening at four different places in the city and practise physical exercises with lathies. They also play India games also.

1. Mr M.B. Apte
2. Mr G.M. Tambe
3. Mr M.K. Sharangpani
4. Mr Raghunath Pandit
5. Mr Arvind Godbole
6. Mr Sakharam Bhonsle.

2. Mr Krishnarao Govinda Chanda of Nagpur is the organizer of the branch at Navsari. There are about 125 boys in the Navsari branch. About 60 boys have enlisted themselves in the Mehsana branch. One Gopal Goverdhan Gajjar of Satara gives them instructions in physical training. The volunteers in the branches at Navsari and Mehsana also do physical exercises with lathi.

3. The members and the volunteers of the branches in the State do not take part in political movement. The volunteers do not drill in military fashion.

4. The Baroda Government were not officially approached for permission to hold a camp at Kareli Bagh in May last. The volunteers attending the camp did not drill in military fashion.

5. The organization has very little support from the public and no encouragement is given to it by the State.

Yours sincerely,

Signed
V.T.K.

1 Not printed

29(XVIII): A Report on Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 41
[Gujarat State Archives]

The Police commissioner's report shows that the volunteers meet for physical exercise at the following places:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
Baroda city	1) Near Shri Jayasinhrao Library
	2) Near Topkhans grounds
	3) In the compound of Shri Govindrao Madhyawarti School
Navsari	1) Juna Thana
	2) In the compound of Gujarati School No. 1

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
Navsari	3) Near Dudhia Talav.
Mehsana	1) At the Rajmahal ground

In his letter dated the 15th June,¹ the Resident stated that the Government of India are taking considerable interest in this organization and suggested that no encouragement should be given to it. I presume it is not intended that we should prevent the mission from using open Government grounds or School compounds for their physical exercises.

1 Not printed.

30(XVIII): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and the Gujarat States for the fortnight ending 31st October 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43

[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

Mr V.D. Savarkar, President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha arrived in Baroda from Ahmedabad on October the 17th by 7 down train. He was accorded a hearty reception at the Baroda Railway station by his followers. He was then taken in a procession to Brahman Sabha hall. In the evening a meeting of about 9000 persons was held on the Gokhru grounds under the auspices of the Hindu Sabha, Baroda to present an address to Mr Savarkar. One Chaturbhuj Sheth presided. A purse of Rs 5000 was presented to Mr Savarkar. Mr Savarkar during the course of his speech the subject of which was 'India and the Hinduism' said that India is of Hindus and it will ever remain of Hindus. He remarked that when the Britishers came to India, India was ruled by about five Mohemadan States and in those days there was Pakistan in its true colours and that Hindus were oppressed by Mohamedan rulers. He then criticised Mr Jinnah's scheme of Pakistan for dividing India and asserted that there would be no settlement if such claims were put forward. There was only one solution and it was that the Hindus and Muslims should live together. Divisions were impossible according to him. He concluded by saying that the Hindus being in a majority and the Muslims in a minority, the minority must move for a compromise but that there should be a Hindustan.

On the morning of October the 18th Mr Savarkar visited the Arya Samaji Ashram at Kareli Bag where a sum of Rs 62 was present to him. In the evening at about 5-00 p.m., a meeting was held for ladies in Prof. Manikrao's Akhada where a sum of Rs 61 was presented to him. Another meeting of about 6000 persons was held in the same evening on the Gokhru grounds under the auspices of the Hindu Sabha, Baroda. Mr Savarkar reiterated the views already summarized above. He then spoke about Indian States. He said that the Congress had passed a resolution that Indian States should be abolished. According to his views this idea was incorrect. He explained to the audience that Indian States had survived on their own strength and should not be abolished. Indian States were centers of culture. Mr Savarkar concluded his speech by advising the people to join the Army, the Air services and the Engineering Services.

31(XVIII): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of Baroda and Gujarat States for the fortnight ending 31st December 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(10) – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 361]

On December the 16th a meeting was held in the Garden behind the Nyayamandir in which Maulana Abdul Samad Sirajuddin, the President of the Khaksar Organization of Bombay delivered a speech. About 50 persons attended the meeting.

32(XVIII/XI): Police Commissioner to the Manager, Huzur Political Office Regarding R.S.S.S.

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 41
[Gujarat State Archives]

No. C/616/1

Baroda, 13th January 1944.

To
The Manager,
Huzur Political Office,
Baroda.

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh – Activities of

Reference your secret endorsement No. C-11/13 dated the 10th December on the above subject.¹

The Chief Detective Officer, Baroda reports that Mr Kamalkar Tukaram Kadam is a resident of Palghar under Thana District. His father Tukaram Hiraji Kadam is a pensioner of the W. Department Palghar. Mr Kadam received his secondary education at the Aryan Education Society High School, Palghar and passed his Matriculation examination from there in the year 1940. He then come to Baroda for further studies and lived with his brother-in-law Mr Jagannath Tukaram Rane who is a sorter in the Railway Mail Service. Mr Kadam joined the Baroda college in the year 1940 and is at present studying Senior B.A. Class. He lived with Mr Rane for one year and afterwards shifted his residence and is staying at present in Mari Mata's lane near Sursagar. He has his own house and 15 bighas of land at Palghar. Mr Kadam is conducting here the Rashtriya Seva Dal since 1942 with a view to impart physical exercises to the young boys girls for improving their physical development. At present 60 boys and 40 girls are attending this Dal. The boys perform their exercises on the grounds behind Shree Sayaji Maratha Vastigruh and the girls perform their exercises in Jambu Pet behind Mr Pawashkar's

shop. They play Indian games like khokho. Hututu, Dumb Bells, Lezim. Mr Kadam had received nearly Rs 30 to 40 as contribution at the time of the opening of the Dal from which he purchased Dumb-Bells etc. No funds were collected or required afterwards. This Rashtriya Seva Dal has no connection with the R.S.S. (Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh).

In Poona Mr Hardiker is conducting the Rashtriya Seva Dal. The Baroda Dal is affiliated to the Rashtriya Sewa Dal Poona. The Baroda Dal is conducted by Mr Kadam. It has no president, secretaries or members.

Mr Ramakant Annaji Pawaskar is an inhabitant of Baroda. He is studying in the Inter Commerce class. His father has a photographic studio and a shop of gold & silver ornaments in Dandiya Bazaar, Baroda. Mr Ramakant passed his Matriculation Examination from the Baroda High School in the year 1940. As Mr Pawaskar is fond of physical exercises, he joined the Dal and is helping Mr Kadam in doing the work of the Dal. At the time of the visit of H.E. the Viceroy to Baroda, Mr Ramakant had worked as photographer on behalf of his studio for which a certificate of good work has been awarded to him by the Police Department.

Messers. Kadam and Pawaskar bear good moral character and they have not been found taking any part in the political movement.

Major,

Police Commissioner.

Not printed.

33(XVIII): Resident, Baroda State to V.T.
Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 41
[Gujarat State Archives]

D.O. No. C.B. 6/6/A

Secret

The Residency
Baroda

8th February 1944.

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh

Dear Sir Krishnamachari,

I am desired to refer to your demi official letter No. C.111/11 dated 29th July 1943¹ on the above subject and to request that the ban on the wearing of military uniform and the performance of military drills by the members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh may be enforced. It is also hoped that it will be possible to refuse permission or the holding of any camps in the State by this organization should attempts be made to contravene the ban.

The Resident would be grateful if a detailed summary of the progress of the organization during the last 6 or 7 months could kindly be supplied to him at an early date.

Yours sincerely,

Signed
B. Harley

V.T. Krishnamachari, KCIE
Minister of the Baroda State,
Baroda.

1. Doc. 28(XVIII).

34(XVIII/XI): Resident, Baroda State to
V.T. Krishnamachari,
Diwan of Baroda

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 41
[Gujarat State Archives]

Secret

The Residency
Baroda
17th March 1944

D.O. No. C.B. 6/6/A

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh — Activities of¹

My dear Sir Krishnamachari,

In continuation of this Residency demi official letter No. 6/6/A dated the 9th December 1943¹ I am desired to say that the Resident has reason to believe that Mr K.T. Kadam, who is in charge of the Dal at Baroda has been informed of the interest taken by this Residency in his activities and is proposing to change his address. The Resident hopes that the Baroda C.I.D. will continue their enquiries into this man's activities.

Yours sincerely,

Sir V.T. Krishnamachari, KCIE.,
Minister of the Baroda State,
Baroda

1. See also Doc. 32 above. [The Resident was confusing the Rashtriya Seva Dal with the R S S. On the former, see documents in Ch. XI. — Ed.]

35(XVIII): Commissioner of Police to the Manager, H.P. office, Baroda

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 41
[Gujarat State Archives]

Secret

No. C/936/5

Baroda, 24th March 1944

To,
The Manager, H.P. Office, Baroda

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh

Reference you secret endorsement No. C-111/7 dated the 10th February on the above subject.¹

2. I write to inform you that I caused enquiries to be made regarding the progress of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh through all the District Magistrates, the Police Naib Subas and the C.I.D. and it is learnt that the present strength of the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh in the city is about 250 which is mostly comprised of young students, while formerly i.e. about six months ago, the number was about 500. The students play Indian games like Hututu, Khokho, Langdi etc. and are also taught Lazim and Lathi exercises. They meet on the Gokhru grounds opposite the Police Headquarters. some of the students also play on the Topkhana grounds near Bhutadi Zampa and in the compound of Shri Govindrao Madyavarti School. The aim of this organization is to impart physical training to the students. They do not take any part in political matters. Messrs. G.M. Tambe, a local pleader and M.K. Sarangpani, Retd. District Judge are the leading workers of the Sangh.

3. In the Baroda District there is only one branch of R.S.S. at Dabhoi and it consists of 30 to 40 students. They meet on the High School grounds at Dabhoi and play Indian games and Lathi.

4. In the Navsari District the R.S.S. has its branch at Navsari only. It consists of about 75 young boys and they are taught physical exercises like Lazim and lathi.

5. In the Mehsana District formerly there were about 60 students. About 10 more boys have now been enlisted. There is nothing particular to report with regard to the progress of this organization in this District.

7. The members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh are aware of the ban imposed on the use of military uniform and drill in British India and have taken care not to infringe the restrictions. They are not putting on military uniforms and are not performing military drill. The undersigned has no objection if a ban is put by the Government on the wearing of military uniform and the performance of military drills by the members of the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh. Permission for the holding of any camps in the State by this organization will be refused if attempts are made to contravene the restrictions.

Police Commissioner.

1. Not printed.

36(XVIII): V.T. Krishnamachari, Diwan of Baroda to the Resident, Baroda State

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 41
[Gujarat State Archives]

Secret

No. C-111/21

Baroda,
4th April 1944

Dear Mr Jardine,

Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh

Your Secret letter No. C.B.6/6/A
dated the 8th February

The Baroda Government agree to enforce the ban on the wearing of Military uniform and the performance of military drills by the members of the R.S.S. Sangh. They also agree to refuse permission for the holding of camps in the State by this organization should attempts be made to contravene the ban.

I enclose a note from the State Police commissioner about the organization.

(Yours sincerely)

Signed V.T. Krishnachari

L.W. Jardine, Esqr., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Baroda.

Note from the Police Commissioner Baroda State, about Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh.

The Sangh has branches at Baroda, Dabhoi, Navsari and Mehssna. The Number of volunteers is as follows:

Baroda	250
Dabhoi	30
Navsari	75
Mehssna	70

They practice physical exercise with this, lezim etc., and play Indian games. The members and the volunteers of the branches in the State do not take part in political movement.



37 (XVIII): Police Commissioner to the Manager, H.P. Office, Baroda

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 41
[Gujarat State Archives]

Confidential
C.616/4

Baroda, 5th May 1944.

To
The Manager,
Huzur Political Office, Baroda.

Rashtriya Seva Dal — Activities of

Reference you confidential endorsement No. C-111/19 dated the 18th March 1944 on the above subject.¹

The Chief Detective Officer, Baroda reports that Mr K.T. Kadam and Ramakant Annaji Pawaskar were formerly conducting the Rashtriya Sewa Dal at Baroda. Mr Pawaskar who was studying in the Commerce College gave up taking any active part in the Dal for the last two months as he had to appear for the Inter Com. Examination and since then, Mr Kadam only looks after the affairs of the Dal. When both Messrs. Kadam and Pawaskar were working together, they were using two separate grounds and the number of boys and girls attending the dal was 60 and 40 respectively. But now as the attendance of boys and girls has fallen to 50 and 30 respectively and Mr Kadam is the only worker, the boys and girls exercise together on the ground situated behind the Sayaji Maratha Vasati Gruha.

The students of the Dal play Indian Games such as khokho, Hututu, Dumbels and Lezim and they never put any particular uniform. Mr Kadam who is conducting the Dal is studying in the Baroda College and has appeared for the B.A. Examination this year. He was looking after the Dal in his spare time. Mr Kadam not is concerned in any undesirable political activities. It is reported that the activities of this Dal have no particular political bearing behind them.

Major,
Police Commissioner

1. Not printed but see Doc. 34 above.

38(XVIII): Police Commissioner to the Manager, H.P. Office, Baroda

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 41
[Gujarat State Archives]

Secret

No. C.130901

Baroda, 10th July 1944.

To
The Manager,
Huzur Political Office, Baroda.

Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh-your secret endorsement No. C-111/25 dated the 19th May.¹

The Chief Detective Officer, Baroda report that Mr Kadam is conducting the Dal and takes exercises from boys and girls on the ground near Sayaji Maratha Boarding House. Except the above, the Dal has opened three branches at Baroda, one in Mohamad Wadi, the second behind the Nazarbag Palace and third in Kalupura. These branches are conducted by the boys themselves and the number of boys attending each branch is from 10 to 50. In all these branches the boys do physical exercises and play Indian games like Khokho, Hututu and Langdi.

Mr Kadam has passed B.A. Examination this year and he is filling up the for the M.A. examinations in the College. He is serving as a teacher in the New School and has opened a tuition class for the students of Std IV, V & VIth at his residence near Sur Sagar. During the last vacation he had gone to his place Palghar under Thana District. Nothing objectionable on able has come to notice against him so far.

Colonel

Police Commissioner

¹ Not printed.



39(XVIII): Secretary to Resident, Baroda to the Minister of the Baroda State

Govt. of Baroda, Huzur Political Office, File No. 41

[Gujarat State Archives]

Secret

No. C.B.6/6/A

Memorandum

To

The Minister of the Baroda State, Baroda

Dated Baroda, the 24th November 1944.

Political and Communal Organizations in States

The attention of the Baroda Government is drawn to the following notifications:

- 1) Government of India Defence Department Notification No. 5-D.C. (82/44) dated 23rd September 1944.
- 2) Government of India Home Department Order No. 28/3/44 - Poll (I) dated 23rd September 1944.

2. The reasons for the promulgation of these two notifications have been explained in a Press Note copy of which is attached.

3. After a careful examination of the legal position, it was decided by Central Government to leave the existing sub rule (i) of Defence Rule 58, to insert a new sub-rule (1A) providing general powers to prohibit, restrict or impose conditions on the holding of camps, parades meetings and assemblies; and to issue there under a general order requiring the previous permission of District Magistrates and Commissioner of Police for the holding of camps and parades by political and communal organizations and giving these authorities powers either to refuse permission or impose such conditions as are considered necessary.

4. The Central Government proposes to certify under the new Rule 58 (1A) the following organizations:

- 1) The Indian National Congress
- 2) The All-India Muslim League
- 3) The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh
- 4) The All-India Hindu Mahasabha
- 5) The Anjuman-i-Khksaran.

5. The alternative of making a general order prohibiting wearing uniforms and military drill by any organization has been considered and it is the opinion of the Central Government that such a prohibition is not only unnecessary but would prove extremely difficult to apply in practice owing to the large number of exceptions that would have to be made and that it is sufficient to enforce strictly the Notification of 4th August 1949 and the present notification prohibiting military drill, wearing military uniforms, holding camps and parades.

6. The Baroda Government are requested to take parallel action under their counterpart

of the Defence of India Act and Rules. In addition to the organizations certified by the Central Government, the Baroda Government are requested to issue similar certificates in respect of similar political and communal organizations whose activities are local.

(D.Y. Fell)

Secretary to the Resident at Baroda
for the States of Western India and

Press Note

In August 1940 Government issued notifications banning the performance of military drill and the wearing in public of dress resembling a military uniform. As explained in a press Note issued at the time this action was designed to prevent the growth of 'private armies' and to stop militaristic activities on the part of non-official volunteer organization that could only result in disturbing the public peace and interfere with the security of the country.

2. It has now become necessary to supplement these notifications by taking powers to prevent secret gatherings at which breaches of the orders may occur and to ensure that any proposal on the part of a political or communal organization to hold a camp or parade is brought to the notice of the authority locally responsible for the maintenance of law and order—that is to say the District Magistrate or the Commissioner of Police in Presidency Towns. The new powers take the form of an addition to Rule 58 of the Defence of India rules and a General Order made there under, which are published today. There is nothing in this order which interferes with any legitimate activity; it merely reinforces Government's determination to suppress with complete impartiality the dangerous tendencies which are inseparable from any concerted attempt by non official political or communal organizations to usurp functions that are proper to the State, and to the State alone.

Home Department,
New Delhi, the 23rd September 1944.

40(XVIII): Notification of the Manager, H.P. Office Baroda

Govt. of Baroda Huzur Political Office, File No. 41
[Gujarat State Archives]

Amendment No. T-3/04 of 1944-5
Published on 21st December 1944
Amendment of the Defence of India
Rules as applied to the Baroda State

Preamble: Whereas it is expedient to amend the Defence of India Rules applied to the Baroda State, under Huzur Orders, it is provided as follows:

Sub-Rule (IA) in rule 58 newly inserted: In rule 58 of the said rules, after sub-rule (1), the following sub-rule shall be inserted, namely:

(1A) The Baroda Government may by general or special order, with a view to securing that no unauthorized exercise, movement evolution or drill of a military nature is performed at any place, prohibit, restrict or impose conditions on the holding of or taking part in, any such camp, parades, meeting or assembly, or such class thereof, as may be specified in the order.

Dated 18th December 1944.

By order,
R.K. Pradhan,
Manager, Huzur Political Office.

Princely States (2) Central Indian States

1 (I): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 15th August 1944

C.R. Records – Central India Agency (hereafter C.I.A) File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 –
Pol. (Dept.) [NAI]

Indore

It is understood that Mr Gandhi has informed the President of the Local Congress Committee that Congress Committees in Indian States are auxiliary bodies whereas the Praja Mandal is a principal organisation and that the former should therefore cooperate with the latter. He has also advised that constructive work, e.g. village industries, village sanitation, Khadi Prachar, Charkha Spinning, etc., should be started.

2 (I): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 31st August 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Indore

The Praja Mandal workers took a leading part in the election of the Legislative Council and their candidates were successful.

The Praja Mandal was declared unlawful in 1942 on account of the adoption of a resolution similar to the now famous 'Quit India' resolution of August 1942. It is believed that the ban will shortly be lifted as the result of an undertaking given by the 'Dictator' that this resolution will not 'be pursued' (sic).

3(I): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 30th November 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Rewa

On the 25th a meeting of Congressmen was held in Rewa. It is believed they are contemplating a revival of Congress activities under the cloak of the Charkha Sangh and Khadi Prachar. They are collecting data of prosecutions, detentions, fines, etc., imposed on Congressmen in the last disturbances.

4(V): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 30th November 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Indore

A man named Com. Abdul Rehman who is said to have come from the Punjab talked on the importance of the All India Labour (Bolshevik) Party. He said that their aim was to establish a people's Government in India on the lines of that in Russia, and such a Government could be established through the organisation of labourers and peasants. He added that the Bolsheviks do not believe in the communal unity but in the unity of all political bodies in India for the establishment of an All Parties National Government.



5(X): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 31 January 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Indore

The weavers of the Rajkumar Mills struck work on the night of the 20th January and also on the 21st and 22nd as a protest against the issue of advances, which according to them should be equal to the amount of dearness allowance of 20 days.

6(X) Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 30th June 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Indore

It is reported that the workers of the Majdur Sabha are issuing a bulletin in which the following three requests are to be made:

- i) Permanent arrangement for the supply of coal.
- ii) Appointment of a Committee to solve the problem of coal supplies.
- iii) A demand that remuneration should be given to the workers when the mills are closed for want of coal.

At a Coal Conference on the 25th June convinced by the Majdur Sabha, Indore, two resolutions were passed:

One insisting that the wages of coal miners should be increased and that women should be forbidden to work in coal mines and the other requesting the Holkar Government to ensure allowances to mill-workers when work ceased owing to lack of coal.

7(XI): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 31 January 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Indore

A partial Hartal was observed in the city on 'Independence Day' (26th January). A flag saluting ceremony was held and a demonstration of Charkha spinning was given. Attendance in the Holkar College was poor. Tri-colour flag was hoisted and garlanded by the students.

8(XI): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 15th September 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Indore

The Indore Students Federation convened a meeting on the 7th September at which one Rajni Patel, a Communist worker of Baroda, gave a lecture on the 'Students' role in present day politics'. He deplored the general disunity amongst Indians and reminded the students that their duty was to cover all existing differences and to establish a common National Front. He ended by emphasizing the importance of the Gandhi – Jinnah meeting and desired that the students should endeavour to persuade every house in Indore to send a telegram of good wishes.

9(XI & XVIII): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 15th September 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Indore

The Indore Students Federation convened a meeting on the 7th September at which one

Rajni Patel, a Communist worker of Baroda, gave a lecture on the 'Students' role in present day politics'. He deplored the general disunity amongst Indians and reminded the students that their duty was to cover all existing differences and to establish a Common National Front. He ended by emphasizing the importance of the Gandhi - Jinnah meeting and desired that the students should endeavour to persuade every house in Indore to send a telegram of good wishes.

At the invitation of the Friends of the Soviet Union, Indore Branch, Rajni Patel delivered another lecture in the Maharashtra Sahitya Sabha Hall on 'The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union'. The speaker endeavoured to refute the allegations made against Russia by Prof. Masani that Russia was an Imperialist Government because it joined the Allies and did not assist Poland in the fight for freedom. He added that the allegation that Russia was not helping India to achieve here freedom was untrue and declared that the defeat of Germany at Stalingrad and their consequent failure to penetrate East through the Caucasus clearly shows Russia's foreign policy with regard to India. He concluded by saying that the policy of Russia is to make other nations free, to remove colour distinction and to stop exploitation of one class by another, and finally urged the audience to pray for the success of the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting.

10_(XI): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 30th November 1944

C.R. Records - C.I.A. - File No. 6(12) - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Indore

Mr Gadgil, president of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, Poona, arrived in Indore on the 17th November in connection with the Students Federation Conference held on the 18th. Leaflets entitled 'Gandhi-Jinnah breakdown - What next?' were distributed among the students. The pamphlet invited students to friendly discussion on the subject on the ground that students could best help in bringing Gandhi and Jinnah together for a final agreement on the communal question. Mr Gadgil delivered several speeches and advised the students to take up constructive work.

11 (XVIII): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 15th January 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Indore

The anniversaries of Guru Govind Singh and Vijay Rajendra Sureshwari were celebrated on the 31st December 1943 by the Sikh and Jain Communities respectively.

It is learnt that a volunteer Corps for the Nagar Hindu Sabha has been established on the lines of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh.

On the occasion of Moharram, the exhibition of handicrafts and pictures of Allamah Mashriqi were held by Khaksars, who were dressed in Khaki shirts and salwars and covered their heads with white cloth. They also hoisted a red 'Khaksar flag' in front of their tent.

12 (XVIII): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 30th June 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Social: Indore

121. The main idea of the organizers is to approach His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur to cancel the order that Urdu should be the official language.

123. As a mark of respect to the deceased Nawab Yar Jang Bahadur, President of the States Muslim League, a majority of shops were closed at the instigation of the local Muslim League and the Muslim workers of the Hukumchand Mills did not work the night shift on the 27th June.



13(XVIII & V): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 15th August 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Indore

171. One Bhalerao illustrated the Pakistan Scheme by means of a map and criticised the proposals.

172. At a meeting of the local Communist workers held on the 9th August the following resolution was moved but it was not passed owing to a difference of opinion between the Communists and others:

‘This private meeting of the Nagar Hindu Sabha; Indore, protests against the Scheme for division of India proposed by Rajagopalacharya and consented to by Mr Gandhi. It further expresses its lack of confidence in these two gentlemen and firmly holds that India is indivisible and if the Scheme is brought into force all Hindus were prepared to fight under the banner of the Hindu Sabha.’

14(XVIII & V): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central Indian Agency for the fortnight ending the 30th September 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Indore

Hazra Begum, a communist worker of Allahabad, arrived here on the 21st September and delivered a lecture the same evening on the subject ‘Congress-League Compromise’. She endeavoured to prove that the Pakistan demand by Muslims would not result in the division of India but on the contrary would unite India for the purposes of achieving freedom. While her speech was in progress some members of the Hindu Sabha caused disturbance by shouting ‘Pakistan Murdabad’ and ‘shame’.

15(XVIII): Extracts from Fortnightly Report of the Central India Agency for the fortnight ending the 15th November 1944

C.R. Records – C.I.A. – File No. 6(12) – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Rewa and Indore

‘Satyarth Prakash Protection Day’ was observed by the Sanyogitaganj Aryasamaj on the 12th evening. A resolution was passed protesting against the policy of the Sindh Government banning the publication of the 14th Canton and requesting the Governor and the Viceroy to lift the ban.

One Abdul Bali Mussalman of Manikpur has been giving public talks on religious matters at Rewa. In his speeches he is reported to have redoubled idol worshippers. His activities are being watched.

Princely States (3) Deccan States – (Aundh)

1(XIX): *Deccan States – Aundh*

C.R. Records File No. 1(14) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

My dear Fitze,

I enclose a note on my visit to Aundh state during last week of March 1943.

Signed C.G.N. Edward's.

Sri K. Fitze
Secy. to C.R.
Poll. Dept.
New Delhi.

Aundh

I visited Aundh state from the 29th to 31st of March 1943. The Aundh State itself is a strange and rather disappointing mixture of democratic progress and falling standards. The almost fanatical enthusiasm of the Raja and his son for democracy is apt to lead to too much levelling

down and not 'levelling up' The Raja is now 76 and his son, the Appa Saheb is the main driving force in the State.

It must not however, be thought that the administration's backward or inefficient, the extremely democratic constitution which was introduced some years ago is working with a remarkable degree of success. It is based on the village as the primary unit, with a system of village panchayats, going up through area and taluka panchayats to the State Assembly on an elective principle of full adult franchise.

Many complaints have been made against Aundh of failure to co-operate with the neighbouring districts, but I have been watching the position carefully and feel satisfied that at least those at the head of affairs are trying to co-operate to the full extent of their ability I shall continue to watch this.

Signed Edward
Resident — Kolhapur & Decan State.

Princely States (4) Eastern Indian States

1 (I): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 46 of the Inspector General of Police (hereafter I.G.P.) Adviser, Eastern States, for the period ending 31st January 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) — P S/43 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

336. *Dhenkanal*: On the 21st January, shots were exchanged between a party of absconders and the police who, apparently without success, were attempting to arrest them. The abscond decamped leaving behind a stolen police musket and two muzzle loading gun.

2 (I): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 47 of the I.G.P., Eastern States for the month of February 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

347. *Nayagarh*: Three or more absconders, including Sambari Naik, a leading Pan agitator, were arrested during the first half of February.

348. *Dhenkanal*: Four members of the gang of absconder Baishnab Charan Patnaik have been arrested though Baishnab Charan himself remains at large.

3(I): Extracts from Fortnightly Digest No. 48 of the I.G.P., Eastern States for the period ending the 15th March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

355. *Talcher*: Two persons of Athmallik State were arrested for supplying rations to the Talcher absconders and for acting as couriers. As a result of these arrests, it is said that the absconders are being refused food and shelter in Athmallik State and now reported to be somewhere along the border between Talcher and Angul. A gun stolen by the rebels has been recovered from the possession of Banamali Muduli and Mohi Pradhan, both of whom have been prosecuted.

4(I) Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 50 of the I.G.P., Eastern States for the period ending the 15th April 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

374. *Nandgaon*: Thakur Peary Lal Singh (Raipur, C.P.), in a three day visit, is said to have met all the local Congressmen.

5(I): Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 51 of the I.G.P., Eastern States for the period ending the 30.4.1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

380. (a) *Talcher*: A police party surprised a gang of absconding rebels committing dacoity in a house in village Ghantianali on the Angul border of this State on the night of 25.4.43. There rebels opened fire on the police and the Head Constable and a Chowkidar received gun shot wounds. The police retaliated, firing 3 rounds, killing Mohi Pradhan, an absconding rebel and one other of the gang who comes from Athmallik State. The rest of the rebels decamped

abandoning their would be booty and 4 M.L. guns with some gun powder and caps. Mohi Pradhan made a dying declaration admitting his guilt and giving other information.

6(I) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 53 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 15th May 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

404. *Dhenkanal*: Detenue Narottam Das (para. 395 (b)) has been convicted under the Defence of India Rules and sentenced to 3 years R.I. on 10.5.43.

7(I) : Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of June 1943~

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

413. *Rairakhol*: The appeals of Adikenda Das, Peshkar of the Ruler, Sadasiva Tripathy, Sub-Inspector of schools and Sukdeva Sahu, who were convicted and sentenced to 2 years R.I. each last year under the D.I. rules for anti-war propaganda, were lately heard by the ruler, who upheld the convictions but reduced the sentences. Adikenda and Sadasiva were, on release served with notices to leave the State and remain away during the war. Adikenda Das is a Adl. P.S., Cuttuck District and Sadasiva comes from Dhenkanal.

8(I) : Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 56 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

431. (C) *Nilgiri*: Security prisoner Kumar Udoynath Birbar, a leading member of the Prajaman-dal, who was interned has lately been released under certain restrictions.

9(I): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 59 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the second half of August 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

467. *Chhulkhadan*: Goverdhan Ram Verma, President State Congress, visited Raipur during 15th–19th August and associated with Thakur Pyarelal Singh and Jan Muhammad, Communist and member of the Hindustan Red Army. It is alleged that he took from the latter some communist literature including a proscribed publication entitled 'We protest' written by the All-India Students Federation, Nagpur.

10(I): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 62 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of October 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

502. *Khanker*: An unconfirmed source reports that villagers of Kodekhursi in the Bhanupratapur Tashil are visiting Villages with Congress flags and organizing an agitation for the recall of the Ruler. It is said that this is being done at the instigation of a political convict named Indu Dhimar.

11(II & V): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 60 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of September 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

471. *Nilgiri*. (a) The members of the Communist Party are continuing to be active and it is reported that they are trying to start a mass movement by taking advantage of the present economic distress.

(b) On 4.9.43 the house of some leading Communists were searched by the State Police and a large-quantity of objectionable communist literature was seized. 4 persons are being prosecuted under section 121 I.P.C. and 38 (b) of the D.I. Rules.

(c) It is reported that the Provincial communists in co-operation with thee communists of Nilgiri State are trying to extend their activities to Mayurbhanj State.

12^(IV): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 47 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the month of February 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

349. *General:* (a) Contrary to reports upon the Orissa States, it is said that there was much excitement in the towns in the Chhattisgarh Agency over Gandhi's fast though the only expression of public resentment was a feeble 'Hartal' in the towns at Raj-Nandgaon. It is reported that villagers in the interior have been quite unaffected.

351. *Raigarh:* Congress sympathizers and merchants were unsuccessful to organise public prayers for Gandhi.

13^(IV): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 48 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 15th March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

357. *General:* (a) Thanksgiving prayers were offered and alms distributed to the poor on the successful termination of Gandhi's fast.

358. *Nandgaon:* A few Congress sympathizers collected about Rs 22 from shopkeepers in Rajnandgaon and distributed alms to the poor in gratitude for Gandhi's survival.

14^(V): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 46 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 31st January 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

337. (a) *Nilgiri:* Kangali Charan Das, brother of Banamali Das convened a Communist meeting of Soviet village in observance of Lenin day. Kangali, acting under instructions from the Provincial leaders Sarat and Bhagabati Panigrahi, is attempting to rally the people on an anti fascist front. At the moment, he is concentrating on members, numbering about 300, of the Kisan Sabha. Present Communist membership in the State is estimated at about 50 only.

15_(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 47 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the month of February 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

346. *Nilgiri*: (a) Banamali Das, an important Communist absconder, in connection with the Civil disturbance, was arrested early in February at Bhadrak in the Balasore District.

16_(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 52 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 15th May 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

392. *Nilgiri*: (c) The local Communists are trying to influence the Prajamandal by promises to obtain refunds of collective fines already realized. Kangali Charan Das, the local Communist leader, is also reported to be organizing bands of youths to persuade or coerce merchants and stockists into sending paddy and rice to those in need.

(d) It is said that the subjects of the State are happier with the State under administration but a strong rumour exists that the Ruler will be returned to power. The local Communists are said to be collecting signatures to an appeal to the Resident protesting against the Rulers return.

17_(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Digest No. 56 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

431. *Nilgiri*: (a) At a Communist meeting held at Bhadrak on the 26th June, it was decided that the Nilgiri party should start a 'Grow More Food' campaign in the State and appeal to the Dewan to release Banamali Das from jail, to stop the export of rice and paddy, to control prices and take adequate measures to wipe out the black market. Communists at four centers in the State were commissioned to work on an uniform programme during July of collecting subscriptions for the 'Mukti Judha', raising Mukti Senas and taking the signatures of the people on a representation for the release of Banamali Das.

(b) Kangali Charan Das, present leader of the Nilgiri Communists, has been convicted and sentenced to one month's R.I. for exporting rice and paddy from the State without permission.

18(V): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 59 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the second half of August 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

464. *Nilgiri*: The Communist party members have been active in the State recently with a programme of:

- (a) Solving the food problem,
- (b) Procuring the refund of collective fines realized from the State in connection with the last year revolt,
- (c) Securing the release of the detenus whereby possible. It is said that this programme is finding favour with States subjects.

19(VIII) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 53 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending 31.5.1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

408. (c) *Chhatisgarh*: The withdrawal of restrictions on the movement of rice has caused a steep rise in price, and the public fear that unrestricted export will mean so big a drain on stocks that they will eventually have to face starvation. The general economic situation shows no signs of improvement and it is the all-pervading topic and the greatest concern of the people.

20(VIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

416. *General:* 'The economic situation is still the main concern of the people and uneasiness and discontent are growing. The price of rice continues to rise, due to free export in certain States and smuggling from and hoarding by traders in those States where export is controlled. Thus the poorer classes and the low-paid State servants are undergoing increasing hardships. Cheap cloths is still unobtainable and small coins are scarce.

21(VIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 55 of the I.G.P., Eastern states for the second half of June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

425. *Dhenkanal:* It is reported that Raj Kumar Brishes Pratap Singh Deo, the Judicial Minister of Dhenkanal State (the Bini Sahib-brother of the Ruler) in partnership with a retired State Dr Ahamed Daitary Jee is purchasing large quantities of paddy at Rs 9 a bag and re-selling it in Dhenkanal town to Bengal merchants at Rs 32 a bag. Such trading is otherwise prohibited locally. Earlier in the year it was reported that Bini Sahib was conducting a 'Benami' business through a local store and the Agent of the Pattavet of Seraikella State in pursuance of which some 17 wagon loads of paddy were despatched from Garh-Dhenkanal Railway Station in December 1943.

427. *Nandgaon:* (a) Over a misunderstanding with regard to the prescribed retail price of rice, rice merchants. refused to open their shops in Rajmandgaon on the 22nd June, and this led to rioting and looting of grain by a crowd of about 1,000 persons including women. Later, there was further looting at the vegetable market, and the next day, a crowd of 700 threatened more looting but was dispersed without difficulty. The situation thereafter remained under control, and arrangements were made to supply rice to the people. The original cause of the trouble which necessitated the fixing of retail prices over which the misunderstanding occurred, appears to have been heavy purchasing of rice by agents of a Calcutta firm which forced the price up to an unprecedented degree. The agents concerned have been arrested under Sec. 81 of the Defence of India Rules for contravening the State Control orders.



22(VIII) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 56 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Nandgaon

433. (b) As the case against Isphahani's agent, Mohammed Ali Dehdosti, is being withdrawn the people suspect the authorities of underhand dealing.¹

¹ See the previous doc (no. 21)

23(VIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 57 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the second half of July 1943.

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

446. *Bastar*: According to a source, outside merchants are still buying up rice to such an extent that they may cause a local shortage. Shopkeepers are still charging a discount for changing currency notes, and, matches are scarce.

447. *Kalahandi and Jashour*: Several prosecutions for hoarding grain and coin have had a beneficial effect. The poor complain of the inferior quality of rice sold at the controlled shop. Similar complaints are voiced by the people in Jashpur State.

448. *Khairagarh*: 23 persons have been prosecuted, there is a general demand for more State-controlled shops for the sale of sugar and kerosene oil.

24(VIII) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 58 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of August 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

460. *Bastar*: It is understood that, since an alleged agreement to export another 40,000 maunds of rice through a Calcutta firm, the price of rice has risen enormously.

25(VIII) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 62 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of October 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

498. *Sakti*: According to an unconfirmed source report, the Agents of Ispahani & Co. purchased another 80,000 maunds of rice which has caused dissatisfaction amongst the public.

26(IX): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 45 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 15th January 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

333. *Gangpur*: So far the action taken to collect the arrears of land revenue from Munda defaulters who have been withholding payment has not met with opposition. Many against whom criminal charges are pending have been arrested and are being proceeded against. It is believed that the Adibasi leader Jaipal Singh' advised that no resistance should be offered, but that no payments should be made. In fact many cash payments have been made and considerable realization of arrears in cash and by attachment has resulted.

27(IX): Extracts -- Fortnightly Digest No. 46 of the I.G.P., Eastern States for the period ending the 31st jan. 1943.

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

340. *Kawarcha*: The State-sponsored Kisan Sangh, recently re-instituted, is said to be unpopular with cultivators, who are thus suspicious of an announcement that the Sangh alone will purchase their grain.

343. *Kanker*: It is reported that agitation is being secretly worked up against the ban on the export of grain on the ground that, if unable to sell their grain at competitive prices, cultivators will be unable to pay land revenue and 'taccavi' demands.

28_(IX): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 48 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 15th March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

354. *Gangpur*: The adibasi Mahasabha was held at Ranchi from the 5th to the 8th March, Jaipal Singh presiding. About 400 aboriginals from Gangpur State and about 20,000 from Chhota-Nagpur attended. On the 7th and the 8th Jaipal spoke on matters relating to Gangpur State. Although he attempted to cloak the viciousness of his propaganda by an occasional appeal to enlist and assist in the war effort, the general purport of his speeches was that the State administration was grossly oppressive, the police wholesale looters and officers of the Political Department mere dupes of unscrupulous state officials. On both occasions, he stressed the importance of the Mundas remaining peaceful during the war but promised the State plenty of trouble as soon as the war was over.

29_(IX) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 49 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 31.3.43

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

362. *Athgarh*: (a) Balaram Biswal and other State agitators are suspected of burning down the Bali School boarding house resulting in the destruction of certain State records and G.C. Notes to the value of Rs 778. Revenge against the State Revenue Clerk, Birkishore Pathaik, is believed to have been the chief motive.

(b) There is an acute shortage of rice in this State due to suspected hoarding by dealers. Some of the poorer classes are reported to be obtaining their requirements secretly from the neighbouring villages in Dhenkanal, Tigiria and Cuttack.

30(IX) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 51 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 30.4.1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

383. *Gangpur*: Revenue collections are satisfactory and the Mundas are now reported to be behaving themselves. In pursuance of the decision of the Adibasi Sabha recently held in Ranchi, some State Adibasis, who are still living in Ranchi, are said to be compiling lists of property alleged to have been attached by State authorities.

31(IX): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 57 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the second half of July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

442. *Gangpur*: (a) Several of the Munda agitators who are wanted on criminal charges are in hiding in Ranchi district. Extradition warrants have so far failed to produce them. Their lands which were attached are being forcibly cultivated by their relatives, who are being prosecuted under section 447 I.P.C. But for this the Adibasi situation in Gangpur is now quiet and many have voluntarily paid State revenue.

32(X): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 51 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 30.4.43.

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

390. *General*: According to an unconfirmed report, labourers imported from Raipur district for work in the Jagdalpur aerodrome are deserting because of inadequate wages.

33(X & VIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States for the first half of June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

422. *Raigarh:* (b) A public meeting of 1,500 persons convened there on the 27th May by the Municipal Committee to convey thanks to the Authorities for having re-imposed restrictions on the export of rice, got out of control and had to be dispersed by the police, when the president declined to permit discussion of a resolution demanding fixation of the rice at 5 seers to ten rupee. People were heard saying that shops should be looted. On the 4th June, Municipal Sweepers suspended work for the day as a protest against the high price of rice; they were promised cheaper supplies by the chairman of the Municipal Committee, who thereby it is reported, has incurred the displeasure of the Diwan.

34(XII & VIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 46 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 31st Jan. 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

341. *Raigarh:* The ban on the export of rice is being keenly opposed by merchants, particularly Marwaris, and they are reported to be ready to pay generously for export permits. The State is said to be favourably inclined to the restricted export of rice.

35(XII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

419. *Korea:* (b) According to a reliable source, the Ruling Chief has sold obsolete silver Coins Worth about one lakh of Rupees to local merchants at a profit for himself, instead of paying the coins into the Bank. The merchants concerned expect to profit on their part by melting the coins down and selling the silver.

420. *Kalahandi*: (a) Disquiet has been caused amongst the tenants by rumours that the Ruling Chief is contemplating early settlement operations.

(b) Rice is becoming scarce on account of smuggling and large scale hoarding by local Marwari merchants.

36(XII) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 55 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the second half of June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

429. *Korea*: With reference to para. 8 of C.I.O.'s fortnightly Review the 15th June 1943, it is further reported that Banwari Lal and Dasaudhi of Manendragarh have so far purchased silver coins valued at Rs 25,000 from the Ruler, and the latter is now pressing them to buy Rs 14,000 worth of East India Company's coins. (See para. 419 (b)).

37(XII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 56 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

436. *Bastar*: (a) Traders are still coming from Calcutta to purchase rice and the large export of rice has caused sensation and a deputation to the Administrator to put an end to this is contemplated. Scarcity of small coins persists.

38(XIV): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 45 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 15th jan. 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Chhatisgarh

334. *General*: (a) The political situation remains quiet in these States. Scarcity and rising prices are, however, causing concern and, until the recent air-raids on Calcutta, this tended to throw

the events of the war into the background. Since the raids on Calcutta, town people are apprehensive, following exaggerated accounts of the raids on Calcutta, that these raids are the forerunners of further raids on other towns. Government communiques, it is said, are generally disbelieved by those who are prone to listen to rumour.

39(XIV) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 46 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 31st Jan. 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Chhatisgarh

339. *General:* The period has been uneventful. It is said that the people of the State have a more optimistic outlook as a result of recent war news. Alarmist rumours of the effects of enemy air raids on Calcutta are, however, still in circulation and it is said that there is some nervousness on this account in towns. Profiteering is still rife and small coins are still scarce. Smuggling of grains evading export restriction is said to be common. An acute grain shortage is threatened in some states. Prolonged wet weather is said to have damaged winter crops.

40(XV): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

417. *Nandgaon:* (b) The pay of police constables has been raised with effect from the first of April 1943, and local allowances have also been sanctioned with effect from the same date. This and the arrangement made by the State Superintendent for the supply of rice to the constables by local dealers on credit is expected to satisfy their grievances. It was reported that the State police were becoming restive because requests for increases of pay and advances to purchase grain had not been acceded to.

41(XVI): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 45 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 15th Jan. 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

331. *Talcher*: Pro-Japanese leaflets in Oriya were received by a Resident of Barapada together with covering letters from an un-known writer alleged to be in Cuttack. The recipient made the leaflets over to the State authorities.

Kanker: It is reported that Axis Broadcasts are regularly listened to at the house of one Deoram, a State Contractor who invites his friends to his house for this purpose.

42(XVI): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

418. *Kawardha*: Source reports allege that Sheraj Seth of Kawardha spreads Axis broadcast news and talks of Japanese success in North-East India.

43(XVI): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 56 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

436. *Bastar*: (b) It is reliably learnt that Mr Sen, a teacher of the High School and Mr Gupta, an electrician of the power House, hear enemy broadcasts together with their friends and spread propaganda war news in Jagdalpur town.

44(XVI) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 57 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the second half of July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Chhatisgarh States

443. (b) Allied successes in Sicily are appreciated everywhere. It is reported, however, that rumours, originating from enemy broadcasts regarding the invasion of India by S.C. Bose and his National Army have inspired few town-people in certain States with anti-British feelings.

45(XVI): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 60 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of September 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

478. *Korea:* (b) According to a reliable source Bengali employees in the coal mines are regular listeners of enemy broadcasts and are strongly pro-Bose in their outlook. They have commented on Bose's patriotic spirit in offering to send a ship load of rice to Bengal.

46(XVI & XIV): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 62 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of October 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

497. *Nandgaon:* One Bhaiyalal Sunar was spreading rumours at Rajnandgaon that Colombo was being bombed and that India would be invaded within a month. It is reported that one Champalal Parakh, a political convict and a radio agent collects people at his house to listen to enemy broadcasts.

47(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 49 of the I.G.P., Eastern States for the period ending 31.3.1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

366. *Nandgaon*: (a) The Municipal Elections in Rajnandgaon on the 7th March, from which Congressmen kept aloof, were contested on a communal basis, and 7 Hindus and 4 Muslims were elected.

48(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 51 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 30th April 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Chhatisgarh States

385. *Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh*: The Sangh is now beginning to devote attention to the States. A delegate from Chanda (C.P.) visited Rajnandgaon on the 7th April with the object of opening a branch of the Sangh, but his mission failed. Moreshwar Munje, Sangh organizer of Raipur (C.P.) claimed that he and a colleague had visited Raigarh, Sakti and Sarangarh and had been promised the co-operation of the Diwans in establishing branches, and that other workers from Nagpur and Raipur had gone to Raigarh for propaganda purposes. Present information shows that no branch of the Sangh has yet actually been opened.

49(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 52 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 15.5.43.

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

394. *Rangpur*: One Narayan Sahu is reported to have been arrested for publishing a prejudicial book in Oriya entitled 'Prajankar Dukhha Kahini (a Tale of the Sufferings of the subjects).

396. *Nandgaon*: Two C.P. workers of the R.S.S.S. failed to establish a branch of the Sangh in Rajnandgaon, although they were backed by the local Maharashtra Mandal and some men of local influence.

395. *General:* (a) Prices of cloth and other essential commodities are high and supplies are scarce, in some States there is a shortage of wheat reported. In view of the continued export of rice and anticipated shortage, tenants are said to be reluctant to sell.

400. *Kanker:* A R.S.S.S. worker from Raipur persuaded two local youths to attend a Training Camp now being held in Jubbulpore (C.P.)

401. *Bastar:* The same R.S.S. Sangh worker who visited Kanker also visited Bastar and succeeded in persuading five local youths to attend the Jubbulpore Training Camp.

50(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 54 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

421. (a) *Patna:* Legislation is reported to have been introduced penalizing conversion of Hindus to other religions.

(b) Nand pleader has formed a Secret party of Oriya officials in the State with the object of ousting 'foreigners' from State Service and securing the most important posts for themselves.

51(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 55 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the second half of June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

428. *Raigarh:* (b) A 'Nav Yuvak Sangh' has been established in Raigarh to protect the interests of the Marwadi Community.

52(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 62 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of October 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

500. *Korea:* It is reported that Dr Sapru, a private practitioner at the Chirimiri colliery, has

been holding small meetings in his house with the object of organizing a Hindu Sangathan on the lines of the Hindu Mahasabha.

53(XIX) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 48 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 15th March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

356. *Nilgiri*: (a) Prajamandal Day was observed by a meeting in village Durgapur on the 24th February. A resolution exhorting the people to unite and to elect an acting President in place of Kailash Chandra Mahanty in jail, was passed.

54(XIX) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 50 of the I.G.P., Eastern States for the period ending the 15.4.43

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

378. *Patna*: There is criticism, from the educated Urban Section of the community, of the new Legislative Assembly rules, on the ground that the Assembly is dependent on the Ruler and devoid of any real power.

55(XIX): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 49 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 31.3.43

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Chhatisgarh States

361 & 365. *General*: It is reported that public re-action to the Rulers acceptance of a joint High Court has been favourable.

365. Here too it is said that the approval to a joint High Court is welcomed but it is considered that it should be located at Raipur or Sambalpur rather than at Raigarh where there are no facilities.

56(XIX) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 51 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the period ending the 30th April 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Chhatisgarh States

384. *General:* It is reported that the indication of the possibility of the merging of small States into larger ones, a belief presumably based on a recent article in newspapers, is regarded by the Urban population in the States and by State servants as promising opportunities of economic and cultural advancement. The trend is however said to be unpopular with the Ruling Chiefs.

57(XIX) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 57 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the second half of July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Orissa States

440. (b) A meeting of Rulers of States of the Agency was convened at Puri from the 18th to the 21st of July presided over by the Ruler of Baudh in order to discuss the Agenda for the forthcoming Conference with the Resident at Khairagarh on the 10th of August. The meeting was attended by the Ruling Chiefs of Kalahandi, Khandpara, Daspalla, Bamra and Dhenkanal. Some Juvarajs were also present. It is said that the following decisions were taken:

- (i) Regarding the Orissa University bill that the Resident be left to decide the States commitment to the Government of Orissa.
- (ii) Schemes were formulated, for Resident's approval, regarding grouping of small States for police and administrative purposes.
- (iii) The possibility of codifying customs and usages not at present on a legal footing in order to put them on a legal footing before the joint High Court commences to function was discussed along with the question of the improvement of the judiciary in the States.

58(XIX): Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 58 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of August 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

452. *Dhenkanal*: It is now reported that the fifth brother of the Ruler, has started a paddy business which is a matter of public criticism (Sec para. 429).¹

¹ See Doc. 21 (VIII) above – Ed.

59(XIX) Extracts — Fortnightly Digest No. 60 of the I.G.P., Eastern States, for the first half of September 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(16) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

469. *Navagarh*: 4 members of the Prajanandal who were under detention, were released from jail on the occasion of the Ruler's birthday on 21.8.43.

470. *Raipur*: (a) The Praja Pratinidhi Sabha of 1939 has been remodelled with 7 elected and 5 nominated members, them giving a majority to the elected members.

472. *General*: (a) The news of the capitulation of Italy was acclaimed as heralding an early end to the war. The fourth anniversary of the war was observed in many States in the form of processions and meetings.

60(XIX) Extract from Fortnightly Report from Orissa

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

A Brief Appreciation by the Provincial Press Adviser for the Fortnight Ending the 29th February 1944

The *Samaj* devoted a leading article to the proposal for amalgamating the petty States in Western India with the adjoining bigger ones with a view to better administration, and asked the smaller States of Orissa to read the writing on the wall.

Princely States (5) Hyderabad

1 (II & XVIII): Forfeiture of the book — *Arya Satyagraha*

Govt. of Madras, File G.O. No. 2070 — Pub. (Gen.) Dept., 1943
[TNA]

Copy of a Notification Dt. 3rd May by the Chief Commissioner, Delhi.

Whereas it appears to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi that the book in Hindi entitled 'Arya Satyagraha', described on its title page as having been written by Satdev Vidyalkar and printed at the Arjun Press, Shraddanand Bazar (Burn Bastion Road), Delhi contains words and visible representations which tend to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects and to bring into hatred and contempt and to excite disaffection towards the administration of the Hyderabad State and so are of the nature described in clauses (h) and (i) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931 as amended by the Indian States (Protection) Act 1934.

Now Therefore in exercise of the powers conferred by section 19 of the Act first cited the Chief Commissioner is pleased to declare every copy of the said book to be forfeited to His Majesty.

Review

The book entitled *Arya Satyagraha* by Satyadev Vidyalkar is a treatise on the Satyagraha movement launched in (International Aryan League) in the year 1939. It describes in detail the then prevailing conditions of the Hindus in Hyderabad State, and the progress of the Satyagraha movement.

In the first chapter the author criticizes the policy of the Government of India in thrusting upon Indian States retired officers of the British Government and asserts that in Muslim States, particularly in Hyderabad, such Muslim officers nourish a feeling of hatred and animosity towards the Arya Samaj.

The author accuses Hyderabad State for the gross injustice done to the Hindus in refusing them permission to construct or repair temples, Dharamshalas and Havankunds. He strongly condemns the policy of Hyderabad State in trying to separate the Harijans from the Hindus and converting them to Islam. Discussing the educational policy of the State he alleges that all scholarships, advances and other facilities for education in foreign countries are given only to Muslim confidantes and the Hindus are deprived of them on one pretext or the other. More money is spent on the religious education of Muslims than on that of the Hindus. Urdu being the court language many non-Muslim students are forced to read it simply to secure State services. Hindu students are rusticated from the University for singing *Bandematram*. He criticizes the policy of the State of giving preference to non-Hindus in services and says that, though Hindus form about 85 per cent of the total population, their representation in the State

services is quite negligible. He quotes several instances of atrocities perpetrated on Arya Samajists in which they were not allowed to take out processions, deliver speeches and preach peacefully in urban and rural areas.

In the Second chapter the author narrates in detail the proceedings of the Sholapur conference held on the 25th 26th and 27th December 1938 in which it was decided to launch the Satyagraha Movement in Hyderabad State under the leadership of Narain Swami.

In the third and fourth chapters he gives the names of Satyagrahis, with brief life sketches of some of them.

In the fifth chapter the author condemns the inhuman treatment mooted out to Satyagrahi prisoners in State Jails. He quotes instances when there were disturbances inside the jails and the prisoners were given severe beating as a result of which about 15 of them lost their lives.

In the sixth chapter the author blames the Nizam Government for placing obstacles in the way of Satyagraha Movement and alleges that the State was responsible for making the Muslims consider that the movement was 'an attack by outsiders on the Muslim fortress'. The author further states that Indian States and British Provinces, particularly the Punjab, rendered assistance to the Hyderabad State in combating this movement. According to him the state refused to look into the grievances of the Hindus and encouraged by the attitude of the State the Muslims committed the murders of several Arya Samajists. In this chapter the author also relates the excesses of the State police.

In the 7th Chapter the author gives the resounding effect of the movement in England and mentions that Colonel Wedgewood Ben and other M.P.s raised this issue in the Parliament and the *Manchester Guardian* and other papers discussed the policy of the Nizam Government.

In the 8th Chapter he describes the enthusiasm evinced by the Arya Samajists in different parts of India and South Africa and mentions the amount of subscription collected from various Districts and provinces.

In the 9th and 10th Chapters he asserts that this Satyagraha had become such a nuisance to the Nizam Government that it was only too keen to end it.

In the 11th Chapter he quotes the opinions expressed by newspapers and certain leaders, including Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, and Dr Rajinder Prashad in regard to this movement; these leaders had blamed the Nizam Government for crushing the civil rights of its subjects.

In the last chapter the author accuses the Nizam Government for inciting the Muslims of the State and falsely implicating the Hindu Mahasabha, the Congress and Mr Gandhi with the Satyagraha movement. He also criticizes the two books alleged to have been published at the instance of the Nizam Government against this movement. Concluding the author says that although the State does not accept its defeat all the same this is another success for Arya Samaj and its prestige and honour has not only been enhanced in Hyderabad State but in the entire country.



Princely States (6) Madras States

1(I): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending the 31st March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

2. Reference para. 1 of the Report for the fortnight ending 15-2-43. The acting president of the State Congress who was found to be in possession of prejudicial pamphlet proscribed by Government was sentenced to simple imprisonment for 1 year and a fine of Rs 300.

7. In view of the improved political situation the Travancore Government have released 11 detenues and 20 political convicts. There now remain under detention for subversive political activities only 6 detenues and 6 convicts.

2(I): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending the 15th May 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

6. In view of the peaceful political situation in the State, the Travancore Government have released three more detenues now leaving only three under detention.

3(I): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 30th June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

8. A harbour cooly picked up a small copper tube near the harbour Railway bridge and whilst he was examining it, it exploded and burned the tip of his fingers. Examination showed that it was an electric detonator — commercials — generally used for igniting high charges of

gunpowder. Such a detonator is apparently not used by the Military. The matter is under investigation.

4(I): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

2. In view of the peaceful political situation and the co-operation the State has received in measures to deal with the food shortage the Diwan, in his Budget session Review, announced the release of all political detainees. Convicted criminals will not be released and the Diwan gave a strong warning against subversive activities concealed behind a feigned allegiance to Soviet ideals.

5(I): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

9. Kanthilal, grandson of Mr Gandhi and Mr Keithahn¹, an American with Congress sympathies, visited the State during the fortnight. A prominent Congress Worker of the State is being prosecuted in connection with the appearance of some objectionable wall posters.

1. See chapter XVII – Docs 26, 29, 39.

6(III): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th August 1943.

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

10. A private bill to amend the Cochin Specific Relief Act to give the High Court power to issue a writ of Mandamus was moved in the Legislative Assembly and His Highness seemed

disinclined to resist the majority which appeared to support it. It would empower the High Court, on a complaint by a person considering his interests adversely affected, to call on any official of the State to do or forbear to do any act held by the High Court to be proper or improper to his official functions. Only the High Courts of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta have such powers: then only within their original jurisdiction. On the face of it, it seems designed to render the whole Defence of India Rules nugatory. The matter has been the subject of a separate report.

7(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending the 15th May 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

5. The Travancore Government have issued a warning to the persons preaching subversive principles under the guise of communism.

8(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

14. As elsewhere in India, Communists are busy but are not very effective. Professing admiration for the Soviet victories and concern for the local distressed, they seek license to pursue their own ambitions.

9(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency of the fortnight ending 30th September 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

2. The ban on the Communist Party's Organ 'Peoples War' has been raised but a warning has been published against the shouting of prejudicial slogans and the flying of the Red Flag.

10(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st October 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

9. Reference para. (2) of F.R. 14 of 43. Sridhar a communist leader has had to be re-arrested and detained under the Defence of India Rules.

11(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th November 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

3. The Travancore Government have again had to issue a communique warning 'propagandists who style themselves communists' against abusing the freedom of speech they have been allowed in their support of the Grow More Food Campaign. These 'Propagandists' have perhaps been over critical of the Government of India's food policy and of discrimination within the State.

12(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th December 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

5. Communist activity continues to excite the suspicions of the Travancore Govt. The District Committee of the Communist Party held recently at Alleppey was attended by the communists from Malabar and Cochin as well as Travancore. Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad has been giving secret instructions to local communists and private Communist classes were started at Alleppey. The Government have banned all such private classes to which the police are denied access until they are satisfied with the motives of the Party.

13(VIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending the 31st March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

9. Food problems are still the dominating concern of the State. In view of their having to accept a considerable proportion of bajra and pulses instead of their staple rice the Cochin Government are enforcing a mixed ration once a week and by propaganda are preparing the people to accept an increasing admixture.

14(VIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending the 15th May 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

7. The Cochin Government have decided to issue a mixed ration for three days in a week consisting of rice – raggi, rice – tapioca and rice – bajra. On mixed ration days the quantity of dry grains equal to the present rice ration in addition to half the present rice ration, will be issued. The rice ration is 6. lb. per head per day with half that amount for children under 12. Rationing has been extended to the whole of the State rural as well as urban.

15(VIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st May 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6 (5) P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

6. Non-arrival of the monthly quotas of food grains as laid down in the Food Department's Basic Plan has caused grave anxiety and depression in Travancore and Cochin especially as both Diwans, on reports from that Department, were encouraged only a few weeks ago, to offer some

cheer to the sorely pressed and hungry multitudes by announcing the early arrival of substantial supplies. To make matters worse in Cochin, the small but helpful April-May crop of rice was badly damaged by the unexpectedly early and heavy rains just about harvesting time.

16(VIII): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 14th June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6 (5) P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore and Cochin

1. Food difficulties overshadow all else both in Travancore and Cochin. Nothing has been received from outside. The Travancore Government had introduced a partial ration scheme for urban areas and the worst of the non-food producing areas but eventually decided against its further expansion as they found the division of the limited stocks in hand would admit of a farcically small ration so they have been forced to conserve stocks and dole out small quantities to the 'most deserving'. – Placing a premium on corruption.

6. The All India Rubber Production Board met at Trivandrum on June 11th under the Chairmanship of Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Diwan of Travancore. Most of its time was taken up in discussing food and how it could be obtained to keep the plantations going.

Cochin

7. *Food is the Only Topic:* The Diwan felt he had to issue another communique explaining the grounds for his previous optimism and then the present inescapable need for reducing rice to a few ounces per day with a seven day issue of dry grains and tapioca. The full rice ration (full meaning 1b. per day adult and 1b. child) would not last five days. A grievous disappointment was the loss of 9,000 tons of the small hot weather crop due to untimely rains in May. Hopes are fixed on a loan from Madras who have so often come to the aid of these two hard pressed States.

17(VIII): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 30th June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore and Cochin

4. This Residency and the Travancore and Cochin Governments continue to be flooded with applications forwarded by officers' Commanding Units asking for increased rations for the

families of some of the 110,000 men now serving outside the Travancore and Cochin States. Both Governments endeavour to give such families a little extra but it necessarily entails further provision for the unfavoured, so many of whom are engaged on war work or on the production of raw materials required in the war effort.

7. The Diwan explained the present food situation and why the daily ration had to be reduced from 4 ozs. rice and 8 ozs. of dry grains to 4 ozs. rice and 4 ozs. dry grains, but he assured the people that the present system 'all in' rationing of food grains would be maintained to ensure equal sacrifice for all.

The past months of extreme scarcity must at least have cleared out all the pockets of hoarded and black market grain and with granaries swept bare the Government should be able to obtain possession of all grain harvested or imported to enable them to make a fair distribution. All dealers have been cut out and the 1 million people now make their purchases from the Government. From the enquiries I have made it is apparent that there is general satisfaction at the fairness of the scheme – but people are decidedly hungry and labour efficiency much reduced.

18(VIII & X): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st July-1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore and Cochin

6. At a meeting of the Working Committee of the Travancore Trade Union Congress at Quilon a resolution was passed protesting against discrimination in favour of Government servants in the matter of food. In the Assembly Government explained the need for maintaining certain essential services and announced that there could be no question of a State-wide rationing scheme although a beginning was to be made forthwith in Trivandrum.

7. Slightly eased last month by the arrival of some dry grains from North India, the situation again threatens to deteriorate. Towards the end of the month, here and there early crops of rice were being out but the colour of the straw hardly indicated maturity.

13. The food situation eased with the arrival of some rice, millets and wheat from North India a few weeks ago. From the 17th July the adult ration was increased to 8 ozs. of rice 3 days a week, and 4 ozs. of rice with 8 ozs. of other grains on the remaining 4 days. Latest reports, however, indicate that this improved ration will shortly have to be cancelled as supplies expected from East India have been diverted elsewhere. Difficulties are being experienced in persuading people to make the most of the mixed diet, especially when an outbreak of cholera was claimed by some to be due to the unaccustomed food. Many seem to prefer semi-starvation to the new food. Much of the prejudice is undoubtedly due to bad cooking of the Northern grains and after discussions with Mr Kirby, Adviser to the Government of India on Rationing, State restaurants are to be opened where food prepared from the new grains will be available, outside the ration card quota. Instruction in cooking will also be given.

16. Even the disappearance of Mussolini and his Fascist gang failed to distract attention from food problems. Fearing to be left with stocks, cloth dealers are reluctantly and hesitatingly reducing prices, but no consignments of Standard Cloth have yet arrived in the Madras States.

19(VIII): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st August 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore and Cochin

4 The casual touring officers from British India when questioned often say they have seen little evidence of starvation as they pass along the roads of Cochin and Travancore. That is possibly true in certain areas where foodstuffs are grown in some quantity but it would be easy to correct the wrong impression. A few days ago I saw a whole ward at the Cochin General Hospital filled with small infants in ghastly state of emaciation, and in a lower ward was a man paralyzed from the waist downward as a result of trying to live on a diet of tapioca only. On the main road to Trivandrum I looked at a small wayside hut run by the Y.W.C.A. as a Child Welfare Centre. Lying on mats on the floor was a huddle of little skinny animals – that were born human. The worst cases are not found amongst the hordes of posturing beggars in the towns but amongst the very old and very young in the famine areas of Alleppey and Shertally. Bengal is possibly over advertised.

8. Cochin Restaurant (see para. 12 of F.R. 14/43) are a roaring success.¹ It is said that satisfying meal of dry grains (bajra, ragi grams, wheat) can be obtained for about 2 annas. The one near the Secretariat serves over 1,000 meals a day and the one near the Willington Island tries to cope with nearly three times as many.

1. See Doc. 18, para. 13.

20(VIII): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th September 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore and Cochin

The harrowing pictures of death and starvation in Bengal now appearing in the Press have not made much impression in Travancore and Cochin. Whilst prepared to accept that the

state of affairs in Bengal has been correctly represented, it is felt that, instead of taking the bread out of the mouths of the starving people of this coast, stricter measures should be taken to prick some of the distended stomachs in Bengal itself.

21(VIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 30th September 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Pudukkottai

13. This State was one of the first administrative units in India to introduce anti-hoarding legislation and legislation to force land owners to cultivate their lands; several more prosecutions have just started under the first measure.

22(VIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st October 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6 (5) P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Travancore

3. The Travancore Government have promulgated a Rationing regulation Order for Travandrum in respect of rice, paddy, wheat and bajra. Complaints demonstrating the unpopularity of bajra continue.

4. The Travancore Government have issued a notification fixing the maximum prices of bread and biscuits for bakeries receiving flour from Government at controlled prices.

5. Essential services in Travancore, in which apparently are included all Government servants, get an enhanced ration of rice. The handloom weavers of the State are now petitioning for similar favoured treatment.

23(VIII)

Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th November 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

9. On the advice of the nutrition expert Dr Akroyd, the Cochin Government are about to embark on a scheme to give a free midday meal to the 150,000 children in the primary schools, one-third of the cost to be met by Government and two third by private subscription. The wealthy textiles mill owner Mr R.M. Alagappa Chettiar has promised Rs 5 lakhs and has paid a first instalment of 1 lakhs.

11. An appreciative public wishing to honour Mr Dixon, the retiring Dewan, instead of giving a lavish tea entertained, at his request, some 15,000 poor people to a meal of rice and bajra. There is no doubt of the sincerity of the regret of all classes at Mr Dixon's departure.

24(VIII):

Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 30th November 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore and Cochin

3. A Communist party meeting at Quilon urged support of the Government's rationing and requisitioning schemes.

5. The Servants of India Society propose to open relief centres all over the State and an expenditure of Rs 1 lakh per month is mentioned. The State has – probably very wisely – promised co-operation and assistance.

6. Statistics are still being collected preparatory to the introduction of State – wide food rationing on 1st January 1944.

14. After a tour of Bengal the Director General, I.M.S., paid a flying visit to Cochin and Travancore to gauge the need for; and advise on the supply of, milk products in the distressed areas. His observations, after five days inspection, of hospitals and charitable feeding centres, fully confirms what has frequently been represented in these reports. Careful apportioning of the frugal supplies and the kindness of the climate alone have saved that part of India from a Bengal catastrophe. In Cochin he found much malnutrition but fairly equalized through out. In Travancore he found greater inequalities. In the northern parts where little food grain can be grown in the sandy soil he saw malnutrition, not equal to the worst certainly, but analogous to many of the distressed areas of Bengal. Further, south, nearer the capital, where rice is

grown and alternative foods like tapioca bananas, jackfruit are available, the lessening of malnutrition was very apparent. In Travancore particularly he found great need for a more scientifically worked out scarcity diet. He is advocating urgent assistance in the way of dried milk, vegetables animal oils etc.

15. The rice position in Cochin is as acute as ever — three days stock in hand on a full ration. The new Dewan's first move was to send an urgent appeal to his old Province asking for assistance, or at least advance against the 2000 tons they have promised in exchange for a millet quota due to the State from North India.

25(IX) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

10. The important Hill Paddy Scheme has been transferred to the portfolio of the elected Minister giving some satisfaction to a legislative Council which continues to press for the transfer of more important subjects. Apart from leasing out 11,250 acres, mainly reserved forest, an ambitious scheme to grow hill Paddy has been undertaken on the advice of one of the European Planter Members of the Legislative Council. Some 12,000 acres have been cleared and partially planted and it is expected to increase this to 20,000 acres next year.

26(IX) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th September 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) — P(S)/43 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

5. The controlled price of paddy and rice has been raised to Rs 7-2-0 and Rs 11.7.0 per maund by the Cochin Governments on the grounds that the present price at which the cultivators have to sell all surplus to Government, does not give a fair return. Imported rice, when any is received, costs much more but Government meet a share of the increase.



27 (IX): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 30th November 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

9. At a recent meeting of the S.N.D.P. Yegam the Ezhavas (non-caste Hindus) claimed a revision of the electoral system in Travancore to ensure fair representation of the people. They also claimed that the Devaswom Department (Religious Charities) should be thrown open to all Hindus.

28 (X): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending the 31st March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

3. The workmen of the textile factories of Messrs. Harrisons and Crosfield Ltd., Quilon, struck work on the 11th March demanding a 25 per cent increase in wages and recognition of a polyglot labour comprising a variety of factories and trades. The strike was settled at the end of the month by the grant of a small increase in dearness allowance but no recognition was accorded to the union.

29 (X): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras agency for the fortnight ending the 15th May 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

2. A conference of representatives of employers and employees was held at Alleppey, the industrial centre of the State, to concert measures for the constitution of an All-Travancore industrial Relations Board for the voluntary settlement of Industrial disputes and promotion

of harmonious relations between capital and labour. The conference was opened by the Dewan. A resolution approving the principles underlying the constitution of the Board was passed and an ad hoc committee appointed to draft proposals.

30(X): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st July 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

5. Miss Shanta Bhalerao, Assistant Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress and editor of the *Trade Union Record*, has been visiting industrial centres in the State. She stressed the need for a central organisation of labour in India, increase in basic wages and scheme of social insurance on the lines of the Beveridge Plan.

31(X): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st august 1943.

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

5. The strike in Messrs. Harrisons & Crosfield's Workshops at Quilon continue although their timber and tile works have not yet been affected. The workers seem reluctant to submit to arbitration unless the reference included not only the specific grievances now in issue but also general questions of increased rates and better conditions. The Travancore Trade Union Congress Working Committee have deplored the interruption in the war work of the workshops and have requested a sympathetic consideration of grievances by Government and the management.

32(X): Extract — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th September 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

4. Reference para. 5 of last report. The workmen of Messrs. Harrisons & Crosfield, Ltd. of Quilon, have resumed work after reaching agreement with the management.

33(X) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st October 1943 .

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

2. Reference para. 4 of F.R. 17/43. The self-styled labour leader Sreekantan Nair* seems determined to obstruct conciliation between Messrs. Harrisons & Crosfield and their employees. The Company announced some time ago in the endeavour to appease their employees over dearness allowance that they would distribute a certain percentage of profits in lieu of fixed allowances. This seems to have given Sreekantan Nair the heaven-sent opportunity of rousing the employees to demand the embarrassing claim to inspection of all accounts of the Company to satisfy themselves of the correctness of the distribution and the point has been raised as a judicial issue on the basis of contract. The case being now before a judge as arbitrator the Travancore, Government cannot interfere with the proceedings but the Dewan has made it clear to Sreekantan Nair and party that he will take immediate action under the Defence of India Rules if there is any threat of interference with the output of this Company which is mainly engaged in war contracts. Tension was not eased when some days ago a small riot broke out when employees tried to secure the release of an employee caught red-handed in the act of stealing some material from the workshop.

34(X) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th November 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

5. Reference para. 2 of fortnightly report No. 20/43. Labour unrest in the workshops of Messrs. Harrison and Cross-field, Quilon, came to a head a few days ago when Sreekantan Nair, President of the Quilon Factory Workers Union, at a public meeting advocated a 'go slow' campaign in the works so that the company's profit would be reduced. As the company is largely engaged on war work Sreekantan was immediately arrested under the Defence of India Rules.

10. On the 8th November most of the workers of the Burma shell installation at Ernakulam, without the knowledge of their Union Officials, staged a sit-down strike on the ground that their request for further credit at the Company's Food grains shop above a prescribed limit had not been granted. The Dewan explained to them the risk they ran of prosecution under the Essential Services Proclamation whereupon they returned to work next day.

35(X): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 30th November 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

7. The employees of Messrs. Harrisons & Crosfield and Messrs. A.D. Cotton Mills, Quilon, refused to purchase their rations last week protesting against the still further lowering of the rice portion and the increase in bajra and green gram. They have demanded half rice and half wheat. Meanwhile some 500 tons of atta received from the Punjab has turned out to be quite unfit for human consumption, whether due to a damp monsoon voyage or bad storage is not yet clear.

36_(XV) Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending the 31st March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

15. Food problems continue to outweigh all other considerations. Recruitment to combatant, technical and labour units has been as popular as ever. Travancore has now produced over 25,000 recruits for the fighting forces and in addition 34 Labour Units of some 850 each have been engaged for service in Assam. In addition there has been considerable recruitment of technicians. Similarly there has been heavy recruitment in Cochin especially of labour and altogether the Cochin Government have supplied or undertaken to supply on six months contracts 32 Labour Units of approximately 850 each.

16. This recruitment has of course afforded considerable economic relief and the numbers of money orders pouring into the State have been almost embarrassing, but some complaints are now heard of a shortage of labour for local industries.

37_(XV) Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 31st May 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

7. The Tunisian Victory was well celebrated in all the States by processions, meetings and feeding of the poor. At Trivandrum a joint military police and civil defence services parade, nearly 2,000 strong, marched through the main streets with flags flying and bands playing. In the evening a public meetings was held in the Town Hall at which the Resident presided and took the opportunity of stressing the need for far greater personal effort as apart from the official State war effort-support for recruiting, saving, Red Cross, Blood Bank etc. as a thank offering for the victory in Tunis. In Ernakulam there was a joint parade of Navy, Army, Airforce Units with State troops, police and civil defence services, the 8th Tampuran taking the salute, and at which the Diwan and the National War Front leader spoke of the further tasks which lie ahead. In all major towns processions and meetings were held. At both Trivandrum and Ernakulam messages from the Maharajas were received and read out at the public meetings. Celebrations at Pudukottai were presided by the Administrator and the National War Front was most active throughout the State.

38(XV): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 30th June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

10. There was some trouble on the 18th June in the 'Cosmo-politan company' attached to the Nayar Brigade, 32 men absenting themselves for some hours as a protest against the detention of one of the men for a breach of discipline. Nine of the leaders are being prosecuted.

39(XV) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th August 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

14. Mr Newham, States National War Front, visited the States and was very struck by the virility of the movement in Cochin and Pudukkottai, especially with the volume of voluntary help forthcoming and the activities going on behind the front window in the outlying rural areas. He also sensed a change coming in the Travancore attitude.

40(XVII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending the 31st March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

6. Mr William Phillips, President Roosevelt's Personal Representative arrived in Trivandrum on the 20th March as a State Guest. He was entertained at lunch by the Dewan and at dinner by the Maharaja. He left Trivandrum on the 23rd to visit the Game Sanctuary and left the State on the 24th. He gave an interview to the representative of the South India Cashewnut Manufacturers' Association and promised to take up with his Government in Washington the question of the removal of the embargo on the import of cashewnuts into the U.S.A.

41 (XVII): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th November 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

6. Although America has been making large purchases of the oil extracted from the husks the import into America of the actual kernel of cashewnut has been prohibited for some time with the result that the trade was almost at a stand still in Travancore, although curiously enough the price of kernels even in the local bazaar was never cheap. An agreement has now been reached by the local trade with the U S A. Government by which the kernels of the nuts from which the husk oil been extracted and exported to America will also be admitted into the American markets.

42 (XVIII): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th August 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Travancore

3. The Assembly passed the Travancore special Marriage and Succession Bill permitting and validating inter-communal and intercaste marriages, an amendment by a Mussalman member to exclude Muslims being rejected by a large majority.

8. A private motion to cancel Government order stopping educational concessions to depressed class children on their conversion was passed by a considerable majority.



43(XIX General): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending the 31st March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

10. The Legislative Council adopted by a majority of 26 to 13 a resolution recommending a declaration by the Maharaja that full responsible Government would be granted at the end of the war. Of behalf of Government it was emphasized that it was already the accepted policy of Government to associate elected representatives of the people more and more with the administration of the State and that as there had been no deviation from such a policy there was no need for a declaration of the nature demanded; but Government were prepared to give due consideration to the request for the transfer of more departments to popular control.

44(XIX General): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 14th June 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

8. The fact that Cochin Legislative Council was able to pass, without difficulty, a resolution urging that no form of untouchability should be permitted in public hotels and restaurants is another indication of the progress of emancipation from past taboos. The Cochin Government took the line that public opinion was already moving rapidly and that it would be unwise to force the pace by legislation.

45(XIX General): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Madras states agency for the fortnight ending 15th August 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(5) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Cochin

6. The Maharaja of Cochin in a special proclamation has conferred further on tenants of lands of the State Devaswoms (Temple Lands) fixing in perpetuity the rents payable by them subject however to changes in charges leviable by the Government under the existing laws.

7. The Cochin Legislative Assembly completed discussions of the budget. For the first time a lady member occupied the chair on occasion when the Diwan-President was absent. Several cut motions were passed and several amendments were accepted by Government.

11. Whereas in Travancore the Government took the lead in 'Temple Entry' His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin believed in leaving it for the people themselves to move in the matter. It is reported that two private temples owned by Nambudiris (Brahmins) were recently thrown open to all Hindus.

Princely States (7) Manipur

1 (IX): Circular letter from Sahajanand Saraswati to Prov. Secretaries condition of peasants in Manipur (extracts)

Indulal Yagnik Papers – File No. 22
[NMML]

18.4.1943.

The All India Kisan Sabha has noted with regret the condition of the people and peasants of the States like Gwalior Cochin. Travancore, Jamnagar, Khairpur, Patiala, Orissa states and others. Civil liberty in these is totally absent and feudal extortions and oppressions prevail, so much so that the people and peasant live under conditions which were known only under slavery serfdom. The A.I.K.S. notes that no improvement of the conditions has taken place

in these States and in addition the national crisis of August last has brought to many states e.g. those of Orissa, repression, collective fines and arrests and detention of popular organizers. The A.I.K.S. in assuring its sympathies to the people and the persons of the States, urges them to carry on their activities with redoubled energy on the lines chalked out by the Kisan Sabha.

The A.I.K.S. has learnt with pain the conditions of the peasants and people of Manipur which is on the Burma frontier and has been lately submitted to Japanese bombing. Civil liberty in Manipur was denied all along, the peasants, men and women had been forced into offering Satyagraha in 1939 against the State's prohibition of export of rice and for national assembly, and by hundreds men and woman were arrested and sent to jail and Praja Mandal with its large peasant membership smashed and suppressed. Japanese bombing and large concentration of troops have brought fresh sufferings on the civil population — (a) Civil population have been largely evacuated from Imphal and such other places without arrangements being made for their removal or compensation paid for the purpose; (b) Local markets have been closed with the result that the nearest market available is at Silchar, 115 miles from Imphal; (c) The lack of marketing facilities has led to the rise of price of rice from Rs 3 to Rs 48 per maund; (d) Large purchase of cattle for the purpose of the military is threatening the cultivators with a dearth of bullocks for agricultural purposes.

The A.I.K.S. therefore demands of the State authorities as well as of the authorities of the United powers, the troops of which have been concentrated in Manipur, to see that Manipur is to (1) get facilities of free market, (2) get compensation for houses in proportions lost or evacuated, (3) get foodstuff at moderate price immediately, (4) get facilities for cultivation. e.g. cattle, seeds etc., (5) get civil liberty and the Praja Mandal restored so as to enable the people to represent their grievances; and urges on the United powers (i) to see that the grievances and sufferings of the people and peasants are removed and the popular rear of the frontier on which the troops of the United powers are meeting the Japanese, is strengthened.

2(VIII) Extracts from Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State (dt 26.4.1944)

C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

2. Central portion of Manipur State is virtually cut off but mails are being flown in and out by air. In Imphal plain normal work is going on and civil administration is functioning. Problem of feeding population of the plain is becoming increasingly difficult with denial measures carried out by the Army. Steps are being taken to accumulate supplies of foodstuffs and medicines to be taken into Manipur as soon as military operations render road open and safe.

3(VIII)

Extracts from Telegram from the Crown
Representative to the Secretary of State
(dt 27.5.1944.)

C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

2. Improvement in military outlook in Manipur has led to greater public confidence but shock and distress caused to Manipur is by application of scorched earth policy by military authorities have been considerable. Prices of foodgrains have risen and no consumer goods are at present available for sale.

4(VIII)

Extracts from Telegram from the Crown
Representative to the Secretary of State
(dt 26.6.1944.)

C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

2. *Manipur*. Further improvement in military situation and assumption by Central Government of responsibility for relief measures for State people rendered homeless as result of military operations have had excellent effect of morale. There is however good reason to believe that certain Manipuris have been assisting enemy on fairly large scale by supplying paddy and other food.

Princely States (8) Mysore

1 (I): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Mysore Residency for the second half of January 1943 (dt 2.2.1943)

C.R. Records File No. 6(1) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political – Civil and Military Station

a) Nineteen detainees have so far been released and none of them have shown any signs of anti-Government activities.

b) The Commissioner of Police has been recruiting special police officers to assist the police in watching for and preventing sabotage of all kinds. Nearly 100 persons have been enrolled already, and progress is reported as satisfactory.

2(IV): The Resident, Bangalore to the Mysore Government

Govt. of Mysore, General and Revenue Section (Confidential Branch)
File No. C.B.168-42 Collection No. 57842
[Karnataka State Archives]

The Residency *Mysore*

10th February 1943.

My dear Mr Anantaraman,

With reference to our conversation yesterday, I am desirous to send you a copy of an extract from Polindia's telegram giving precise instructions regarding the line to be taken with the Press.

The telegram 'Lime Juice' Has just been received.'

Yours sincerely,

Rajamantrapravina K.V. Anantaraman Esq.,
B.A.

Enclosure.

Copy of paragraph 2 of cypher telegram No. 367 P dated the 8th February 1943 from Polindia New Delhi to Resident Bangalore.

2. As it is important not to afford a pretext on which both friendly and unfriendly sections of the Press will feel bound to unite in protest against control with possible loss of publicity for our own statements it will be necessary to begin by calling a meeting of provincial Press advisory committees and/or local editors on the day on which the news breaks for a time five hours after time of receipt of 'Lime Juice' telegram and explaining position and requirements to them. They should be told quite firmly that while bare bulletins about Gandhi's health and reasonable editorial comments will be allowed, Government do not (in interests of public security) allow publication of statements by or interviews with Gandhi or any playing up of situation in form of inflammatory editorial comments or cartoons, flaring headlines, undue typographical or pictorial display or colourful reports the effect of which would be to enlist sympathy of public in favour of Gandhi and against Government or otherwise to stir up popular excitement or apprehension. I must leave it to you to decide in the light of your relations with local press and of your discussion with editors how far these objects can be secured by voluntary co-operation or by statutory orders under rule 41 of Defence of India Rules. General object should be not to pass statutory orders against papers which can be trusted to co-operate or to frame such orders in wider terms than is necessary in first instalment on understanding (which must be clearly conveyed) that prompt action, whether by way of precensorship or suspension will be taken in regard to any paper that takes undue advantage of absence of a statutory order.

It is however important from outset to secure that no statements by or interviews with Gandhi will be published in any paper and you may think it advisable to prohibit these at once by orders under Rule 41 (i) (b) directed either to whole press or to those papers which cannot be trusted. Reports of progress of fast must also be confined to objective news of state of Gandhi's health such as would appear in medical bulletins and if any paper cannot be trusted on this point specific orders of precensorship may be necessary under rule 41 (1) (a). Any orders which you think may be necessary especially on last two points should of course be ready for issue immediately after editors conference on 9th so that evening editions may be controlled. You must of course take such of your officers as you think necessary into your confidence subject to what is said in last sentence of paragraph No. 1 above for preparation of orders and for summoning editors conference (invitations to which must await receipt of 'Lime Juice' telegram).

1. 'Lime Juice' was the code word about Mahatma Gandhi beginning his fast. — Ed.



3(IV) The Resident, Bangalore to the Mysore Government

Govt. of Mysore, General and Revenue Section (Confidential Branch)

File No. C.B.168-42 Collection No. 57842

[Karnataka State Archives]

The Residency

Mysore

Bangalore, 11th Feb.

Secret.

D.O. No. F.17/1943.

My dear Mr Anantaraman,

In continuation of my secret demi-official letter No. F.17/1943 dated the 10th February 1943,¹ I am desired to say that information has been received that apparently Gandhi refused the Government of India's conditions regarding release and is insisting on carrying out fast, in detention. The Government of India regret his decision but their position remains the same viz that they are prepared to release him for the purpose and duration of his fast but that if he is not prepared to take advantage of that fact and fasts while in detention he does so solely on his own responsibility and at his own risk. In that event he would be allowed however to have his own medical attendants and to receive visits from friends with the permission of Government. Government of India's statement which is being published is being amended accordingly.

2. The principle of instructions regarding control of publicity remains unaltered, but you will, of course, have to adjust your action to altered circumstances. For instance as fast materializes in detention there will now be little question of news of its progress from any except official sources (which will be dealt with by the Government of Bombay) and no question of interviews with Gandhi except with official permission, or of communications by Gandhi himself to press. Applicants for interviews should be referred to the Government of India and one condition of all interviews will be that interview must submit for approval any account he proposes to publish.

Yours sincerely,

Rajamantrapravina K.V. Anantaraman Esq., B.A.
Bangalore.

¹ Doc. 2.



4(IV) The Resident, Bangalore to the Mysore Government

Govt. of Mysore, General and Revenue Section (Confidential Branch)
File No. C.B.168-42 Collection No. 57842
[Karnataka State Archives]

The Residency *Mysore*

Bangalore, 19th February 1943.

Secret & *Immediate*.
D.O. No. F.17/48

My dear Mr Anantaraman,

The Resident has just had a telegram from the Political Department saying that Mr Gandhi's condition is regarded as serious, and adding that in the event of his death the policy of the Government of India would be to refrain from attempting to stifle or prohibit manifestations of national mourning subject only to all possible provision for the preservation of the public peace. Nor would publicity regarding death and funeral be restricted, though it would be important to restrain anti-Government comments on the same line as in the case of the fast.

Yours sincerely,

Signed

Rajamantrapravina K.V. Anantaraman Esq., B.A.,
Minister for Finance and Revenue,
Government of Mysore,
Bangalore.

5(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Mysore Residency for the first half of September 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(1) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

General – Mysore State

At a Communist meeting held near the Maharaja Mills on the 1st September two speakers took the somewhat unusual line of advising the workers not to strike because some of their leaders had been arrested, but to produce more cloth instead.



6(VIII) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Mysore residency for the second half of January 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(1) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Political – Mysore State

On the 25th rationing was introduced in Bangalore City with, it appears, very satisfactory results from the point of view of the poorer classes for whom many special food depots were opened under a scheme worked out by the Deputy Commissioner. Riots and trouble had been anticipated, but nothing of the kind took place.

General – Civil and Military Station

The main question in everyone's mind is that of the prevailing food difficulties. Ration cards are being issued through merchants and through A.R.P. wardens. There has been a certain amount of misunderstanding owing to rationing having been introduced in the City and the shops in the Civil and Military Station having apparently in certain cases refused to supply food stuffs to casual customers. The situation will however no doubt straighten itself out within a week or ten days. The rice stocks at one time ran very low and the flour from Amritsar and Lyallpur has not yet arrived.

7(X) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Mysore Residency for the second half of January 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(1) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Labour – Mysore State

On the 16th January the underground workers of the Champion Reef Mines in the Kolar Gold Fields refused to work on the ground of insufficiency of food stuffs. On being assured that the authorities would make proper arrangements they resumed work the same day. That evening a large number of bags of rice were distributed among the workers of all the mines and the situation improved considerably.

8(XI): Resident Mysore to the Secretary to the Crown Representative

Govt. of Mysore, General and Revenue Section (Confidential Branch)
File No. C.B.168-42 Collection No. 57842
[Karnataka State Archives]

The Resident of Mysore

The Residency
Bangalore.

April 1943.

D.O. No. F.119/1943

Mysore Affairs

It is difficult to gauge the extent to which His Highness is 'Worried' without more context to the remark and without either seeing His Highness or meeting His Excellency. However I can now, I think, give some idea of Congress in Mysore for His Excellency the Viceroy's information which can later be confirmed or modified after I have had a chance of meeting His Highness or Sir Arthur Hope. Last Autumn the depth of Congress feeling and its widespread occurrence was a surprise to everybody. In particular the virulence and persistence of the students in their lawlessness caused considerable anxiety. When I talked with His Highness at the time of the Dassarah last October, he certainly did express worry at this manifestation. At that time very special precautions had to be taken for the various examinations and a large number of students were locked up for interfering with those examinations. It was also not considered expedient to hold the annual University Convocation in Mysore at which Sir C.P. Ramswami Iyer was to speak and this was abandoned.

Generally things have been very quiet in Mysore for the last four months and the latest police report I received a few days ago from the Mysore Government stated that Congress activity had almost entirely subsided. Mr Gandhi's fast was an occasion which might well have been provocative but this aroused no more than very short token strikes or fasts by students for a day or two at the commencement of Gandhi's fast and again for a day about the critical time February 21st or thereabouts. The Dewan is of opinion that the students are now thinking much more of themselves and of the time lost than of hot air politics, but at the same time their feelings are merely underground and not by any means entirely buried.



9 (XVIII) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Mysore Residency for the first half of September 1943

C.R. Records File No. 6(1) – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political – Mysore State

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangha has been revived in Bangalore City. It is learnt that one Yadava Rao of Nagpur had come to Bangalore some time back and revived this Sangha. One Mr Shankar Rao Konale, a clerk in the Minerva Mills, is training about 25 volunteers in drill. They are not using any weapons or lathis in their drill. The developments of the Sangha are being watched.

Mr V.D. Savarkar, President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, is said to have issued instructions to Mr Bhoopalum Chandrasekhariah to make special arrangements for ensuring All India States Hindu Mahasabha conference which is to come off next month at Shimoga. The Sabha expects that some 7,000 delegates from all over India will participate; but the exact date of the conference has not yet been fixed.

Princely States (C) Punjab

1 (I) Proceedings of the Third Dewans Conference held at Lahore on the 12th and 13th January 1943

Govt. of Punjab, File No. W/1-122-43
[Punjab State Archives]

Present Chairman — The Hon'ble Mr C.L. Corfield, CSI., CIE., MC., ICS., Resident for the Punjab States.

State Representatives.

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 1. Bahawalpur. | R.M. Crofton Esquire, CIM., ICS., Prime Minister, Bahawalpur Government. |
| 2. Baghat | Mr Anand Ram, B.A., Bar-at-law, Minister Baghat State. |
| 3. Bashahr | Rai Sahib Thakur Kehar Singh, Wazir, Bashahr State. |
| 4. Bilaspur | Thakur Ram Singh, Judicial Secy., Bilaspur State. |

5. Chamba J. Slattery Esq., CBE., President, Council of administration, Chamba State.
6. Dujana Lt. Jemadar Khan, IDSM., Dewan, Dujana State.
7. Faridkot Sardar Bahadur S. Inder Singh, Chief Secretary, Faridkot State.
8. Jind
 1. G. Kaula Esquire, CIE., Chief Minister, Jind State.
 2. Rai Bahadur Bawa Natha Singh, CIE., Retired Chief Engineer at present Consulting Engineer to the Hind Darbar.
9. Kalsia Sardar Sahin. S. Ranbir Singh, B.A., Dewan Kalsia State.
10. Kapurthala Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz, CBE., Chief Minister Kapurthala Government.
11. Keonthal Rai Sahib P. Basant Lal, Manager, Keonthal State.
12. Khairpur K.B. Syed Ijaz Ali, OBE., Minister Khairpur State.
13. Loharu J.N. Jesudason Esq., B.A. (Hons), Dewan, Loharu State.
14. Malerkotla K.S. Niaz Mohammad, B.A., Chief Minister, Malerkotla State.
15. Mandi Kanwar Shiv Pal, MBE. Chief Minister, Mandi State.
16. Nabha Lt. Col. C.C.H. Smith, Chief Minister, Nabha Government.
17. Nalagarh S. Dhyan Singh, P.C.S. (retd), Wazir Nalagarh State.
18. Patiala
 1. Sardar D.K. Sen, Bar-at Law, Foreign Minister, Patiala Government.
 2. Sardar Khushed Ali, M.A. LL.B., Postmaster - General, Patiala
19. Sirmur R.B. Lala Radha Kishen, For., & Pol. Minister Sirmur.
20. Suket L. Hargobind, Actg. Chief Secy., Suket State.
21. Tehri M.C. Sharma Esq., General Minister, (Garhwal). Tehri (Garhwal) State.

Political Officers

22. Major R.G.E.W. Alham . . ., OBE., Political Agent, Punjab Hill States, Simla.
23. Captain A.C. Stewart, OBE., Secretary to the Hon'ble the Resident for the Punjab States.
24. Captain A.W. Redpath, Under Secretary to the Hon'ble the Resident for the Punjab States.

Military Advisors

25. Lt. Col. F.C. Goddard, I.A., Military Adviser, P.S.F., Ambala,
26. Lt. Col. R.L. Tod, Military Adviser, S & M. I.S.F., Roorkee

Visiting Officials

1. Sir William Roberts, C.I.E., Price Controller, Punjab, Lahore.
2. Sir Percy Order, C.I.E., I.P., Inspector General of Police, Punjab, Lahore.
3. J.T.M. Bennett Esquire, CIE., CBE., MC., I.P., Director Civil Defence, Punjab, Lahore.
4. C.R. Newham Esquire, Officer on Special Duty for States, National War Front, Simla.
5. Lt. Col. F.L. Roberts, General Staff Headquarters, Lahore District, Lahore Cantonment.
6. G.G. Jameson Esquire, Assistant Inspector General of Government Railway Police, Lahore.
7. J.P. Morton Esquire, I.P., Central Intelligence Officer, Lahore.
8. I.E. Jones Esquire, I.C.S., Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Punjab, Lahore.

9. J.C.M. Eustace Esquire, I.C.S. Provincial Organizer, National War Front, Punjab, Lahore.
10. Major P.A. Bapty, Staff Officer, Northern Area, Lahore.
11. E.N. Mangat Rai Esquire, I.C.S., Assistant Price Controller, the Punjab, Lahore.

The Resident thanked the representatives for attending the Conference, and said that during the two previous conferences certain conclusions had been reached which all States had done their best to implement: this had given him a confidence in their co-operation, which he hoped was reciprocated. It was now necessary to review the work done during 1942 and to consider what should be done during 1943. He hesitated to say what the position would be in January 1944: it might be satisfactory from an international point of view, but difficulties in India might be as great if not greater. He doubted therefore if any administration could afford to relax its efforts in any way.

Copies Sent to Commandant I.G.P.

1. Internal Security arrangements.

1. Coordination between the Civil and Military aspects of State internal security schemes. Rehearsals and lessons to be learnt there from.

It was agreed that the improvement in the war situation did not justify any less care over internal security measures. It was also agreed that the rehearsals of these measures which had been held in the States had been of value: though in some cases they may have caused alarm and despondency in the first instance, this stage was now past and there need be no fear of extending and repeating such rehearsals.

It was stated by the Military Advisers present that the main lessons to be learnt from rehearsals, which had already been held, were as follows:

1. Villagers were inclined to be helpful to all military patrols without first satisfying themselves as to their proper identity. It was suggested that villagers should be taught not to help any forces, except on the order of a recognized authority, since by so doing they might inadvertently help an enemy.
2. All indigenous form of carrying messages, in places where there were no telegraphs or telephones, required to be practised and improved; e.g. by despatching messengers on horses, bicycles etc. the accuracy of messages also required careful check.
3. Civic guards and police were good at shadowing enemy patrols during the day but required more practice at night: careful and continuous shadowing was essential.
4. Mobility was also essential: It was little use to collect information rapidly, unless the State forces or police were able to proceed at once to the place of alarm after information had been received.
5. Experience in the Punjab emphasized the necessity of identifying all messengers, who carried information of alarms to a police station or a military headquarters. It was easy for enemy agents to impersonate messengers. For this purpose code words had proved unworkable. Identification was best ensured by personal recognition, which could only be secured by contact during rehearsals.

No information was forthcoming from the Railway aspect: any points which might come to the notice of the Punjab Railway Police in future would be circulated to States.

In conclusion, it was agreed that all lessons had not yet been fully learnt and that augmented and repeated rehearsals were necessary.

I. 2. Railway Security and Village Responsibility

Copies sent to Commandant, I.G.P.

The Resident observed that there was some misunderstanding among States as to what action should be taken for the guarding of vulnerable points, when the Railway security schemes were not in force. Mr Bennett stated that in the Punjab vulnerable points had been divided into four categories:

- (1) Vital points which are to be guarded throughout the war;
- (2) Points which require guarding during troop movements;
- (3) Points which should be guarded during internal unrest;
- (4) Points which might require guarding during special circumstances.

Mr Bennett kindly agreed to prepare an explanatory note on this subject, which could be circulated to the States.

The question was raised of the legal position of State Forces and Police guarding vulnerable points on Railway lines over which jurisdiction had been ceded. It was understood that an ordinance extending protection to State Forces had already been promulgated and it would be confirmed whether similar protection had also been given to State police.

The latest classification of railway lines for strategic purposes was announced. Details would in due course be passed on to the States, but briefly the classification was as follows:

- A. Railways to be protected by war Department agencies;
- B. Railways to be protected by Provincial agencies.

So far as States were concerned, it appeared that B should be subdivided into

- (1) lines where provincial railway police shared responsibility with the State, and
- (2) lines where the entire responsibility rested on the State.

Considerable discussion took place regarding the theoretical responsibility developing on States, which had ceded jurisdiction but not sovereignty over railway lands. It was urged that such sovereignty was purely nominal, and could carry with it no administrative responsibility: if this responsibility was to be taken over by States, it could hardly be shared and should in any case be paid for. The Resident undertook to examine these points further. Meanwhile, he emphasized that, whatever the theoretical position, the States must be prepared to fill in any gap in protection, after the war Department and the provincial railway police had done all they could. The measures to be adopted for this purpose were discussed. Mr Bennett explained the system of village responsibility, which the Punjab had introduced on payment. He drew attention to the legal sanction provided by the Punjab Village and small Towns Act and Defence of India Rule 59 A and B. The Resident undertook to address the States in detail on this subject.

I. 3. Civic Guards, Urban and Rural – Progress and Provision of Arms. (Copy to I.G.P.)

Progress had been made in the majority of States, but a few States preferred to increase their police rather than enrol civic guards. These States had doubtless considered the point that enrollment of civic guards helped the public to appreciate the work and difficulties of the police, and should, in the long run, lead to better co-operation between the public and the forces responsible for maintaining law and order.

It was ascertained that the withdrawal of arms from the public for the use of civic and rural

guards had been achieved only to a very limited extent, though in some cases arms licensees had been enrolled in the civic guard.

No suggestions were forthcoming in regard to the scheme for rural guards, which had been circulated from the Residency.

1. 4. Transfer and Interchange of Prisoners

The Central Government had been informed that there were no dangerous political prisoners in any of the States of such importance that they required to be transferred to prisons in British India in advance of an emergency.

It was pointed out that difficulties of communications would almost certainly preclude transfer during an emergency.

It was suggested that, for reasons of discipline or as a deterrent, States might find it useful occasionally to arrange amongst themselves for the transfer of so-called political prisoners from one State Jail to another State Jail. It was understood that this had already been arranged between Dujana and Nabha.

1. 5. Security Intelligence – State C.I.D.

The Central Intelligence Officer, Lahore, described the development of security intelligence in the Punjab and agreed to prepare a note on the subject for circulation to the States. He emphasized the very great expansion, which had taken place in the Punjab to meet war conditions. It was ascertained that a similar expansion in States was difficult.

- (a) for financial reasons, and
- (b) because trained personnel was not available.

It was hoped that States would solve (a). As regards (b) it was ascertained that a series of lectures were being given to Punjab C.I.D. recruits and it might be possible to arrange for State nominees to attend these lectures. Sir Percy Order, I.G. of Police, Punjab emphasized however that it was valueless to train men who were not naturally qualified and that, if States did send confidantes to these lectures, it should rest with the Punjab Police to decide whether they appeared to be persons fitted by nature as well as education to make useful C.I.D. officers.

It could not be said that there were actually fifth columnists who were known to be working in the States: it was equally impossible to say that there were not: it was however considered that the danger was very real and it was dangerous to allow any gaps.

As regards the exchange of information between the C.I.D. of the Punjab and the States, it was thought that the time was not yet ripe for the formal exchange of correspondence; any information of importance could readily be exchanged through the Residency, until State C.I.D.s were more fully developed, though this should not be a bar to personal contact and informal exchange of information. Any suggestions from States for increasing such contact etc. would be welcome; and meanwhile a summary of any informal correspondence could well be included in the fortnightly intelligence reports.

Postal Censorship

The importance of postal censorship for the purpose of security intelligence was emphasized. The Resident stated that he would shortly be addressing the States on the subject, as he had recently received a communication from the Centre. Briefly the position was that, while postal convention States could impose censorship in their own post offices, States with Imperial Post

Offices could not, and some other arrangement would have to be devised. It would be necessary to train any State officials (Police or otherwise), before they could be authorized to act as censors. It was understood that the Punjab might be able to give such training.

As regards censorship of telegrams the Resident stated that an order had already issued to all imperial Telegraph Offices in States authorizing the withholding of telegrams, which might give rise to rumour about the war. He would consider further action in regard to local emergencies.

The question as to how the information obtained in postal censorship should be dealt with was postponed, until the question of arranging such censorship had been further considered.

Identity Cards

Mr Bennett stated that the military authorities were anxious for all civil officers to carry identity cards, but in the Punjab it had been decided that only officials and Departments likely to come into contact with the Army should be issued with them. He emphasized that identity cards were not to be confused with permits for protected and prohibited places: identity cards carried no special privileges enabling holders to visit specific places, they were merely a card which enabled the holder in case of emergency to be readily identified as a Government servant. It was proposed that the States should follow the same procedure in the Punjab. Regarding details, States would be further addressed.

I. 6. Military Area war Planning Committees Refugees and Evacuees

The Resident explained that the principal object of these committees was to give State officials personal contact with the military officers, with whom they would have to deal, if their States were ever included in the area under Martial Law. It was agreed that this purpose had been served.

I. 7. Control of Press in States

Since no newspapers of any importance are published in the Punjab States, it was agreed that the question of control raised no problems or difficulties. The States would be glad to see more effective control over the papers published in British India, which has circulations in the States.

I. 8. Indian States (Protection) Act

The provisions of section 4, et. seq. of the Act have been enforced by the Punjab Government in Jullundur, Ferozepore, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Amritsar and Ambala Districts. It was requested that, if any State anticipated incursions from adjoining districts, it should let the Resident know in advance, so that he could ask the Punjab Government to warn local officials. It was most important to ensure that such incursions were not due to exploitable grievances in the States.

I. 9. Cost of Civil Defence

The Resident stated that he was addressing the States on this subject. Briefly, the position was that the Central Government had not accepted the views that civil defence expenditure in the States was a fair charge on the Central Government: they were however prepared to treat the states in the same way as provinces, i.e. that States should bear full expenditure up to 4 per cent of State revenues and that expenditure in excess of 4 per cent should be shared in

certain proportions. Payments from the Centre would however be governed by certain conditions. Details would be communicated shortly.

II. A.R.P.

Forwarded to Chief A.R.P. Officer.

I. Progress of (a) Personnel (b) Equipment and Future Development

The Resident stated that a communication had been received from the Centre, which explained that 'in view of the change in the war situation' the policy in regard to A.R.P. was being reconsidered. States would be notified of the new Policy in due course. It was being borne in mind (a) that any 'slackening' would have a bad effect on morale, and (b) that, if the threat approached again, it would be extremely difficult to raise enthusiasm if it had been allowed to wane.

Savings could however be effected over structural works (e.g. blast walls) but not over works for accommodating personnel (e.g. control centres) and equipment.

It was suggested that recruitment and training of A.R.P. services should be carried on to the limit of States commitments under their present schemes, and that structural works of lasting benefit (e.g. water tanks) should be continued.

Equipment'

The regard to equipment, it was explained that new indents for equipment could not be accepted, but that all existing indents would be implemented and could not now be cancelled.

The main consideration seemed to be that each State should carefully examine what aspects of A.R.P. were of permanent value (e.g. fire fighting first aid etc.) and should concentrate on these.

The Resident proposed to tabulate States replies regarding progress and equipment, and to take technical advice regarding their adequacy. This would be passed on to States.

II. 2. A.R.P. Demonstrations

The resident stated that during his recent tours he had seen a number of A.R.P. demonstrations carried out in the open or on parade grounds. These showed that very considerable progress had been made. He would be glad if in future such demonstrations could be held in the form of a curtailed exercise in inhabited areas.

II. 3. War Injuries Scheme

The Central Government considered that the introduction of the Scheme in States was most desirable, but the indications were that some States were reluctant to apply it. It was ascertained that finance was the main stumbling block: but that in so far as it concerned Civil Defence workers, certain States, which had hitherto hesitated; were proposing to introduce it. Its extension to all 'gainfully occupied persons' was considered by some States to be too far reaching and would be unpopular with certain classes of society. It was also urged that, since the threat of danger was now receding, the Scheme was less necessary.

II. 4. A.R.P. Publicity and General Publicity

It was considered unnecessary to hold a separate A.R.P. Publicity Officer. Provided A.R.P. Publicity material had been vetted by an A.R.P. officer, it could well be put into local circulation by the State Publicity officer.

The best publicity was however by demonstrations and exercises carried out in public by the A.R.P. personnel.

Sent to Organizer N.W. front.

III. *National War Front and Publicity*

1 & 2. Interstate exchange of material and Publicity Branch at Lahore.

Before considering interstate exchange of material, the Resident referred to the question of establishing a Publicity Bureau at Lahore for the collation and distribution of State publicity material. The Residency staff could not undertake this work, because it was already occupied and the proposal would in any case detract from the initiative of the States. If, however it would be of any help, the Resident was prepared to recommend the appointment of a special officer.

Mr Newham briefly explained the formation and functions of the Publicity Bureau in Rajkot, Indore, Baroda and Ajmer. Each Bureau consisted of one responsible officer and a staff of clerks. These Bureaux, in fact, carried out the functions of a special Publicity Officer for States in their respective areas, i.e. translation, joint printing of State Bulletins in English and Indian languages and publication thereof. The Bureaux were almost self-supporting, and Rajkot had established a film library for 16 m.m. projectors.

If a similar organisation was not possible for the Punjab States, it was for consideration whether there was any suitable alternative. The objects could possibly be met by the mutual exchange of publicity material between States, combined with close liaison with the Punjab National War Front Organisation.

The meeting was informed that the formation of a central publicity Bureau for the Punjab States run by themselves was already under consideration. Most States favoured this arrangement. Some States however thought that a Bureau Attached to the Residency in Lahore would be preferable: it would ensure a single policy and might help to solve paper difficulties.

As an alternative it was suggested that the States might nominate their own Officer, preferably a good journalist, to be in charge of a Central Bureau, which could be accommodated at Lahore, with the necessary staff provided by States: the general policy of the Bureau could be guided by a committee of State representatives, who could consult the Resident whenever necessary. It was suggested that the employment of a journalist would ensure greater contact with the press, and that newspapers would not hesitate to accept articles and news about states if suitably prepared on journalistic lines. It would also be possible for this Central Bureau to prepare a news sheet in which each State could insert a page of local news before distribution.

It was agreed that this proposal for a Central Bureau at Lahore should be considered and the Resident informed of the result, if possible before the middle of February 1943.

As regards interstate exchange of material (item III) (i) it was agreed that States, who were preparing their own material in local languages or script, should send samples to other States, who would take steps to obtain by V.P.P. any a number of copies of such material as they considered valuable. State publicity Officers would also be instructed to ask for samples of similar material from Mr Eustace and to order the number of copies required by V.P.P. It was stated that the lectures and illustrated material received from London were very valuable, and could well be supplied in greater quantity. Mr Newham noted this and stated that owing to the new microfilm method of obtaining this material from England the supply would be prompter.

3. *Defence Savings Certificates*

It was stated that the sale of Defence Savings Certificates and the use of Defence Savings Cards in States compared unfavorably with the position in British India. It was explained that in Jind there was a scheme for the investment of small sums through the War Deposit account of the Cooperative Bank, which had branches in the larger villages. It was hoped that any State, who was interested, would make further enquiries direct from Jind.

No reply had yet been received from the Centre regarding extension of facilities for the sale of Defence Savings Certificates and stamps in India States, which had their own post offices. The Centre would be reminded again.

An enquiry was made whether the same facilities for the sale of Savings Stamps could be made available at Government Telegraph Offices at Government Post Offices.

2(I): Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of Punjab states for the second half of January 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 — P(S)/44 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political

The Celebration of 'Independence Day' on the 26 of January, 1944, by the Congress elements in the Punjab was a failure, and the general public displayed little interest. Reports from the Punjab States have not so far mentioned the matter. S.D. Suman, a resident of Jowal village, Tehri Garhwal, who was recently released from the Agra Jail where he was under detention, returned to his village and resumed subversive activity. He was, therefore re-arrested by the State authorities. This was followed by a meeting of certain interested persons, namely Chela Chat Ram, Kunj Behar Sadanand Brahmchari, Keshna Nand, etc. at Rishikesh in the United Provinces, to demand his release.

3(I): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of February 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 — P(S)/44 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political

In the Punjab Hindu sentiment was deeply stirred by the news of Mrs Gandhi's death, and there was some tendency to attribute it directly to the Government. Hindu Business concerns and institutions, including schools and Colleges, made a spontaneous demonstration of their emotion by observing hartals etc. The Public peace was in no danger of being disturbed, but the demonstrations such as they were, served to illustrate the great strength of the Congress influence on a section of the people. It has not been reported if the States re-acted in the

same way as the Punjab to the news of Mrs Gandhi's death, and information would be welcome as a means of assessing the amount of support and sympathy the Congress enjoys in the States. Meanwhile, there has been little evidence of recently released political prisoners showing any desire to keep the August rebellion alive, although Satpal Azad, of Bhatinda, Patiala State, has been maintaining his objectionable contacts with released detainees in the Punjab. His activities have been under close watch.

4(I) Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of Punjab states for the first and second half of March 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political

An increasing volume of intelligence about subversive individuals and movements has been becoming available from the Punjab States. Properly recorded, this intelligence will prove its value in the post-war years when conditions may not be as peaceful as they have been during the period under review. Congress, the Muslim League, the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, the Kisan Sabha, the Anjuman-i-Khaksaran, etc. have been quiescent, although certain aspects of these movements and persons connected with them have continued to invite attention. One Apte of Nagpur, accompanied by Paldhirkar, Central organizers of the R.S.S. Sangh, has been visiting the Sultanpore Branch in Kapurthala, while Ram Sarup Sethi, son of Uttam Sethi, of Ferozepore, has also come to notice in this connection. Similarly, Ram Prakash of Kalka has been interesting himself in Sangh activity in Nabha State. A Pakistan Day was programmed for observance in Malerkotla on the 23rd of March, 1944 but the function was probably as ineffective as elsewhere in the Punjab. Teja Singh Swatantar, M.L.A. the well known Moscow Trained Ghadrite and member of the Punjab Provincial Communist Committee, has been active in Nabha State. Comrade Dharam Singh of Patiala has been in correspondence with the Communist Headquarters in Lahore which have been informed that State workers had been deputed to organise a Communist Volunteer Corps in the Illaqs of Sunam, Barnala, Mansa and Bhawanigarh. The Ahir Sabha Punjab and Rajputana has held a meeting to express concern over the backwardness of Ahirs in the States of Dujana, Patudi, Patiala Nabha, Jind, Alwar, Jaipur and Nimrana. In the Punjab a Congress programme for the observance of 'National Task' from the 6th of April 1944, has come to notice. This programme is reproduced below for the information of the State Security authorities:

6th April: This should be a day of fasting and prayer and of reiterating our faith in Satyagraha. The day should begin with Flag hoisting in the morning. Hartal should be observed where possible. The flag should be displayed on all public and private buildings. A small leaflet explaining the significance of the National Week and describing the atrocities of the Jallianwala Bagh and other atrocities should be distributed. Wherever possible, Satyagraha Jathas should start on foot and mark out a route which should end in their own village on the 13th which should be observed as a day of defiance. During the *yatra*, the jatha should start on propaganda, giving the Congress message explaining the significance of Satyagraha, etc.

13 April: Should be observed as an open defiance programme on a big scale in which representatives from the whole province take part. In all other local places, open defiance should be organized on all the other days between the 6th and 13th. Congress should participate in all constructive activities and programme during the week.

Constructive spinning Khadi, Hawking Harijan Sewa, Communal Unity, Hindustani Prachar and other items of the constructive programme should be organized on different days during the week. A special day should be set apart as 'Food Day', when the Food situation should be explained and the duty of Congressmen made plain. Every avenue of approaching the masses and serving them should be availed of . . .

5(IV): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of April 1944

File No. 18/4/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political

There has been considerable rejoicing among Hindu and Congress circles in the Punjab about Mr Gandhi's release, and prayers have been offered for his speedy recovery and return to political life. Expectations have been expressed now of the release of other politicals in the belief that Britain recognizes the necessity of conciliating public opinion in the face of the Japanese onslaught on India. Increased Congress propaganda may now be expected.

6(IV): Extracts – Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)

[NAI]

Political

Gandhi's release has aroused some speculation about the possibilities of the political future. But apart from the closure of shops here and there to provide opportunities for prayer for the Mahatma's speed recovery, there has been no sign that Congressmen intend to do any active propaganda, but rather to wait and watch for developments.



7(IV): Extracts – Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of June 1944

File No. 18/6/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Political

Except for some activity by Akalis and Communists little of interest has been reported from the States. Stories about Gandhi's doings have attracted some attention in Malerkotla, but the peaceful atmosphere there has enabled the State authorities to set two Security Prisoners at liberty. Further releases will be ordered in due course if circumstances permit. The Nabha Government have taken similar action. In the Punjab, the publication of the Gandhi-Wavell correspondence had enabled Congressmen, by a curious process of reasoning, to conclude that the Mahatma has completely vindicated his position, and that the British Government has undoubtedly been responsible for all that has occurred since August 1942. The Congress propaganda machine, with the object of securing the release of the Working Committee members and other Congress Security prisoners, has also argued that Congress never had any intention of lessening India's resistance to Japanese aggression. Nationalist hopes of a political settlement have however, been completely damped by the Viceroy's refusal to see Gandhi or permit him to confer with members of the Working Committee. The Mahatma has since prescribed remedies for frustration, but it is unlikely, in the present state of affairs, that his encouragement of non violent non-cooperation will have any affect. Nevertheless, intelligence from inside some of the Jails shows that his praise of J.P. Narain and his refusal to sit in judgment on those who have acted violently have been closely noted by the more dangerous of the Security prisoners. This once more emphasizes the need of special care in selecting security prisoners for release. It may be added that elements of the underground movement have again begun to circulate some of their subversive literature. Should any of this literature come to notice in the states, the fact may please be reported in the fortnightly reports.

8(V): Official Notings – Re. Punjab Resident's letter in response to G.O.I.'s letter of 20.9.1943¹

File No. 7/23/43 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Political Department

Dy. No. 5646-P/43.

The point raised by the Resident for the Punjab States² is very pertinent and we may invite the remarks of the Home Department in the first instance.

(ltd),
27.11.43.

I agree that it would have been better if the letter had been sent to Residents 'for information' instead of 'for information and guidance'.

Home Department may see the Resident's letter and its enclosure for any comments they may wish to offer.

Signed
R.R. Barnett,
30.11.43

Signed
K.S. Fitze,
30.11.43.

Home Department.

Poll. Deptt. U.O. No. 5646-P/43, dt. 1.12.43.

Our letter of 20.9.43 did not of course in any way seek to whitewash the shortcomings of communists and pseudo-Communists nor to confer immunity from legal action on them. The Punjab Government have so far as I am aware shown no hesitation to take action against Communists where their activities merit it. Para. 3 of the Resident's letter seems, if I may say so with due respect, entirely to have missed the point.

2. There is however undoubted force in the points made in para. 2 of the Resident's letter. The situation as a whole differs in many fundamental respects in States from that in British India. We regard the Communists as one of the few British Indian political parties prepared to assist in the war effort, and also as a possible make-weight against Congress. From the former point of view we are prepared to tolerate a certain admixture of anti-Government activity – it is a case of weighing the good against the bad and on balance good seems at present to be winning, even if by a fairly short head! From the latter point of view we are naturally glad to encourage any trend in politics which shows signs of realism and independence, and to the extent that the broad lines of Communist policy show these trends and do not revert to their former violent revolutionary aims, the Party may expect to receive the present degree of support from us – may expect that is that we shall treat it as a neutral.

3. Neither of the above considerations have the same force in States, that is clear. Support for the war is there already in abundance and does not need to rely on the efforts of political parties. With few exceptions, there is no need for any political make-weight against Congress. Finally there is obviously a far greater likelihood of conflict between a State Communist Party and the Ruler of the State than there is between the C.P.I. and a Provincial Government, for except possibly in the most politically advanced States, there is a far greater and more obvious incompatibility in aims. As the Resident says, Rulers are unlikely to accept the policy in our letter – because apart from anything else, they must be fundamentally opposed to any form of Communist policy. Equally we could hardly expect Rulers or Residents to contact local Communists, though I confess that if a first – rank All India Communist leader visited a State I would see no reason for according him any other treatment than would be given to for instance an important Congress, or Muslim League or Hindu Sabha leader.

4. The foregoing comments have been entirely negative. There is I think something to be said on the positive side. There are I think aspects of Communists' policy which may even in States be deserving of consideration and support, at least of benevolent neutrality. I would

refer particularly to the Communist influence among labour, which is I think on the whole genuinely helpful.

5. Our file is at present with D.I.B. I would suggest that on return it should be shown to political Department. The noting leading up to the issue of our letter of 20th September will serve to reveal something more of the motives which actuated us then were exhibited in the letter itself. Finally I would suggest though with some diffidence, that this reference suggests that our letters on political matters may often not be entirely suitable for state consumption and that in such cases it would be of advantage for Political Department to digest them and re-issue only such portions as are directly applicable.

Signed
S.J.L. Olver,
2.12.43.

As regards the point in para. 2 of the Resident's letter, I think poll. Department might make it clear to him and the others that the letter was for information only and they need not try the personal touch with Communists, if that course will lead to misunderstanding.

As regards para. 3, the point is that we have merely advocated neutrality and not the giving of immunity to Communists.

Signed
V. Sahay,
3.12.43

We sent a copy of our letter to the Poll Deptt. because we thought it desirable that they should be aware the Government of India's policy in this matter – a policy which of course relates only to British India. It is entirely for poll. Deptt. to decide what to do with our letters and to consider how far their contents are applicable to States or suitable for communication either for guidance or information to Political Officers.

Signed
R. Tottenham,
3/12/43.

-
1. See Doc. 69 in Chapter V.
 2. Doc. 15 (IX) at p. 3403 below.



9(V) D.S.P. to the Resident for the Punjab states

File No. 235 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political Department

Dated 15th December 1943.

D.O. Letter No. F. 235-P/43.

The Hon'ble Mr C.L. Corfield,
C.S.I., C.I.E., M.C.,
Resident for the Punjab States.

Policy of the Central Govt. Towards the Communist Party

My dear Mr

I am desired to refer to your D.O. Letter No. 1412-C dated the 20th November 1943,¹ and to say that the correspondence in question was sent to Reads only to acquaint the Govt. of India's policy towards the Communist Party in British India and that it is not the C.R.'s intention that Political Officers should establish personal contacts with leading members of the Communist Party.

2. I am to read that it is agreed that it would have been more appropriate to forward the correspondence 'for information' then 'for information and guidance'.

Yours sincerely,

Signed D.S.P.

Copy with an extract (from 1-2) from the letter under Ministry.

¹ Doc 15.

10(V): Extracts - Fortnightly Reports of Punjab states
for the second half of January 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

There has been a certain amount of Communist activity in Kalsia and Kapurthala States to exploit control measures. Little public interest has been attracted.

11(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of April 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political

The Punjab Communists have welcomed the rift in Akali ranks caused by the resignation of Master Tara Singh. They now hope further to weaken the Akali Party by forming alliances if possible, with revolutionary Congress wing in that organisation, and thus become a strong 'Progressive' force in the countryside. By making parallel advances to certain disgruntled elements in the Muslim League, they scheme to advance along the road to 'National' unity and also to offer formidable opposition to the Punjab Unionist Party. So far the Communists have made no appreciable headway in their purely political intrigues, but they have exploited the weakness of the Akali in the field of rural propaganda to extend their own influence in the villages. In this connection, communist Conference was held at Dhuthalan in the Kapurthala State from the 31st of March 1944, to the 2nd of April 1944 under the presidentship of Teja Singh Swatantar. Other speakers were Sohan Singh Josh, M.L.A. Hukem Chand Gulshad and Freda Bedi. The audiences ranged from 2,000 to 4,000 at the various sittings. The speeches were mainly designed to criticize the Akalis and the Punjab Ministry, whilst the Soviet system of Government, the achievements of the Red Army and the Socialist Order were praised. The people were urged to unite secure the release of the Congress leaders and thus weaken their enemies, the British.

12(V): Extracts – Fortnightly Reports of Punjab states for the second half of April 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

A rival conference held in Patiala under the auspices of the (Communist) Diwan Malwa Riyasti Akali Dal has been equally attractive. The Communists in the Punjab have been making marked headway in their campaign to popularize themselves with the Sikh masses at the expense of the Akalis and it has been made clear that the Kisan organisation will probably prove a disturbing force in the countryside after the war, when economic difficulties may be readily exploited for serious agitation.

13(V): Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of June 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Now that the harvesting season is over, the Punjab Communist Party has decided to make a close study of the economic and everyday difficulties of the people with a view to exploiting them for political gain. When the Govt. redress grievances which are genuine, and the Communists may be relied upon to expose many – the 'Comrades' will, of course claim the credit. It is therefore all the more important that local officers should remain in closest touch and sympathy with the people and give political agitators no opportunity to exploit grievances which can be quietly and legitimately redressed. The Communist Party is making use of its present period of legality to establish mass contacts and build up political power for itself in anticipation of the post-war period where in its opinion, it will liberate India with Russian help.

14(V): Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of July 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.) .

[NAI]

Political

There has not been much political activity. Patiala reports that Akalis with Communist tendencies have formed an association under the name of Shiromani Riyasti Akali Dal purporting to represent Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Malerkotla, with Harnam Singh of Patiala as President. He is also President of the Kisan Committee, Patiala State. Bahawalpur reports that the S.G.P.C. Amritsar, is taking an interest in the prosecution of a Sikh for the murder of a Muslim and of 38 others for rioting in connection with a Nihang-Muslim-clash which occurred in May 1944. The S.G.P.C. is also interesting itself in the case of a Nihang Sikh Bishen Singh's murder in April by four persons, including two Muslims, all absconding. Malerkotla reports a small Kisan meeting in Ludhiana on the State border on the 25th of June 1944, in which Bhagat Singh of Jullundur made various allegations of maladministration in Nabha, Patiala and Malerkotla. Chand Singh, Jat, a member of the Punjab Kisan Committee, established a Kisan Committee in Barnala, Patiala State.

15 (IX & V): Resident, Punjab states to the Crown Representative

Political Department File No. 235 – P(S)/44
[NAI]

Political Department

Secret.

D.O. No. 1412–C

Lahore

Dated the 20th November 1943.

Subject: Policy of the Central Government towards the Communist Party.¹

My dear Fitze,

Please refer to Political Department endorsement No. D.4585–P/43, dated the 30th September 1943.

2. The correspondence was sent to Residents for 'guidance', but I find it difficult to appreciate its application. It is most improbable that the policy defined therein will be acceptable to Rulers, and the arguments adduced in support of it do not seem to have paid the slightest attention to the interests of State Governments. Moreover, I can hardly believe it to be the intention of the Crown Representative that political officers should establish personal contacts with leading members of the Communist Party. Such action would hardly strengthen such confidence as still remains with Rulers that their position is likely to be protected by the Crown. I am presuming therefore that the correspondence in question was sent only for information, and it will perhaps be generally understood by the other recipients serving under the Crown Representative.

3. In this connection I think it is pertinent to enclose an extract from a speech made by the president of a Kisan Conference held in Ludhiana District last August. Presumably the Punjab Government will be discouraged by the policy enunciated by the Central Government from giving protection to the Ruler of Patiala from such attacks.

4. The canard regarding supply of arms to Akalis has already been enquired into by the Information Bureau, and I believe that no evidence has been found to support it.

Yours sincerely,

Signed

To
Sir Kenneth Fitze, K.C.I.E.
Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative
New Delhi.

Enclosure.

Copy of an extract from the speech of Achhar Singh of village Chhina, Amritsar District,

delivered on Sawan 30,2000/August 14, 1943, in a Kisan Conference held at village Chao (District Ludhiana).

Achhar Singh, President of the Conference, said: Comrades; you need not be disquieted to see that we are holding the conference here instead of as proposed before in Patiala State territory. You will see this flag being hoisted over the Moti Bagh Palace with you own eyes at not a very distant date. Let those who are taking notes of the proceedings of this conference convey it to the Maharaja Sahib that *'thore aree ander raja hall challaega, ate rani lassie rirkegi'*.

'Mussolini before whom so many potentates bowed and prostrated is nowhere now. I request the Italian people that they should not let this opportunity slip by and Mussolini should be made to work with the Hoe. We shall see how the rajas will afford to keep 4 "ranis" with them when they are made to work with the hoe. Do they (the State Authorities) think that every years we come in the State territory for showing veneration and respect (with folded hands) to them. We are showing to them that this is the mentality of the State Authorities. We asked to submit an application for permission of holding a conference. The Raja should submit before the common people that they may acknowledge him as their raja. We are not prepared to call him "Maharaja". Let us tell these rajas that as they are rolling in luxuries now they should not forget that we shall supply them he-buffaloes to work with and hard ground for ploughing'. The Thanedar police has also served the same order (of ban) on us. But be not disgusted. We have little time to launch a 'Moroha campaign' now in the State as we have to face other formidable giants. One (Mussolini) of those giants (Hitler & Mussolini) has been thrown and one still remains. I want to give a notice to Maharaja Patiala that in order to help Japan arms (rifles and muskets) have been supplied from Patiala State. Was any enquiry instituted into the matter? We have not been allowed to enter the State territory because they feared last we should come to know all those things. And *Rage Kehnde . . . rusat said hai. Jisdan tohada wadda guru sahab age . . . mange karke bitiasi toadies khandani saloon yad hai, these manzoori Karao. Jistrah dhid noon pitia . . . Crane dhin pitman wale kart diange.*

Where has Maharaja Bhupendra Singh gone? Every Tom, Dick and Harry knows what are the actual affairs. Some people say that the present raja is good. I say, wait, still a long span of life is ahead of him and this is only his second marriage. Let us see how many more 'Paharans' come. The State officials dressed in particular uniforms and with peculiar turbans come and give our comrades will extend to them the same treatment. Still Hooliganism reigns supreme in the State (Patiala State). This flag which is now hoisted in a field taken on rent will move towards the Motibagh palace and shall not be hindered or obstructed. After joining hands with the few so called Akalis who play fraud with the Akali party he (H.H.) wants to threaten us. But we shall not retrace our steps. Your (addressing to His Highness) subjects are at our back, yes, a majority of them, therefore, come to good sense. Don't indulge in such things. Last time the time of Ugrahan Conference 'Goondas' were encouraged to step in and intimidation was attempted through the exposition of rifles and Chivies.

All these things which we have uttered shall reach the raja and his sleep will be robbed when he learns all this. Late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan had taken the inquiry in his own hands regarding the supply of 50 muskets by Patiala State to the Japanese' Agents. He (late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan) has put certain questions about it as to the reason why the muskets were sent and if so, through the agency of which officer. We shall get this inquiry re-instituted by appealing to the (Paramount) Government. The photographs of all the leading rajas of twentieth century shall be placed in the museum in Europe and the chronicles will be full of how luxuriously they had spent their lives. If tyranny and oppression are heaped upon you now,

show toleration. You shall have to undergo these application for two decades — as long as the expends of Fascism — Italy-Germany and Japan are not brought to their knees. The time they are crushed I and you will march forward to Motibagh Palace, holding the Red Flag in our hands. Let us first defeat our two principal foes (Germany and Japan). Time does not permit me to digress any more on the filthy history of the princes but we shall one day hoist the Red Flag in Delhi and Motibagh Palace. Neither shall we leave Kotla and Sangrur. The Raja says that he is a Jat but does not allow the conference to take place. But I say to him (his Highness) *Ke tair Andre aide barange ke niklange nankeen. Rjasat per qabza karange. Zameen said ate riasat said hai. Ashen riasat de raja to African noon dasde ban ke ashen awange, aur koi wagat awaga ke tairi parching jaihi par dewange ate riasat Andre ajawange. Sari dunia dia halat dassi jawegi ke kistrach azadi gaim karange to kistran gaim rakhange.*

1. Official Notings on this letter See Doc. 8 (V)

16(IX) Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of July 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 — P(S)/44 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political

Patiala reports that no money has been subscribed for the Kasturba Memorial Fund in the State. Three Sikh Kisan workers of Sunam, District Patiala, are touring villages organizing Kisan Committee. Mohinder Kumar has been restricted to his village Khera Manakpur, Police Station Banner. Chand Singh, son of Deva Singh of Bhadaur a member of the Punjab Kisan Committee, is trying to establish branches of the Kisan Committee in villages.

17(IX): Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of Punjab state for the first half of August 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 — P(S)/44 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Signs of renewed activity of Kirti Kisan Workers Kalsia State. Shamsher Singh Gill has returned to his village after long detention in British India.



18(IX) Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of August 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Political

Some Members of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh at Malerkotla, who were playing Kabadi, roughly handled a constable in plain clothes who did not immediately comply when they asked him to leave. A Kisan meeting was held at Kishengarh, Malerkotla on 14.4.1944, attended by 65 persons. The usual resolutions were passed. Sewa Singh Bhapla was prominent. On 17.8.44. 50 Sikhs, including political workers, complained to the Chief Minister of the shortage of sugar and kerosene oil and then claimed, amongst other things, that Dakhilkars should be declared as owners of land and that the land revenue should be decreased. Replies by the Chief Minister did not satisfy them, and some of them held a secret meeting and proposed to send complaints to the Honourable the Resident and to start agitation. Sewa Singh Bhapla, Inder Singh Ahmadpur, Sangat Singh Jhuner, Kehr Singh Hathan and Bishen Singh Uppalkheri were prominent. Three Sikhs went from Malerkotla State to take part in the Akali Conference at Amritsar at which the Gandhi – C.R. Formula was condemned and other resolutions passed which have been reported in the Press. The Malerkotla Kisan Committee proposed to hold a conference in September, but it was postponed under instructions from the Akali Dal, Amritsar. It is not known, however, whether these instructions came from Master Tara Singh' group or the Central Akali Dal of Baba Kharak Singh. Atma Ram, alias Atne Singh, alias Sijla Singh, who was detained in Malerkotla jail under Rule 26, D.I.R. was released on 17.8.44. There is now no detinue in the jail.

19(IX) Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of September 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Political

Representatives were elected by the Malerkotla Kisan Committee to attend the Provincial Kisan Conference at Jandiala, District, Jullundur, starting 22.9.1944. Representatives were also selected by the State Akali Dal to attend the Akali Dal conference at Lahore in September, but it was postponed. 6 Sikhs have been appointed by the Malerkotla Kisan Committee in consultation with the Akali Dal Malwa Darbar, to carry out door to door propaganda in batches of two throughout the state to agitate for the reduction of land revenue, creation of proprietary rights for Dakhilkars and the abolition of the present Nazul (Lawaris) Land system. These agitators have held several meetings.

20_(IX) Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first of October 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political

Two Kisan Jathas from Amritsar passed through Kapurthala state on their way to the Jandiala Conference in September 1944 and addressed meetings at various places en route emphasizing the need for Jatnabandi, urging release of political prisoners and internees, asking for compensation for Bias flood damage, cancellation of the professional taxes and asking for village committees to be entrusted with the distribution of iron, sugar, cement, oil, etc. After the Jandiala conference, the Kisan Party established a headquarters at Kapurthala. On 20.9.1944, at a Kisan meeting at Phagwara, resentment was expressed over the shortage of cement, oil, iron, and other things needed specially by Zamindars. On 2.10.1944, a Congress meeting was held at Phagwara attended by 50 persons to celebrate Mr Gandhi's birthday, and it was announced that a thousand rupees had been collected for the Kasturba Memorial Fund.

21_(IX): Extracts — Fortnightly Reports on the Punjab states for the first half of November 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political

In Kalsia, several Kirti Kisan workers from Moga and Ferozepore, with local workers, visited Atma Singh and Shamsher Singh, detenues, at Buhdsinghwala, and moved about in other villages. They discussed the checking of Kirti accounts, enlistment in the Kirti Kisan collection of funds, action to have the two restriction order rescinded and asking State authorities to supply agricultural requirements, such as iron oil and sugar. Khaksars propose a meeting at Derabasal on 24.11.44 to which men from Patiala, Ambala, Nabha, Malerkotla, etc. will be invited.

22(IX): Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of November 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Political

In Malerkotla, Sewa Singh Bapla and his Kisan Committee have, after a heated discussion, combined with the Akali Party at a meeting at the Gurdwara of village Kup with the avowed object of agitating for the redress of grievances of the Zamindars. A small public meeting was later held. At a secret meeting the same day, of the Akali Dal at Kup Sewa Singh Bapla urged that they should first agitate for removing outsiders from all offices in the State, but this was opposed and Sewa Singh left the meeting disappointed. Some men from Malerkotla joined a small meeting of the Riyasti Akali Dal, said to have been held at Dhuri, Patiala, on 5.11.1944, at which three Malerkotla men, Badan Singh, Mohan Singh and Sarwan Singh, were elected members. It is said a decision was reached to transfer the office of the party from Dhanaula, Nabha, to Dhuri, Patiala, and that Malerkotla should pay a levy of Rs 10 towards expenses, other money being collected from Patiala, Nabha and Jind. In British India, it may be remarked the Akali Party is engaged in a bitter struggle with the Communists and Kisan Sabha.

23(IX): Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of December 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Political

In Malerkotla, the Kisan Committee held a public meeting at Kangapur on 25.11.1944, and a secret meeting at Malikwal on 5.12.1944. The Kisan Committee are completing with the Akali Jatha for public support. In the secret meeting, Sewa Singh Bapla criticised the chief Minister and advised the audience against investing money in war-saving schemes. He was opposed by one Mohan Singh.

24_(IX): Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of December 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political

In Malerkotla, a joint meeting was held on 6.12.44 of the Gurdwara Parbhandak Committee, Akali Jatha and Kisan Committee. Apart from leading members of these bodies, only a dozen persons attended. After a heated discussion, it was decided to have no flag at future joint meetings. Jagir Singh Joga of Patiala asked that forms for enlistment in the Kisan Committee should be sent to the Provincial Kisan Office by 31st December 1944. Another general meeting was held at Gurdwara Ahmedpur on 8.12.1944 attended by 25/30 persons. The usual demands were made for the reduction in land revenue, dakhilkars' rights and disposal of lawyers land. It was also proposed to approach the Privy Council or the Secretary of State. A third meeting was held at Ferozepore Kothala on 15.12.1944 attended by 30 persons. Similar speeches were delivered and stress was laid on the need for engaging a legal adviser. Subscriptions may now be collected. The shortage of kerosene oil and cloth and restrictions on released detainees were condemned. A Dharmik Diwan of the Gurdwara Parbhandak Committee was held at Malerkotla on 22.12.1944, attended by 50/55 persons. A proportionate representation of Sikhs in State Services was demanded and also the replacement of the present Chief Justice by a young Sikh. Resolutions were passed condemning the restrictions on released detainees and shortage of Kerosene oil, sugar, bricks, cement and iron. The poor attendance at these meetings indicates lack of public support.

25_(X): Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of Punjab states for the first half of January 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Labour

Labour scarcity, accompanied by rising wages has continued. There has been some unrest among workers of Jagatjit Sugar mills in the Kapurthala State on the issue of dearness allowance.



26(XIV) Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the second half of April 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

General

The vicious rumours circulating in parts of the Punjab about the fighting on the Assam Border appear to have caused hardly a ripple on the calm surface of the States. The Patiala Security authorities have, however, remarked on the fact that panic news about the Enemy onslaught on Imphal has slightly affected the morale of the people, although subsequent events have provided the reassurance that Nippon will not succeed in her designs of India. Elsewhere, the news from the Indo-Burma Front has been followed with keen interest but without serious misgiving. There has been keen speculation about the date for the opening of the Second Front in Europe.

27(XIV) Extracts — Fortnightly Reports of the Punjab states for the first half of May 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

General

With expectations of the opening of the Second Front and hard fighting in Italy and on the Indo-Assam Border, interest in the war has increased. Some panic rumours are reported to have been circulating, but it is difficult to say exactly how much of this is due to Enemy propaganda and how much to real sympathy with the Enemy. The arm-chair strategist is a type found everywhere. In view of his literacy, his views and forecasts command respect, and when adverse, cause alarm and despondency. From his reading of the newspapers, he forms and passes on, probably in all innocence, the opinion that the Japanese will next capture Imphal and then cut the supply routes to Southern Assam and the Hukawng Valley. Such opinions from a man of position do harm. Then there is the rumour-monger who, glorying in spectacular and 'sensational news flashes', broadcasts his poison to all and sundry in public places. Pessimistically if nothing else, he makes out that the Japanese have once more proved that the Allies are no match for them, and suggests that India will be overrun as quickly as Burma. The Civilian with Military connections does damage when he returns home with eye-witness or personal stories that Imphal is besieged and can only hold out for a few more days, that civil populations have evacuated, etc. He is a most dangerous type, for his personal 'observations' are liable to attract considerable notice and circulation, whether he is attempting deliberately to help the Enemy or is trying to raise himself in public estimation. The amount of rumour or loose talk, which clearly owes its birth to Enemy propaganda, some act deliberately in spreading what the enemy wants to be believed. Some are actuated by

anti-British motives. Others may be innocent of evil intention, but all are guilty in fact and in law and, with the other types mentioned in this account, deserve nothing but rigorous suppression.

28(XIV): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the first half of January 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

General

War interest is generally on the decline, but the heavy bombing of Germany, and the Russian advances into Poland, have not failed to make some impression. In some circles, there has been a deliberately perverse interpretation of the German withdrawals but persons seeing in these obviously forced retreats a deep laid plan to entrap the Allies, have not been traced and punished for the expression of prejudicial opinions. The rumour or scare-monger is admittedly an elusive individual, but in the interests of general security and public morale, the effort of catching and making an example of him is well worthwhile. The practice of vigilance is all the more important at the present time in view of Japanese preparations to intensify espionage activities in India.

29(XIV): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of January 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

War

The popular attitude to the war has undergone little change. Victory is taken too much for granted, although there has been some criticism of slow progress on the Burma Front. With exceptions here and there, malicious talk has, however, declined, but rumour-mongers are still a danger to be reckoned with as illustrated by the following Punjab case. In this case, the story got around and was definitely traced to a Durzi, who had just returned full of self-importance from Calcutta, that thirteen thousand troops had been killed and many American ships sunk during the Japanese Air Attacks on the Calcutta Docks last month. It has not been suggested that the offending Durzi was a professional fifth columnist, but he was undoubtedly serving the interests of the enemy just as well. It would be of interest to remark in this connection that there have been further clear indications of the previous lull in Japanese plans having ended to infiltrate agents deep into India. That at least one State is keenly alive to the danger has been evidenced by the useful information collected by the local security authorities on the subject. This information has been reported to the department concerned. Yet another State, namely Khairpur, has been watching, from the same point of view, a number of

individuals, residents of different parts of India working in a visiting circus called 'The Star of India Circus'. Nothing is known to the security detriment of the circus in question, but this has not influenced the wise decision that has been taken to verify the antecedents of its employees from their homes to ensure that they are not using the excellent cover of the circus for the purposes of espionage. In dealing with the general question of espionage, it would perhaps be as well to review as background, and as an aid to vigilance the position as regards the use of forged currency notes of Japanese origin. The forgeries that have so far come to notice in the Punjab are all 10-rupee notes, numbered with one of the following series C/4, C/20, C/42, C/43, B/51 and B/78. These series are genuine, but the forgeries bear one or other of these series numbers. During the period of October 1943 to mid-January 1944, 67 forged ten-rupee notes of the above type were detected at the Reserve Bank, Lahore. This total does not take in account many forgeries still in circulation, i.e. in the possession of private Banks, shopkeepers, or private individuals. It is also to be noted that the Reserve Bank is the only bank so far to have detected any of these forgeries.

30(XV) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of February 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Law and Order

Satisfactory progress has been made in rounding up Military Deserters and particularly good results have been secured by the Special Staff appointed by the Patiala Authorities for this purpose. During the fortnight under report, the staff arrested 20 Deserters and persuaded 50 others to return to their Units. A review of the work done by this staff since its formation shows that it had accounted for 37 Deserters, 6 Proclaimed Offenders, 7 absconders and all persons in other cases and has also succeeded in recovering a number of firearms and hand-grenades. Some of these weapons were found to have been imported from the North-West Frontier Province revealing the existence of private smuggling.

31(XVI): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the first half of April 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

General

The vast majority of the people have remained unconcerned about the daily programme of the war which the Allies are vaguely believed to have well in hand. The news from the Burma Front (as distorted by the Enemy Radio and some Nationalist newspaper which find their way

to the States) has however shaken the nerves of an unfortunate type of 'intelligent' person who must always believe the worst. The natural scaremongers has also been given his opportunity, and the rumours that have been reported bear testimony to his fifth column activities. In view of the intensification of the Japanese Intelligence offensive against India, it is most important that those who play the game of the Enemy, wittingly or unwittingly, should be marked down and dealt with as opportunity offers. They are the people whom Enemy Agents will be most likely to contact for assistance in espionage and sabotage activities. Particular attention should be paid to followers or sympathizers of Subhash Chandra Bose, and there should be constant Vigilance to ensure that security arrangements are maintained at the maximum pitch of efficiency.

32_(XV): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of April 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 — P(S)/44 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Law and Order

18 Military deserters have been arrested in Patiala, 4 in Malerkotla and 2 in Nabha State, where two more are believed to be at large in possession of fire-arms. The Patiala Special Staff have effected further useful recoveries of arms during the fortnight, including a significant number of Pass-made rifles.

33_(XV) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of July 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 — P(S)/44 — Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Law and Order

A number of States report arrests of Military deserters, but in the absence of figures as to the previous balance of deserters outstanding, new desertions, bogus recruits and number of men returned to their own or other units, it is not easy to assess the position. The compiling of such figures involves considerable labour but it is done in British territory. It may be considered whether results would pay the trouble involved in collecting and maintaining such figures. Probably it is easier if States would report any criminal case or political activity in which deserters took part. This might indicate the extent of the deserter problem. My impression from these reports is that it is not a very serious problem at present.

34(XVI) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of February 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

General

Although some attention has been paid in educated circles to Mr Churchill's speech and to the news of fresh Allied successes in Russia and in the Pacific, Public interest has remained almost wholly occupied with domestic affairs. The criticism expressed in some quarters of the apparent stalemate in Italy has probably been encouraged by the economic repercussion of the war on Civilian life, but the promise of a Second Front being opened in Europe this year has sustained the hope that a total German defeat may not be too long delayed. Comparatively little reaction has been reported to the news from Burma, where the Fourteenth Army has recently scored an important success against the Japanese in the Arakan fighting. It would be fatal to allow any relaxation of security vigilance because of this success, for the Japanese may now be expected to probe more diligently through their Fifth Column Agents for information about the strength of India as a base for further offensive operations.

35(XVI) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the first and second half of March 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

General

If reactions elsewhere can be taken as a guide, the apparent unconcern of the confident States' people about the war situation may have been shaken by the Japanese incursions into Manipur. In the Punjab, there has been a marked increase in the type of propaganda to be expected from Enemy Agents, and there has also been considerable speculation about Subhash Chandra Bose's plans. General morale has not been seriously affected, but a feeling of uncertainty among the literate and semi-literate people has prevailed against the Commander-in-Chief's explanations of the true position on the Burma Front. Reactions in the Punjab States to the latest developments should be carefully watched against this background, and any one found responsible for defective or treacherous propaganda should be immediately dealt with. Apart from the need in this connection of maintaining the closest watch over Indo-Jap suspects, Prisoners of war from Occupied Territory, Andaman Prisoners, and any former emigrants to the Far East who return to their homes (some interesting and significant cases have come to notice in the Punjab), local disloyal elements should also receive attention. Sufficient justification

for the latter prosecution is shown in the following intercepted letter written by a young Congressman to his father.¹

1. Not printed.

36(XVI): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the first half of June 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

General

The masses have remained secure in the belief that the Allies are winning the war, but the fall of Rome and the opening of the Second Front in Europe have aroused great enthusiasm among those capable of appreciating developments. Interests in the Japanese war has been largely over shaded by events in the West, and the general impression prevails that the monsoon has played no small part in checking the Enemy. From the security point of view, it would be most unwise to assume that no further attention need be paid to the menace from India's Eastern Borders. The latest information conclusively shows that the Bose organization and their Japanese Masters are continuing and intensifying their efforts to introduce spies deep into India in addition to those active in the Forward areas. There is also reason to believe that some such fifth column agents have escaped detection and visited their homes or communicated with their relatives. For example, two Sikhs from Malaya are believed to have secretly visited their relatives in a Punjab District and to be now hiding elsewhere with the latter's help. In a second similar case, a military report quotes a Naik who on leave in his village happened to meet a former Hong Kong Artilleryman, who confided in him that he had slipped away from a Japanese patrol on the Manipur Front and had then made his way back to his home in the Punjab.

37(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of Punjab states for the first half of January 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political

It has now been reported from Malerkotla and Jind that some volunteers of the Mahablr Dal attended the Hindu Mahasabha Session at Amritsar, Some other State Hindus also went there and presented a purse to Dr Shyama Pershad Mukerjee for the Bengal Relief Fund. The Akalis of Malerkotla State celebrated Guru Gobind Singh's birthday at a meeting in which they passed resolutions demanding better treatment for political prisoners, more effective

representation for Sikhs in State services and better arrangement for the supply of sugar and kerosene oil. It has been reported that Balwant Singh Chanarthal, a Jathedar of the Akali Jatha, Patiala, has been in communication with the Amritsar Headquarter of the organization. Muslims generally have resented the Hindu Mahasabha's resolution on the Satyarth Parkash question, and some communal feeling has been evidenced on this question. Faiz Mohd, a watchmaker who is treasurer of the Muslim League at Dadri, Jind State, attended the so called all-India States Muslim League meeting at Karachi. The Rashtriya Sewak Sangh was shown some renewed signs of activity in one State under the guidance of Narsingh Das, the Delhi organizer. Opposition has, however, been encountered from the Sanatan Dharam Sabha.

38(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of January 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Political

The Rashtriya Sewak Sangh organized a camp at Pampura on the Patiala Border and representatives attended from the States of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Malerkotla, Faridkot and Kapurthala. A decision was taken to split up the work of the Sangh under three main divisions of Propaganda, Training and Organization.

39(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the first half of April 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

The Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh has not been particularly active and is reported to have discontinued its programme altogether in Malerkotla State. However, a Professor Lachhme Narain of Lahore has been busy in Nabha State enlisting new members. Latterly Pandit Bhagwat Dyal, son of Johri Ram of Roshan Chiragh Delhi, has been doing his work for him.

40(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of April 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Muslim Leaguers have read into Gandhi's release the fructification of a secret Congress-British understanding. They have interpreted Jinnah's failure in the Punjab as a sign of the British having withdrawn 'patronage' from the Muslim League. But defeat in the Punjab has determined the League to improve its organization and propaganda agencies. The Punjab States may also now come in for increased attention.

Master Tara Singh has shown some sign of coming out of his shell, and there are indications that he will revive agitation against Kapurthala in particular, and the Sikh States in general. In Patiala, an Akali Conference (under the auspices of the Shiromani Riyasti Dal and Akali Jatha, Patiala State) has been well attended. Resolutions have been passed demanding the release of political prisoners, the establishment of a National Government at the Centre, the removal of the ban on the export of grain from the State, the fixation of a proper share in the services for Sikhs in the Sikh and non-Sikh States, the establishment of the Azad Punjab Scheme, the passage of the Gurdwara (Amendment) Bill in the Punjab etc.

41(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report from Punjab states for the first half of May 1944

File No. 18/5/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Master Tara Singh appears to be looking for a way of returning to political life, or at least of emerging from political obscurity, on terms which would enable him to hold the balance of power between the Kartar Singh and Nagoke groups and direct Sikh policy. Neither party, however, wants him back in a neutral position. As a preliminary move to a return to the political stage he has prepared a statement announcing that in order to draw the attention of the Government of India to the neglect of Sikh interests in the Kapurthala State he intends proceeding to the State with a few Akalis to carry on religious propaganda and to agitate against the anti-Sikh policy of the State. To concentrate attention on himself he has advised jathas not to follow him, if arrested. At the same time, in order not to alienate sympathy of the Government of India, he has prepared an announcement advocating Sikh recruitment in the Army and pointing out that the loss of their military importance would mean the political extinction of the Sikhs. He has, therefore, advised serving Sikhs soldiers to maintain their reputation for bravery and reliability, and has chosen the opportunity to denounce the

impression in some circles that an understanding with Japan or Germany would be to India's or the Sikhs' political advantage.

42(XVIII): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the first half of August 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

At Gurdwara Rohira on 1.8.1944 at a meeting of 18 persons, C.R.'s formula was approved. The Akalis have not officially dropped their threat of agitation in Kapurthala State, and Master Tara Singh with ten members of the Akali Dal proposed holding a meeting in the State in August, particulars of which have not yet been received. Master Tara Singh has re-entered political life for the main purpose of preventing any Congress-League settlement which ignores Sikh claim. It is probable that he will gradually drop the scheme for agitation in Kapurthala. A general meeting of the Akali Jatha, Tehsil Rajpura, was convened on July 16 in Patiala State. Madho Singh of Kutha Kheri said that a jatha of 25 Akalis should be sent from the Tehsil to join the All-India Akali Conference at Lahore on 3.10.1944. He also asked for subscriptions for the Shiromani Akali Dal.

Ram Lal, of Patiala, visited Malerkotla on 4.8.1944 and addressed a meeting of the R.S.S. Sangh at Gopal Bhawan, in which he urged members to carry out parades and other activities with courage. The Sangh has made its appearance at Sanpur, Sadr Patiala, where about a dozen members parade daily.

43(XVIII): Extracts – Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the first half of September 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

In Patiala, the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh held a meeting attended by an audience of 500 on 2.8.1944. 400 young men, wearing Khaki Knickers and white shirts, assembled in six lines and were given Sanskrit words of command by their commanding officers, Naurata Ram. They exhibited P.T., Kabaddi, games and physical feats. Amar Singh announced that the purpose of the Sangh was to up-lift the Hindu community and to serve it with body mind and money. The Sangh had been working secretly, but now it had sufficient strength to work openly. The audience then bowed to the pictures of Shivaji, Maharana Pratap and the Rashtriya Sahib, and some boys shouted 'Bharat Mata Ki Jai'. It will be remembered that the Government

of India recently issued a new order under the Defence of India Act tightening up the law against military drill, camps and the wearing of uniform by private armies in British India.

44(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the first half of October 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

A meeting of the R.S.S.S. took place on 1.10.1944 in Mandi State in the compound of the Electric Power House. In the Punjab generally, there was an increase in the activities of the Sang, but no other States report any activity. The Government of India have recently tightened up rules regarding uniform, drill, etc. of private armies in British territory.

45(XVIII): Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the second half of October 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 - P(S)/44 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

In Malerkotla State a secret meeting of the R.S.S.S. was held on 14.10.1944. attended by 9 persons and presided over by Attar Chand Aggarwal. Donations amounting to Rs 150 were collected for expenses in the coming year. The Kisan Committee held a meeting in Gurdwara Isapore on 20.10.1944, at which resolutions of a deputation to the Chief Minister were discussed. The authorities would be asked to open shops for selling kerosene oil and sugar in villages. Sewa Singh Bapla did not attend the meeting as he is said to be starting an agitation against the present chief minister, who is under the influence of Pathan Jagirdars. The Malawi Akali Conference held a meeting in village Jurtaoli, district Ludhiana, on 7th and 8th October presided over by Pritam Singh of Gujjaran, Patuala State. He warned the meeting that Sikhs were being ruined and their rights trampled on in Kashmir, Malerkotla and Bahawalpur. Usual resolutions regarding the paucity of Sikh officials, proprietary rights in land, etc. were passed. At a secret meeting held at Kangapur on 9th and 10th October, it was decided to send at least hundred complaints to the Resident for the Punjab States against the Chief Minister. A demand would be made that there should be no Bania official in the Revenue Department.

46(XIX) Extracts — Fortnightly Report of the Punjab states for the first half of August 1944

C.R. Records File No. 431 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Sri Dev Suman, a leading member of the Tehri Praja Mandal who is serving a term of imprisonment under Section 124-A, I.P.C., was on hunger strike from 3.5.1944 to 11.7.1944 during which time he was tubefed. He developed pneumonia and died of heart failure on 25.7.1944. There was no appreciable Congress activity in any State. Sant Ran Vakil of Nabha State was released from detention by the Punjab Government and extended from the Punjab in July. He has been living at Kot Kupra since that time.

Princely States (10) Eastern Rajputana States

1 (I). The Political Agent, Eastern Rajputana states to the Dewans of Bundi, Kotah, Karauli, Dholpur, Jhalawar

Rajputana States Agency — Bundi States — Pol. (Dept.) File No. 50
[Rajasthan State Archives]

From: The Political Agent,
Eastern Rajputana States,

To: The Dewan, Bundi State.
The Prime Minister, Kotah State,
The Dewan, Karauli State
The Political Secretary, Dholpur State
The Dewan Jhalawar State Brinagar.

Memorandum No. 876/60-p/42.

Dated Bharatpur, the 20th April 1943.

Subversive Activities

Enclosed is an extract from the Agenda for the 8th meeting of the Central command War Planning Board with suggested recommendations. I request that the Darbar/Bharatpur

Government will kindly keep a special look out for any such activities mentioned in the extract.

Political Agent,
Eastern Rajputana States,

Enclosure

Secret

Extract from the Agenda for the 8th Meeting of the Central Command War Planning Board.

Item 7.

Subversive Activity

It has been reported that subversive activities in certain areas are being organised and directed by persons sheltering in Indian States, and that subversive elements in British India are being supplied with armed and explosives from these states. These reports mentioned in particular, certain States (not in this Agency). From the point of view of Internal defence it is essential that measures to prevent these activities in states should correspond to those now being taken in British India.

Suggested Recommendation.

Governments of States should take Immediate action to prevent:

- a) persons engaged in organizing and directing subversive activities in British India from sheltering in their respective territories.
- b) the distribution of ammunition and explosives and other similar material from states to persons engaged in subversive activities in British India.

2(I): The Dewan of Bundi state to the political agent

Rajputana States Agency – Bundi States - Pol. (Dept.) File No. 50
[Rajasthan State Archives]

No. R/608

From: The Dewan, Bundi State

To: The Political Agent,
Eastern Rajputana States, Bharatpur

Dated Bundi the 6th May 1943.

Subversive Activities

With reference to your letter No. 876/60-p/42, dated the 20th April 1943,¹ I have the honour

to say that no such activity as mentioned in your above letter has so far come to notice in the Bundi Estate.

Dewan, Bundi State

1. Doc. 1.

3(IV) Political Agent to the Dewan of Bundi state

Rajputana States Agency – Bundi States – Pol. (Dept.) File No. 50
[Rajasthan State Archives]

D.C. No. 2043

Secret

Bharatpur Agency
Camp Abu

The 25 September 1943.

My dear Robertson,

I write to forewarn the Darbar that the underground Central Congress Directorate is understood to have issued instructions for the observance of a Satyagraha movement to be carried out in honour of Gandhi's birthday during the week beginning on October 3, 1943. The programme laid down is as follows:

- October 3 – Student's strike
- October 4 – Boycott of the British
- October 5 – Women's processions and demonstrations
- October 6 – 'Hunger marches'.
- October 7 – Spinning contexts and propaganda for Hindu-Muslim Unity.
- October 8 – The Congress August Resolution to be again moved.
- October 9 – A general strike.

Yours sincerely,

To

A.W. Robertson, Esq., C.B.E., D.F.C.,
Dewan, Bundi State.



4(IV) Political Agent to the Dewan of Bundi state

Rajputana States Agency -- Bundi States -- Pol. (Dept.) File No. 50
[Rajasthan State Archives]

D.O. No. 2061/70-P42

Secret

Bharatpur Agency
Camp Abu
The 28th September 1943

My dear Robertson,

In continuation of my demi-official letter No. 2043/70-P/42-II, dated 25th September 1943,¹ I enclose for the information of the Darbar a copy of the programme for the observance of the 'Gandhi Jayanti' reported to have been issued by the 'Central Directorate' of the Indian National Congress to 'All Provincial and District Branches and such groups as believe in resisting British Rule'.²

Yours sincerely,

To,
A.W. Robertson, Esq., O.B.E.C.
Dewan, Bundi State.

1 Doc 3.

2 Not printed

5(IV): I.G. Police, Bundi to the Dewan, Bundi

Rajputana States Agency -- Bundi States -- Pol. (Dept.) File No. 50
[Rajasthan State Archives]

Dewan Sahib.

5.10.1943

Sir,

Reference your endorsement No. R/625 on P.A.'s D.O. letter No. 2061, 70-p/42 regarding observance of the Gandhi Jayanti.

So far there is absolutely nothing in Bundi and as far as my information goes nothing is expected here. A detailed report will be submitted immediately any information is received, and should any one attempt to make any mischief I will immediately take action against him.

I will return the enclosures¹ with your endorsement with my report at the end of the period fixed for this propaganda.

IG. Police, Bundi.
5.10.43

1. Not printed.

6(I) Political Agent Mewar to the Prime Minister, Mewar

Rajputana States Agency - (Mewar & S.R.S. Agency) - Foreign & Pol. (Dept.)
File No. 42 [Rajasthan State Archives]

Secret

Mewar

From: The Political Agent in Mewar and S.R. States.

To: The Prime Minister, Mewar State, Udaipur.

Dated camp Jodhpur, the 17th September 1943.

My Dear Sir,

The Intelligence Bureau of the Government of India report that Niranjan SINGH Jat of Narsinghpur, the well-known Congress underground revolutionary of the C.P., and Dr RAN SING GAUR, an associate of MADAN LAI BAGDI of the Hindustan Red Army, escaped from Nagpur Jail on the night of the 1st instant. As it is thought possible that these two individuals will try for the time being to seek a safe asylum in state territory, I request that every effort may kindly be made to trace and arrest them. Full descriptive rolls of NIRANJAN SINGH AND DR RAM GAUR are given below:

NIRAJAN SINGH, son of Radha Singh, Jat of Narsinghpur Hoshangabad District, age 38; height 5' 6"; thin build; clean shaven; wheat complexion; long face; protruding eyes' black mole on the left side of the upper lip; prominent vertical groove on the centre of the forehead.

Dr RAM SINGH GAUR, son of MADHO SINGH, Rajput of Nagpur. Age 30; height 5' 5"; black complexion; arched eyebrows; prominent nose; ears bored; oval face; mouth usually open deformed left index finger tip; scar on the right leg 1 1/4" long and similar scar on the right thigh.

Yours sincerely,

Political Agent in Mewar and Souther Rajputana States.



7 (General): Extracts from Telegram from Crown Representative to Secretary of State (dt 25.1.1944)

C.R. Records File No. F.25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

In Kathiawar there is progressive deterioration in situation in attached units. Gaekwar of Baroda's second marriage condemned on all sides in states and severely criticised in Indian Press. Jaipur constitutional reforms announced on 1st January. Negotiations for rapprochement inspired by Jinnah between two principal parties in Kashmir believed to be continuing; rival leaders have both been in British India and there has been little activity in the State. Proceedings of committee of Enquiry into recent Jammu disturbances now over and orders of Kashmir Government awaited.

8 (XIX): Extracts from Telegram from Crown Representative to Secretary of State (dt 25.2.1944)

C.R. Records File No. F.67 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

In Jaipur owing to arrest of individuals engaged in forming State Congress party Praja Mandal members of Constitutional Enquiry committee boycotted meetings for two days. Meetings and processions have been banned by Jaipur Govt. for one month.

9 (IX) Extracts from Telegram from Crown Representative to Secretary of State (dt 25.2.1944)

C.R. Records File No. F.25 P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Jaipur Government have appointed committee to enquire into recent agrarian trouble in Sheikhawati and order banning meetings in affected areas has been withdrawn. Jodhpur Jagirdara reported to be preparing representation to Maharaja urging postponement of settlement in Jagirs.

10: Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay to the Secretaries of all Provincial Govts and to the Resident, Hyderabad

Govt. of Madras Pub (Gen) Dept. 1943 - File G.O. No. 1387
[TNA]

No. 854-Poll.

Home Department (political)
Bombay Castle, 7th May 1943.

From
D. Symington, Esquire, I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

To
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Madras,
Bengal,
Bihar,
Orissa,
The United Provinces,
The Punjab,
The Central Provinces and Berar,
Assam,
Sind,
The North West Frontier province,
Burma.
The Honourable the Chief Commissioner of Delhi
Coorg
The Secretary to the Honourable the Resident at Hyderabad.

Sir,
I am directed to forward herewith copy of a Notification No. 825-poll, dated the 4th May 1943, which the Government of Bombay has issued under section 99A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, read with section 4 of the Indian States (Procedure, against Disaffection) Act, 1922, declaring the publication mentioned therein to be forfeited to his Majesty.

Your obedient servant,

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department.

Enclosure

Home Department (Political)
Bombay Castle, 4th May 1943

Section 99-A, Criminal Procedure Code, V of 1898.

No. 825-Poll. In exercise of the power conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, read with section 4 of the Indian States (Protection Against Disaffection) Act, 1922, the Government of Bombay is pleased to declare all copies, wherever found, of the book in English entitled 'Progressive Jodhpur Under British Prime Minister Sir Donald Field' written and published by Mr Kanhaiya Lal D. Vaidya, member, Standing Committee, All-India States' Peoples' Conference, 138, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay, and printed by Mr Rampratap Shukla at the Vidyalaya Press, 23, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay, and all other documents containing copies, reprints, translations of or extracts from the said book to be forfeited to His Majesty, on the ground that it appears to the Government of Bombay that the said book contains matter the publication of which is punishable under section 3 of the Indian States (Protection Against Disaffection) Act, 1922.

By order of the Governor of Bombay,
D. Symington secy.

11 (XIX) : Extracts from Fortnightly Report from Ajmer for the first half of November 1944

File No. 18/11/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

Political

The 25th session of the Rajputana and Central India States People Conference was held at Pushkar on October 30, 1944. B.G. Khaperdey presided. The following were the more important resolutions adopted:

1. Requesting the Rulers of States to establish constituent assemblies in their respective States and urging the Praja Mandalists and other workers to endeavour to obtain responsible Government in their States.
2. Condemning the Pakistan Scheme and expressing faith in the unity of India.
3. Requesting the Local Government to open a University in Rajputana, redress the grievances of the Jagiri Praja, and protect the States subjects against famine and the economic crisis.
4. Demanding amalgamation of the small Jagirs, Thikanas and estates of Kathiawar, Central India and Rajputana with bigger States.
5. Appealing to the United Nations to recognise the demand of India for independence.

Kanhaya Lal Kalyantri and Mahendra Shastri were elected President and Secretary respectively of the Rajasthan Kisan Sabha and the following programme was chalked out:

1. Every Kisan should get a 'patta' for the land cultivated by him.
2. Kisan Debt Liquidation Ordinance be enforced.
3. Agricultural Education be imparted to the peasants.
4. A campaign be launched to bring out social reforms amongst the peasants.
5. States should provide seed facilities to the peasants.
6. Kisans should be taken in large number in assemblies and local boards.
7. Begar should be abolished.
8. Dispensaries be opened in rural areas.
9. Facilities be provided to Kisans to enable them to sell their products at favourable rates.
10. Kisans be consulted when an estimation of crops is taken.
11. Cattle breeding be encouraged
12. Facilities be granted to the Kisans to bring clay to build their houses and firewood for their household purposes.
13. Panchayats be formed. Litigation, early marriages and Nukta system be stopped.
14. States should take out the village uplift work for the amelioration of the Kisans.

Princely States (11) Western Indian States

1 (I) : Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states on Civil Disobedience Movement for the period ending the 10th January 1943

C.R. Records File No. 1 - P(S)/43 -Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Rajkot: Objectionable vernacular leaflets were distributed in Rajkot State limits on the 2nd January.

Four bolts and six dog-spikes were removed from the railway track between Rajkot City and Koruna on the night of the 4th/5th January. A servant of Valji Nathwani, mentioned in paragraph 2 of my weekly report dated the 17th November 1942, has been arrested by the Agency in this connection.

Wadhwan C.S.: Two envelopes containing some powdered substance were found in a letter box at Wadhwan Civil Station Post Office.

Bhavnagar: An envelope containing some chemical substance exploded while were being sorted in the Bhavnagar Post Office, causing slight injury to the sorting clerk. Two persons suspected in this connection have been arrested by the State Police.

A country made bomb exploded in a third class railway compartment on the Bhavnagar Viramgam line on the 5th January. No damage was caused.

The State police arrested two agitators in possession of unauthorized leaflets.

2(I & V): Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states for the period ending the 17th January 1943

C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Rajkot: Two explosions occurred in Rajkot State limits on the night of the 9th/10th January. The modus operandi in each case was gunpowder and potash packed in metal piping closed at both ends. A similar piping was detected before it exploded below a staircase in the Alfred High School. A brass vessel containing gunpowder and potash was also found in the city. In no case was damage sustained. Ten persons suspected of subversive activities were arrested by the State Police on the 9th January. Their houses were searched and a large quantity of explosive materials and implements used in sabotage were seized by the State Police.

A conference convened by the Communist Party and attended by approximately 1000 persons was held in State limits on the 14th January. Among the many resolutions passed was one demanding the immediate release of all national leaders.

Wadhwan Civil Station: A crude bomb was thrown on a main road opposite the Agency jail on the morning of the 9th January. The bomb immediately exploded but no damage was caused.

3. Anonymous letters, enclosing warning slips issued in the name of the 'Hindustan Red Army' and posted from Bombay on the 9th January, were received by certain Station Masters on the Bhavnagar – Wadhwan line in which a threat was given to sabotage certain trains carrying war supplies and the Station Masters were instructed to post caution slips on the trains concerned advising the public not to travel by those trains.

3(I & V): Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states for the period ending the 24th January 1943

C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Rajkot: At a meeting of local Communists held in Rajkot State limits a resolution was passed condemning the alleged military atrocities at Chimur.

Wadhwan Civil Station: A crude bomb exploded in a locality where a group of tailors were engaged on Government contracts. Two people were slightly injured. One individual suspected to be responsible for this offence was promptly arrested and is being prosecuted.



4(I & V): Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states Agency for the week ending 31 January 1943

C.R. Records File No. 1 - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Rajkot: A small Independence-Day procession was held in State limits on the 26th January. A proposed hartal failed as all attempts to persuade the local merchants to observe it proved unsuccessful. Vrajlal M. Shukla distributed vernacular leaflets, issued by the Gujarat Communist Party, urging the people to refrain from sabotage and to unite in order to achieve Independence.

5(I): Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states for the period ending 7th February 1943

C.R. Records File No. 1 - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

3. A crude bomb was recovered from a train running from Ahmedabad to Porbandar. A bomb of a similar type exploded in a train between Sarangpur and Boated on the Bhavnagar State Railway. No damage was caused by this explosion.

6(I): Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India

C.R. Records File No. 1 - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

No. C/15-31.

Secret

From The Hon'ble the Resident for the States of Western India.

To The Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

Western India States Agency,
Rajkot, 1st March 1943.

Civil Disobedience Movement

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your memorandum No. D.5840-2/42 dated the 14th December 1942 and to say that of the seven persons committed for trial in connection with the derailment

between Wadhwan Junction and Dala Road railway station, one was sentenced to 6 years rigorous imprisonment, one to five years rigorous imprisonment, one to two years rigorous imprisonment and the remaining four were acquitted.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

Resident for the States of Western India.

7(I): Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states for the week ending 11th April 1943

C.R. Records File No. 1 - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Rajkot: 'National Week' was celebrated from the 6th April. Processions and public meetings were however poorly attended. At one of these meetings held in State limits Jaysukhlal Karsonji Shah reviewing the 'treatment' Indians have received at the hands of Government urged the people to continue the fight until the British had been driven out of India. He was later arrested by the State authorities. At a subsequent meeting in the Civil Station Vrajlal M. Shukla made a similar speech. He was promptly arrested by the Agency Police and is being prosecuted.

An agitator, who was arrested last month for delivering objectionable speeches, has been convicted by the Darbar.

Jatashanker Mehta presided at a Harijan meeting in State limits on the 6th April and urged them to demand increased wages.

8(I, II & XVIII): Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states for the week ending 25th April 1943

C.R. Records File No. 1 - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Rajkot: An agitator, the self-styled 'First dictator of the Rajkot War cabinet' who was arrested in September last, was released on the 20th April on completion of his term of imprisonment. Jaysukhlal Karsonji Shah, mentioned in paragraph 2 of my Weekly report dated the 13th

April, has been convicted by the Darbar under the Defence of India Rules.

Bhavnagar: A 'Hindu Sabha' was established in Bhavnagar on the 18th April with one Mukundlal Savailal Oza as President.

The Darbar have proscribed the book 'Save yourself from currency notes'.

Junagadh: The ban imposed by the Darbar on '*Sandesh*' and '*Gujarat Sanachar*' is reported to have been withdrawn.

9(I): Resident, Western India States to the Crown Representative

C.R. Records File No. 129 - P(S)/43 - Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

Subject: Appreciation of the general Constitutional and Political situation in the Bhavnagar State.

D.O. No. C/14-16.

Dy. 2831-P/43.

Confidential

Western India States Agency,
(Camp) Abu, the 14th June 1943.

Dear Fitze,

Kindly refer to Burnett's confidential demi-official letter No. D.1832-P/43 dated the 27th of April, in which I have been asked to submit an appreciation of the general constitutional and political position in the Bhavnagar State.

2. Periodic session of the Bhavnagar Dhara Sabha are held at intervals of about six months. The Dhara Sabha Act provides for an elective representation but the clauses relating to this are at present held in abeyance. Very little interest appears to have centered round the deliberations of this Sabha in recent months, since local politics were completely overshadowed in the latter half of 1942 by the country-wide disturbance resulting from the Congress resolution of August 9th 1942. The Bhavnagar State border touches Ahmedabad District and is more directly under Congress influence than any other Kathiawar State. I enclose a note prepared by the Deputy Inspector General of Police on the present position relating to Congress activities in Bhavnagar.

3. The growing economic crisis which, even in the later months of 1942, bid fair to overshadow the Congress upheaval, has, with the passage of time, assumed even larger importance. Public interest in Bhavnagar - as everywhere else in Kathiawar - is reverted on the dismal picture of soaring prices and the elemental problems of food and clothing. Constitutional and political questions recede into the background and will remain there until the purchasing power of money is restored and food and clothing are again procurable at reasonable prices.

4. Political and constitutional activities are therefore in a temporary state of suspension due primarily to economic causes. To this can be added as a contributory factor the sense of dejection and frustration which the Congress-minded public of Bhavnagar is at present experiencing in common with like minded persons elsewhere.

Yours sincerely,

Signed

Sir Kennath Fitze, K.C.I.E.
Secretary to His Excellency the
Crown Representative,
New Delhi.

Enclosure

Summary of Congress Activities in Bhavnagar

Bhavnagar has always shown a greater leaning towards political activities in Kathiawar. This is mostly-attributable to its geographical vicinity to the District of Ahmedabad. The workers of Ahmedabad are generally in constant touch with Bhavnagar workers and, the result that Bhavnagar is politically affected more than any other place in Kathiawar.

The political activities in Bhavnagar mostly emanate from the Bhavnagar Praja Parishhad and Balvantrai G. Mehta' is the prominent leader. He is a member of the All India Congress Committee and Gujarat Prantik Samiti who commands a great influence among the people. Bhavnagar has also attracted the attention of several outside-workers such as S.J. Rajgara, the General Secretary, Gujarat Press workers' Federation, Vallabhbhai Patel,* Sardar Prithisingh Swamirao, Gulzarilal Nanda,* and Darbar Gopaldas etc., and prompted them to select Bhavnagar as the centre to start their activities in Kathiawar. People of Bhavnagar are therefore considerably influenced by those workers and are Congress minded on the whole.

Before the out-break of Congress repercussions in August last, the activities of the Bhavnagar workers were also directed to labour welfare, students activities, Harijan Uplift, and political awakening in Kathiawar, etc., in addition to the general pro-Congress propaganda.

During the civil disobedience movement that ensued the arrest of National leaders i.e. from August last to the beginning of the current year, Bhavnagar displayed a marked Congress trend by organizing various demonstrations in the form of prabhat ferries, propaganda meetings, issue of unauthorized news-sheets and picketing of --- Railway workshops, schools, colleges, textile mills, etc. Instances of underground mischief such as cutting of telegraph wires, damaging railway bridges by using gunpowder and explosives, burning Post Office letter boxes, attempts to prevent war supplies on Railways as well as on parts etc., and the use of country made bomb near mills & Schools to terrorize labourers & students were noticed during this period of general disturbance.

Open Congress activities have however ceased for the time being and at present the activities of the workers are mainly concentrated to the securing of unconditional release of their political prisoners and the removal of the ban imposed by the State on public meetings and processions.

Agitation has also been started by some political prisoners of the Port Victor Jail to resort to fast, if their request for being brought back to Bhavnagar Prison is not granted. Some detenues in the Bhavnagar Jail are agitating for light diet being allowed to those suffering from fever etc. and they are said to have decided to go on hunger strike if their demands are not granted.

Some members of the Students' Union are trying to organise a tour in Kathiawar with a view to propagate students' activities in the whole Agency.

Khaddar activities are also reported to be in progress.



10(IV): Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states for the period 21st February 1943

C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

General: Widespread public anxiety over Mr Gandhi's health is manifest. The general atmosphere is becoming increasingly tense and if the fast proves fatal serious repercussions may be expected.

Rajkot: Four public meetings with attendance ranging from 75 to 2000 were held during the week. The two principal speakers were arrested on the 14th. Resolutions demanding Mr Gandhi's unconditional release were passed copies being addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy. Mass prayers were offered by a congregation of about 3000 persons for Gandhi's health. An enthusiastic follower has commenced a five days' fast in sympathy with Gandhi.

11(IV): Weekly Report from the Resident, Western India states for the period ending 7th March 1943

C.R. Records File No. 1 – P(S)/43 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

General: The termination of Mr Gandhi's fast has occasioned widespread relief. While there is a lull in political activities, the next move of Congress is awaited with interest.

Rajkot: During the fast regular prayers were recited in various localities for Gandhi's health, and a mass gathering of some 500 people offered their thanksgiving in State limits on the 3rd March. Mr Gandhi's portrait was prominently displayed and venerated by the congregation; food was freely distributed to the poor and to the Harijans.

At a meeting held in State limits on the 3rd March Vrajlal M. Shukla criticised the policy of Government. He urged the people to unite and agitate for the release of Congress leaders. He also advocated the formation of a National Government in India as an essential step towards winning the war. An agitator who delivered particularly objectionable speeches on four successive days, has been arrested by the State authorities.

Bhavnagar: Students of the Kundla High School observed a hartal on the 2nd March in connection with Gandhi's fast. A few telegraph wires were cut and some insulators broken on the 4th March on the Bhavnagar State Railway.

Princely States (12) General — (Attachment of States)

1: The Maharaja of Dungarpur to the Viceroy

Linlithgow Collection

[NAI – Acc. No. 2344]

From His Highness the Maharaja of Dungarpur.

Udai Bilas Palace, Dungarpur,
February 21st, 1943.

(134-G-43).
(Confidential)
D.O. No. 72.

My Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am approaching Your Excellency, disappointed and pained, with entreaty that you will be pleased to graciously consider.

Enclosed¹ herewith is the representation of this State, protesting against the decision in relation to the absorption of Kadana into the Sant State. The representation speaks for itself and I would beg of your Excellency to spare your precious time to carefully peruse it.

2. I am confident that this State's case is stronger than that of the Sant Darbar. It is not a question of pleasing me or the Ruler of Sant. It is solely a question of looking to the contentment and happiness of nearly twenty thousand people of Kadana whose destiny is in your hands. Your Excellency while granting my request, will be granting the wish of the overwhelming mass of the people of Kadana and thereby earning their blessings. I am sure, for the sake of justice and fairplay, it can never be Your Excellency's desire that the people of Kadana should be made to feel the sullen humiliation in which they have been plunged by virtue of the recent calamitous decision especially, when there is a good way whereby their present state of mind can be transformed into one of rejoicing deep satisfaction.

3. I may respectfully submit that the plea that my case has not been considered on the ground of being too late is neither tenable nor convincing. The decision is one-sided and novel and has been reached in the absence of any known set of rules, contrary to the custom and normal practice of the political authorities and, indeed, in direct contravention to their past orders and against the express wish of the people of Kadana. Hence in all fairness to this State, the argument it is too late to consider my representation is painful and surprising, particularly, since the case is purely of a political character where no time-bar could normally apply. I submit that the people of Kadana should be granted an opportunity to express freely their desire as to whether they prefer living under this state or Sant.

4. The proposal contained in the enclosed representation is as much in the interests of the Imperial Government as it is in the interests of the people of Kadana and in addition to being

just, provides a sound basis for putting through Your Excellency's scheme. Paragraph 3, with its sub paragraphs from (i) to (x), deals with the grounds for reconsideration of the recent decision, while paragraph 4, with its sub-paragraphs from (i) to (x), relates to the feasibility and expediency of Kadana being absorbed into this State on grounds of administrative convenience and paragraph 5, embodies my prayer.

5. In view of the vital interests of this State being prejudicially involved I have decided personally to submit my case to Your Excellency, in whom my hope is now centered. I am moved to make this representation with the conviction that it is characteristic of British Justice to set aside a wrong without fear and in the interests of justice and fairplay the benign Government have changed and modified in the past, decisions reached with the approval of the Secretary of State. Therefore, in appealing to Your Excellency to come to my rescue at this juncture, I trust I am not appealing in vain.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Lakshman Singh.

1 Not printed.

2 Government of India on attachment scheme for Western Indian States Agency, 16 April 1943

Jayakar Collection - File No. 765

[NAI]

Communique

His Excellency the Crown Representative has for a long period had under intensive review the perplexing political and administrative problems which arise from the existence in Western India and Gujarat of literally hundreds of small units, which though they are usually referred to as Semi jurisdictional or non jurisdictional states or Talukas do actually fall within the category of Indian states. Owing to the slenderness of their individual resources and general aversion from neighbourly cooperation there has arisen in this part of India geographical administrative and economic fragmentation on a scale unknown anywhere else in the country. In the great majority of these units the revenues, which often have to be divided among numerous shareholders barely suffice to meet the private needs of the Talukdars and shareholders and the amenities provided for their subjects under the supervision of the local political authorities are therefore sadly circumscribed. In short, the crown representative's survey has fully established that without some drastic simplification of existing arrangements and kind of coordinated development of the countryside of any form of real progress is impossible.

2. The problem assumed prominence in 1933 in connection with the Federal discussions which culminated in the Government of India Act of 1935, but it was eventually decided to be impracticable to form the areas concerned into a local confederacy for purposes not only of remedying their administrative deficiencies but also of facilitating their inclusion in any

federal arrangements applicable to India as a whole. Meanwhile however the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda (to whom of these small units are tributary) had brought forward proposals for bringing those tributaries into closer relations with the Baroda state. These proposals involved inter alia the discontinuance of tributary payments and the general assumption subject to certain safeguards by Baroda of the functions and responsibilities at present discharged by the residents and political Agents.

3. A fresh approach to the problem has since been made on the lines of those proposals and on a wider basis with a view to afford to other larger states an opportunity to assume similar responsibilities in respect of such units as have similar geographical economic and political affinities with them. As a result of exhaustive local enquiries into the desirability and practicability of such a solution by way of attachment of small units of larger states, the Crown representative acting with the concurrence of the Secretary of State has decided to adopt it and has finally approved details of the scheme by which it is to be carried into effect. The state to which such responsibilities are to be transferred have been apprised of those details as also have the units to be attached which collectively cover an area of over 8,000 square miles with a population of over 800,000 and an annual revenue of more than 70 lakhs of rupees.

4. In order that the scheme may be carried into effect with the least possible delay Lieutenant Colonel G.R. Williams of the Indian Political Service has been placed on special duty in the area concerned. Full details of the scheme having been communicated by him to all concerned, it is sufficient for the purpose of this general announcement to state that it contains due provision for the continued integrity of the attached units and of the existing powers and privileges of their Talukdars and shareholders in so far as may be compatible with modern requirements and subject to further review after a period of seven years as also for the allocation of suitable proportion of the revenue for their personal requirement. The states to which these small units are to be attached will also be required to admit the inhabitants of attached areas to the benefits of administrative amenities such as secondary and technical education and medical treatment on the same terms as their own subjects, and to provide new Hospitals, Schools roads and other amenities where these though clearly required are beyond the present capacity of local resources.

5. The Crown Representative is conscious that the action to which he is now committed may meet with criticism on the ground that it is calculated to infringe on the rights and power and the status of many ancient families or alternatively that the paramount powers should itself have assumed direct responsibility for such reforms as may be necessary. He has examined the problem from both these points of view and with all due regard to pledges and obligations for the maintenance and support of Indian states however small and weak. As stated above provision has been made to implement such obligations so far as they are compatible with the overriding principle that autocratic powers shall not be abused and that nothing which is not inherently capable of survival should be artificially perpetuated. The ultimate test of fitness of the survival of any State is in his opinion, capacity to secure the welfare of its subjects and he regards the forthcoming qualified merger of these small States as a justifiable solution of any conflict in his obligation towards rulers and ruled. Experience has shown that the units with which he is now concerned not only when unaided but even when grouped together as 'thanas' under close supervision of political Agents, are unable to achieve the conditions of administrative efficiency which alone can justify in them the perpetuation of any form of hereditary rule. On the other hand it has been signally demonstrated that in great and wealthy states such as the one now principally concerned and even in considerably smaller states under beneficent and enlightened rulers the requisite efficiency can be abundantly achieved.

6. The assumption of direct responsibility for the necessary reforms by the paramount powers is regarded by the Crown representative as impracticable because geographical and other factors preclude the absorption of these areas in British India and because the political Department is not an administrative organization or equipped with the machinery and resource of finance and personnel which can only be afforded by the administrative control of large territories. Moreover the areas concerned are scattered and fragmented as to make it impossible to bring them under unified central control. These difficulties and deficiencies can, in the Crown Representative's opinion only be overcome by the course on which he has decided, which involves delegation of the responsibility to those who are in the best position to discharge it, namely the bigger states of Western India and Gujarat. In framing the terms of that delegations he has been fully mindful of the interests of the inhabitants of these small states, of those to whom they owe immediate allegiance and of the larger states with which a new relationship has to be established. To all these parties the Crown representative admits a continuing responsibility which does not exclude his future intervention as circumstances may demand in furtherance of the essential object which he has in view, namely the firm establishment of conditions in which the areas concerned will secure and enjoy full opportunity for progress and development.

3 Letter from Raja of Aundh regarding formation of a Federation of Deccan State to Jayakar (dt 7 May 1943)

Jayakar Collection File No. 718, pp. 122

[NAI]

My dear Dr Babasaheb,

You know from the newspapers that strong efforts are being made by public workers in the Deccan state to form a federation of this group and a resolution accepting this federation in principle has been passed in the recent session of the Deccan states peoples' conference held at Jamkhandi. A committee has been appointed to frame a workable constitution. I look upon constitutional experts like you to help us in framing out a workable scheme. You are my old friend and I would very much like to see you and take your advice in this matter.

Personally I am convinced that unless the Deccan states are joined by a common tie of Federation they will neither survive nor prosper. In fact some such hint has been given by H.E. the Crown Representative in his recent communique. I think that the rulers of the Deccan states must be made to realise the gravity of this situation through the advice of some influential and experienced person like you so that they will be willing to form federation of their states. As a preliminary step I propose to send my son Shrimant Apasaheb' to have a talk with you in this matter. He will give you detailed idea of what we intend to do and afterwards we shall proceed according to your advice in this matter. Please let me know when and at what place it will be convenient for you to see him.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Signed Raja of Aundh

4. Ruler of Jasdan to the Pol. Adviser to H.E. the Crown Representative

Paramountcy Records – File No. 344 P (S)/44 Vol. I
[NAI]

The palace;
Jasdan, 23rd September 1943.

Personal

Dear Sir Francis Wylie,

Permit me the liberty of addressing this personal letter to you. It was a pleasure to have met you in Bombay the other day after such a long time and your kindness and cordiality encourage me to approach you through this personal letter.

2. Many of us appreciate that the Indian States are passing through a very acute phase of transition and that the developments after the war are likely to create even more unfriendly atmosphere for the institution of personal rule judiciously tempered with efficient administration and association of the subjects with the Government. To prepare for such a contingency many of us within our limitation have anxiously applied ourselves to the task of reviewing our administrations. It is for the same purpose that many of us are actively engaged in evolving schemes or arrangements of joint services with a group of adjoining small States of some big neighbouring states with recognized efficient administration. At this critical stage, you are, if I may be permitted to say so, not only Adviser to his excellency the Crown Representative but also guide, friend and philosopher of the States. As such, you should need no assurance that you can depend on the fullest possible co-operation and constructive effort from myself and others whom I can influence.

3. At the same time, wild rumour in Kathiawar that smaller States are likely to be attached to bigger States, in addition to those already covered by the Communique of the 16th April 1943 and irrespective of the fact whether these smaller units have efficient administration or are prepared to enter into effective arrangements for joint services, have caused grave concern in the minds of many Rulers. This is particularly unfortunate at a time when the States – big and small – are doing such splendid war effort. I owe to you, as political Adviser to His Excellency the Crown Representative to apprise you fully of this strong feeling. On the other hand there are many who refuse to believe that it can be the intention of His Majesty's Government to extend any scheme of attachment to full powered State without the consent of the Rulers concerned. It has, believe me, come as great consolation to many of us to understand informally that you have been pleased to indicate at the last meeting of the Standing Committee of Princes that there is no intention of applying the scheme of attachment to any full powered State. This indication has been most timely and helpful and if I say so, it could go a long way if some indication could be included either in His Excellency the Crown Representative's Address at the forthcoming Session of the Chamber of Princes, or in any other suitable manner as you deem fit.

Best wishes and looking forward to meeting you again in Delhi at the time of the next Chamber session.

Yours sincerely,

To

The Hon'ble Sir Francis Wylie, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Political Adviser to H.E. the Crown Representative;
New Delhi.

5 Political Adviser to H.E. the Crown Representative to the Chief of Jasdan

Paramountcy Records - File No. 344 - P(S)/44 - Vol. I
[NAI]

Dated 11th October 1943.

To

Shri Darbar Sahib
Chief of Jasdan
Jasdan, Kathiawar.

Dear Darbar Sahib,

I am writing to thank you for your letter of 23rd Sept.¹ It was very kind of to write and as you know, dating from Mt. Abu days, I have always a soft place in my heart for Jasdan and for its Ruler.

As regards the attachment scheme in Kathiawar and Gujarat there is no need for wild rumours. The details of the plan are public property and all concerned have an ample opportunity of studying the scheme. It is as you know confined to the transfer to neighbouring salute State of certain administrative and executive functions hitherto exercised in large parts of Kathiawar by agents of Crown Representative. As such it is obvious that it is not — at any rate in its present form suitable for application to full powered States though I must warn you that the word 'full powered' seems in Kathiawar to have a special meaning. I do not employ it in that meaning. By 'full powered' I mean a State where the ruler is, subject to the scheme to paramountcy function by the C.R., solely responsible for the internal administration of his State and where no administration of executive authority of any kind is exercised within the State by officers of the C.R.

I hope that the above will make the position as I see it clear. It is the C.R.'s intention to extend the scheme to certain areas in Kathiawar other than mentioned in the communique of 16th April to which you refer. For the facts however you should I think consult your own Resident to whom for his information I am sending copies both of your letter and of this reply.

Yours sincerely,

Signed F. Wylie.

6: Ruler of Jasdan to the Adviser to the Crown Representative

Paramountcy Records – File No. 260 – P(S)/43 – Vol. I
[NAI – Acc. No. 222]

3 Hailey Road,
New Delhi,
30th October 1943.

Personal
Confidential

Dear Sri Francis Wylie,

I am most grateful to you for your letter of the 11th October which reached me redirected here. I was looking forward to an opportunity of discussing with you personally some of the important points which are agitating the minds of the Princes at this juncture. In the confident hope that your strength of personality, sympathetic statesmanship and reputation for justice as also the anxiety of the Princes to ask for the minimum in the duration of the war for should help to find a satisfactory solution. The calls on your time, however, are so exacting that out of deference to you and your engagements I have decided not to inflict an interview. I would however fail in my duty if I did not place before you certain fundamental points which, I submit, deserve your earnest consideration.

2. I am not given to flattery, but the fact remains that the way you have been privileged to receive, consider and tackle the period of your resumption of your high office, has encouraged the Princes to feel of which there have been open talks, that while they should do everything possible to improve the efficiency of their administrations, they can depend on you for full and active support of everything which is fair reasonable, even though it may call for unsettling of settled facts or discarding of orthodox notions. We have accordingly a right to expect, if I may be permitted to say so, in all cordiality, that anything affecting the fundamental rights and status of Princes which emanates in your time and has the stamp of your authority shall be based on justice, fair-play and enquiry, particularly at this cruel juncture when the States have been privileged to play a part in the service of the crown on which they need not blush.

3. In view of the aforesaid considerations I venture to submit the following points for your consideration, and I feel confident that if you are convinced of their inherent justice and equity; nothing would stand in the way of your implementing them even though they may imply slight delay or modification in the proposed extension to certain areas in Kathiawar of the scheme announced in the communique of the 16th April 1943.

- (a) It is an accepted fact that the administration in most of the Kathiawar States, is good and the political Agents have repeatedly endorsed the efficiency of our Administration. Historically our record is substantially superior. The scheme adopted in the Eastern States has been publicly appreciated by His Excellency the Crown Representative in his Address to the Chamber on the 14th instant. That scheme includes many semi jurisdictional States. The States in Kathiawar which have similar revenues and with even smaller restrictions

on their judicial powers and a relatively sounder administrations, are entitled to expect that they may be given a chance so they should accept scheme of co-operative grouping approved by the Crown Representative before the scheme of attachment is applied to them without their consent.

- (b) Many of us strongly urged at the Princes meeting in camera on the 15th October after you left that in view of the assurance given by you we should not include any reference in the Prince's reply to the question of attachment which may be against your wishes. We did so in full confidence relying on your assurance and goodwill. It is true that the term 'full powered' was not defined at that meeting, but it was generally understood by the Princes that no further extension of the scheme of arrangement will take place until the representatives of the Princes and those of the Crown Department had met and discussed this question. Nevertheless, should it inordinately be decided by the Crown Representative to announce further extension of the scheme, even before the proposed discussion, the following principles would deserve careful consideration:
- (i) The term 'full powered' State for this purpose may be deemed to include all members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right and such other Rulers from amongst the Constituent members, who exercise dynastic powers equal to any member of the Chamber of Princes who was admitted to the Chamber under Clause 2 (ii) of the Constitution on the ground that he exercised in the opinion of the Viceroy full or practically full internal powers.
 - (ii) The few States like Jasdan where the only limited restriction on full internal powers relates to capital offences. Similar restrictions in the case of Crown Servants exist in the case of many Big States. Moreover, if these states including Jasdan were to abolish capital punishment within their territories, as has been done in certain cases, they will be completely full-powered so far as their subjects are concerned.

3. I crave indulgence for having addressed you at length on this subject but you will appreciate that the importance of the issue involved prompts it. I have full faith that no justification will be allowed to remain for the growing feeling that a time when the Princes had spared nothing in the service of their King and when they had offered to accept schemes of the Joint Services approved by the Crown, their request was not even given a fair trial before extension to them of the attachment scheme against their wishes.

4. In conclusion I would submit that it would go a long way to remove the present grave concern if the request of the Rulers of the States concerned is accepted in giving them an informal opportunity of meeting you and discussing matters before any announcement is made affecting them.

Yours sincerely,

P.S. I propose leaving for Jasdan day after tomorrow. Unless I hear from you in the meantime that you desire me to meet you. I am Staying at the Nepalese Consulate and my telephone number is 7568.



7. Letter from Maharaja Sathi to Jayakar, 6 December 1944

Jayakar Collection – File No. 765
[NAI]

My dear Mr Jayakar,

Please refer to your wire of 1st instant in which you have asked for further particulars regarding the case for which the non salute states of Western India are desirous of requesting your advice.

I am enclosing the following papers for your perusal:

1. The communique of 16th April 1943.¹
2. The Communique of 29th November 1943.²
3. The Gazette of the Western India States dated 30th¹ November 1943.
4. The instrument of attachment proposed for the non-salute states.⁴

The case arises about of these papers and a comprehensive brief will be submitted to you.

Meanwhile I may inform you that the non salute states view with great consideration the policy being followed and wish to put up a constitutional opposition to the same.

We propose meeting you on the 11th instant and shall thankful if you will kindly let me know the time when we meet you in Bombay on that day.

Yours sincerely

Signed

1, 2, 3 & 4. Not printed.

8. Letter from Jayakar to Chaturdas, Rajkot, 16 January 1944

Jayakar Collection – File No. 765
[NAI]

Dear Dr Chaturdas,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 12th and the cheque enclosed with it. It is really very kind of the non-salute states to make the payment so promptly, I am in communication with Mr Buch at Delhi, have just sent two long wires proceeded by a full opinion on the important points on which he wanted it urgently. It extends over 25 pages of closely typed matter. I took care to send an advance copy of it to the Maharajsaheb of Porbandar at Maiden's Hotel, Delhi, so that it could be available to him in time to sound the important members of the Chamber of Princes with a view to secure their cooperation. This morning I sent another long express telegram pointing out what could be done immediately to secure the help of the Chamber of Princes, led by the Jamsaheb as its Chancellor. I have authorized Mr Buch to

place my opinion – the long one and the telegraphic one-before the Chancellor and the standing committee and to make the best use of it that he can. My advice is to secure at once the help of the Chamber and induce them to take common action with you to put a stop to the enforcement of the attachment order despite the decision of the judicial commissioner. I have pointed out that it would be an unwise step for the political department to set at nought a decision of their own court – the highest in Kathiawar – and I have also pointed out the evil consequences from such a bad example which others will copy in course of time. Pressure has to be brought from all sides on the Chamber and I have no doubt that the Maharaja of Porbander will prove of great help to your clients. Let us await the result. I enclose herewith a copy of the terms of my retainer. I gave one to you and Mr Buch when we met last at my residence.

Yours sincerely,

M.R. Jayakar

9 Resolution of the Conference of Princes on 16 January 1944

Jayakar Collection – File No. 765

[NAI]

While reiterating the view of the states:

- (a) that their relationship with the Crown cannot and should not be altered or transferred without the free consent of the rulers concerned to any other authority;
- (b) that the objective of raising standards of administration where needed can and should be ensured through suitable alternatives acceptable to the states which do not impair the existing rights and privileges of the rulers concerned, of the integrity of their states, or the continuance of the ruling dynasties.

This meeting of rulers and representatives of states recommended as follows:

- (i) that the latest memorandum of the Crown Department on this subject had been received only a few days ago and the states have not had sufficient time to examine it carefully or to consider it with their advisers. The discussion on this item may be postponed till the next meeting of the standing committee.
- (ii) that it may be strongly urged on the Crown Department that pending the consideration of his question by the standing committee and the representatives of the Crown Department the implementing of the plan of attachment may be postponed at least in the of 22 states, whose rulers are entitled to vote for the election of representative members to the Chamber of Princes except when the ruler consented may have freely concerned to the arrangement and for these states at least for purposes of cooperation in war measures as regard distribution of commodities etc. the status quo ante 16th April 1943, should be maintained.
- (iii) that a special committee be appointed including representatives of the states concerned

and with power to invite the best expert advice available in India to prepare the outlines of a model constitution for the small states as the basis of efficient administration for these states. This committee should inter alia examine the legal basis of the schemes of attachment and joint services.

10: Letter from Jayakar to Bhopal, 31 January 1944

Jayakar Collection – File No. 765

[NAI]

Your Highness,

May I tender you my hearty congratulation on being elected, as you are sure to be, the Chancellor of the Princes chamber? I hope you will long enjoy this honour.

The immediate purpose of my writing is with reference to the difficulties in which sixteen non-salute states of Kathiawar have been placed as a result of the attachment scheme which the Crown Representative is forcing on them. This is notwithstanding the decision of the Judicial Commissioner's court at Rajkot, the highest British Tribunal in Kathiawar—that the scheme of attachment is beyond the powers enjoyed by the Crown Representative in relation to the states under the provisions of the Government of India act 1935, the letters patent relating to his appointment and similar other state documents. I have been asked to advise these states. I have looked into the papers and my opinion is that the decisions of the judicial commissioner's court is sound. I have reviewed the question in great detail and opinion is now in the hands of my clients.

The states fear that notwithstanding this decisions, the scheme will be forced on them. On a careful consideration of its details, I have come to the conclusion that if accepted it will wipe out if not immediately, then within the next few years, the integrity autonomy and the very existence of the attached states. I do not know whether your Highness has had an opportunity of considering the details of the scheme.

I have advised these sixteen states to try and secure the support of the influential members in the Chamber of Princes and of its standing committee. My reason for giving this advice is the apprehension that the scheme, if permitted to prevail is likely to be spread over larger areas in course of time and eventually it may swamp a number of bigger states also. Once the policy of merger has commenced there is no knowing where it will stop.

The scheme is supposed to produce certain advantages in the way of concentrated and efficient administration. I do not dispute the necessity of such administration. I recognize the need for grouping together the smaller states for such a purpose. But I am clearly of the view that this could be best done by devising scheme of co-operative voluntary grouping which will retain as much as possible the integrity autonomy and the separate existence of the several states and yet bring them together for the purpose of efficient administration. This could be done by voluntary action on the part of the princes who are willing the devise such a scheme if sufficient time is given to them. In my opinion, if this is done it will avoid the discontent and bitterness which is-likely to prove in course of time catastrophe. I am therefore, anxious that the sixteen states should secure the co-operation of the Chamber of Princes. If this happens

I am hoping that the danger now threatening these states will be averted and if the princes can combine on this matter giving protection to the smaller ones. It will establish a unity which it will be difficult for the British Government to disturb.

May I therefore request your Highness to give some thought to this matter, peruse the necessary papers and if you agree with the view which I have expressed above about the effect of the attachment scheme, give the smaller states all the help you can? I know how generous your Highness' sentiments are towards your brother princes, small or great. I know this from the instance of Rewa all that your Highness did for the Maharaja of Rewa. I am therefore, making this request to Your Highness that the same generous help may be extended to these states, who are in great need of your support.

I understand that a communication both by wire and letter has proceeded from the secretary of the Chamber of Princes, to the political adviser of the Crown Representative. I wonder if your Highness can let me have in confidence, an opportunity of reading this communication.

I hope your Highness is in enjoyment of excellent health.

Yours sincerely,

MRJ

1-12-77.

11: Letter from H.E. the Nawab of Bhopal to Jayakar – 11 Feb. 1944

Jayakar Collection File No. 765

[NAI]

My dear Jayakar,

I am so sorry to have delayed a reply to your letter of the 31st January.¹

You have raised a question of vital importance to the smaller states and one which may have implications of a far reaching character for even the larger ones.

At the moment however, as you will appreciate, I am not in a position to make any move. You will of course realise that in this matter the interest of certain of the larger states may not always coincide with those of the smaller and it is therefore essential to find some way of reconciling divergent views. I hope that it may be possible to secure a united front on this question among the princes and I can give you the assurance that I will do my best to try and bring about this result should events shape themselves so as to enable me to exercise greater influence in their counsels.

I have not seen the communication referred to in the penultimate para of your letter.

With all good wishes and my best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Signed

12: Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State for February 1944

C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)
[NAI]

Introduction Attachment Bill has evoked numerous protests including telegrams to Crown Representative from Chancellor and H.H. of Bhopal, Chancellor designate. In Limbdi Bhayats are trying to precipitate crisis. Elsewhere in attached areas apprehension of trouble seem to have lessened. Jaipur Government have appointed committee to enquire into recent agrarian trouble in Sheikhawati and order banning meetings in affected areas has been withdrawn. Jodhpur Jagirdars reported to be preparing representation to Maharaja urging postponement of settlement in Jaggirs.

13: A brief appreciation by the Provincial Press Adviser for the fortnight ending the 29th Feb. 1944

File No. 18/2/44 – Home Poll (I)
[NAI]

The *Samaj* devoted a leading article to the proposal for amalgamating the petty States in Western India with the adjoining bigger ones with a view to better administration, and asked the smaller States of Orissa to read the writing on the wall.

14: 'India (attachment of states)' Act 1944 '21 march 1944'

Adrian Sever (ed.), *Documents & Speeches on the Indian Princely States – Vol. II* (1985), pp. 596–7

In 1943 the Viceroy announced the administrative integration of the smaller Kathiawar States with larger contiguous States. The move was bitterly opposed by the smaller States. The larger States were divided in their reaction. Some condemned the scheme as unconstitutional while others that stood to gain large additions to their territories supported it. Bhadwa State objected to its attachment to Gondal State and took the matter to the High Court in Bombay. The court found in favour of Bhadwa on the grounds that, as the Viceroy had no authority over the officials of Gondal State, then those Gondal State officials directed to exercise jurisdiction in Bhadwa State were not acting under the authority of the Crown's representative. As a result,

the British Government submitted an Attachment Bill to Parliament and it was passed into law on 21 March 1944.

An Act to render legal the attachment of certain Indian States to other Indian States.

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. (1) At the instance of with the consent of His Majesty's Representatives for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States, any Indian State not mentioned in Divisions 1 to XVI of the Table of Seats appended to Part II of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act 1935 (as in force at the passing of this Act), being a State included in the Western India States Agency or the Gujarat States Agency on the twenty-fifth day of August nineteen hundred and forty-three, may be attached to any other Indian State and, in connection with the attachment, provision may be made for

- (a) the exercise by, or transfer to courts and officers of the last-mentioned Indian State, with or without limitations or conditions, of any powers or jurisdiction in or in relation to the first mentioned Indian State which were or could have been exercised by or on behalf of the Crown therein before the attachment.
- (b) the relinquishment, as a consequence of the attachment of any such powers or jurisdiction of the Crown as aforesaid:
- (c) the transfer of cases pending at the date of the attachment before courts or officers of the Crown.

And this subsection shall have effect notwithstanding anything in the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, the Government of India Act, 1935, any other Act for the time being in force, or any letters Patent, Order in Council or other instrument.

(2) This section shall be deemed always to have had effect;

Provided that His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relation with Indian States may give such directions, if any, as he thinks proper for rendering valid or lawful anything done or omitted before the passing of this act which would otherwise be invalid or unlawful by virtue of the provisions of this section.

This Act may be cited as the Indian (Attachment of States) Act, 1944.

15 Resolution passed by the Chamber of Princes, 22 March 1944

Jayakar Collection – File No. 791, p. 255
[NAI]

While reiterating the view (Appendix A) of the standing committee which was expressed at its formal meeting held on the 17th January 1944, and without prejudice to the constitutional issues involved or the action taken or proposed to be taken by any states, the standing committee of Princes resolves as follows:

- (a) That it is a matter of grave disappointment that the Indian (Attachment of States) Act,

1944, has been passed without inviting and giving due consideration to the views of the states on the proposed legislation. The Standing committee reserves the right of making a detailed representation on the subject after due examination of the implications of this measure and the report of the special committee to which the examination of the outstanding questions effecting the smaller states has been referred;

- (b) That in the meantime without implying any commitment the following points be suggested as a basis of discussion at the formal meeting of the standing committee:
 - (i) Regarding the scheme of Joint services, the views of the Crown Department may be ascertained on the main suggestions made at the previous meetings of the standing committee of princes and the committee of minister which are summarized in Appendix B.
 - (ii) Regarding the scheme of attachment.
 - (a) the desirability of exploring possibilities of an agreed solution is further emphasized. The steps proposed to this end may be elucidated.
 - (b) it is reiterated that for the present, particularly in regard to the 22 states whose rulers are entitled to vote for the election of representative members except where any of them may have freely consented to the new arrangements the implementing of the plan of attachment may be postponed at present for the purposes of cooperation in war measures as regards distribution of commodities etc., and it should be clearly understood that any action taken in the meantime would not prejudice the right of the states concerned or any action taken or proposed to be taken by them.
 - (c) the exact implication of the various provisions of the India (Attachment of State) act, 1944, may be ascertained.

16: Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State, March 1944

C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept)
[NAI]

Appreciation of situation in States for March 1944. At recent meeting of standing committee of Chamber of Princes His Highness Bhopal was declared elected Chancellor unopposed and Jam Sahib was elected pro-Chancellor defeating His Highness Patiala, only other candidate.

Quick passage of Attachment Bill has discouraged hopes of some of attached Rulers who have been enlisting advice and assistance of their Highnesses Porbandar and Nawanagar.



17 Letter from Nawab of Bhopal to Maharaja of Porbandar, 31 March 1944

Jayakar Collection – File No. 791

[NAI]

Your Highness,

Many thanks for your detailed letter of March 18th¹ regarding recent development about the policy of Attachment, I have already forwarded to your Highness a copy of the Resolution of the Standing committee² on the basis of which we discussed this question with the representative of the crown Department last week in Delhi, Your Highness will observe that we have already pursued the line indicated in your letter and have reserved the right of final expression of our views till after the receipt of the report of the Porbandar committee and the opinion of the counsel.

2. I agree that we should carefully examine the implications of the present parliamentary legislation on the future position of the states in general even apart from its effect of the states immediately and directly affected. I am looking forward to specific and constructive suggestions on this subject from the Porbandar committee and you should need no assurance that my fullest support as chancellor will be mobilized in implementing the policy of the chamber and the standing committee in this matter. In fact, even outside the discussions in the standing committee, I have impressed on the Crown Representative and the Political adviser last week in Delhi the grave concern in the states generally over these recent developments and have stressed the desirability even at this late stage of exploring possibilities of an agreed settlement founded on consent. Moreover in view of the general anxiety in the states of this question I have decided to issue a circular to the states apprising them of the up to date position and the result of the latest discussion. An advance copy of this circular is enclosed for your Highness' information. I have directed Maqbul³ to supplement it by apprising your Highness as fully of the trend of discussions in Delhi, and he will do so when he joins you for the Porbandar committee in the first week of April 1944.

3. The problem is difficult and the latest development have made it even more complicated. With your characteristic sense of realism, your Highness is doubtless cognizant of its gravity. Its solution demands courage farsight and statesmanship. Mere sentiment cannot avail. I have been giving the matter my most anxious consideration and I must confess that I have not yet hit at any practicable solution. I was impressed, however by the suggestions made at the last meeting of the standing committee by the ruler of Vadia who represents the attached states and the representative Members that it might be fruitful to make a double barreled approach to the question, one side fighting the constitutional issues and the other trying to secure revision of the proposed arrangements in a manner which may ensure the integrity and autonomy of the states and the dignity of the rulers as also the continuance of their dynasties. I do not know how far it would be possible to achieve the objective of these alternative policies or to reconcile them. I feel however that I must convey this suggestion to your Highness as the chairman of our special committee on this subject to examine it on merits.

4. I do hope that you will soon be fit to give me the benefit of your advised and to take active part in tackling the important and grave problem which lie ahead.

Yours sincerely

Signed Hamidullah.

1. Not printed.
2. Doc 15.
3. Mir Muqbul Mahmood, joint Secretary Chamber of Princes

18 Letter from Jayakar to Tej Bahdur 10 April 1944

Jayakar Collection – File No. 793

[NAI]

My dear Tej Bahdur,

Maqbool Mahmood met me yesterday with a message as he said from the Nawab Ruler of Bhopal. He had a few questions for me to answer, proceeding as he said from the Nawabsaheb which I did orally. The more difficult one I said I was not in a position to answer during my illness. He told me that you and I had both been retained and it was expected that we should arrive at a joint opinion which would strengthen, he said, the hands of the Chamber of Princes in their present effort to get the attachment scheme reversed in the case of 3rd and fourth class states who are my clients. I said it would be a great pleasure to work with you. When asked about fees, I said you have to make up your mind whether you want to retain us adhoc for answering a set of questions or generally for the case'. He would not make up his mind and said that the Nawab of Bhopal would write to me and also to you. I said that when that was done we would put our heads together and let him know. He said to me that the Nawab had made up his mind to fight the cause of the entire Order and wanted to know what would be the proper form for attacking the Act of Parliament recently passed. I said that I could not answer the question until I am regularly retained and have time to consider the question which is a difficult one. I refused to be led into any more detailed reply. So we are going to get a letter according to him from the present Chancellor and when I get one I will let you know as you will do the same. He particularly added that if we two could agree on the same opinion and give it in a joint form it would be an advantage. I just hinted whether he had mentioned the terms to you to which he replied in the negative and said that the Nawab himself would write to both the counsels. I am not very much inclined to believe that Maqbool is either an accurate or trust worthy messenger. So I am waiting to see what happens and I suppose you will do the same. He left me after 20 minutes and said that he was returning to Delhi, as he was bothered by an attack of Asthma.

MRJ



19 Reply from Jayakar to Aundh on formation of Deccan States Federation, 10 May 1944

Jayakar Collection – File No. 718

[NAI]

My dear Rajasaheb,

Your letter to hand. I read reports in the press of the Deccan State People's Conference held at Jamkhandi in which a resolution accepting a federation in principle was adopted. The promoters very kindly sent me a copy of the draft constitution. I have not studied it. But it appears that the constitution is intended for the whole of the Deccan states coming into one Federation. If so it is advisable that the Deccan states should take united action and not individual for any differences between individual states as regards the draft constitutions likely to cause trouble and disrupt their unity. This is what appears to me at first sight, but I shall be happy to discuss this with Shrimanji Appasaheb when we meet.

I shall be in Poona from the 13th to the 18th putting final touches to the report of the Maharashtra University committee and during that period I shall be happy to meet Appasaheb. I shall very probably stay at the Law College, near the Bhandarkar Research Institute. Please send a couple of copies of the draft constitution with Appasheb.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

MRJ

20 Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State for April 1944

C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept.)

[NAI]

In Kathiawar majority of first-stage attached units are cooperating with attaching States but Limbdi Bhayats and second stage States are still recalcitrant and their opposition is supported by certain salute States who apprehend that sooner or later attachment process will be applied to them.



21: Letter from Resident Western India Agency to the Maharaja of Gondol state, 8 June 1944

Jayakar Collection – File No. 791

[NAI]

Dear Maharaja Saheb,

I am writing to let your Highness know that the attitude of certain chiefs of Talukdars of attached areas both first and second stage units—who profess to disapprove of the attachment scheme — has attracted the serious attention of the Crown Representative. His Excellency finds it difficult to believe that unless there has been some misrepresentation of the real position these chiefs or Talukdars would continue to resist a decision of the Paramount powers taken after so much deliberation and attended with so much publicity. The real position is well known throughout Kathiawar and Gujarat. The Crown Representative acting in the closest consultation with His Majesty's Government has decided that the separate existence of a larger number of administrative units in Kathiawar and Gujarat can only be justified on condition that they are attached to neighbouring and more powerful states. By means of this attachment it will be possible to provide the subjects of these chiefs or Talukdars with administrative and other amenities which it is impossible for these individual chiefs or Talukdars to provide in isolation. Simultaneously the continued integrity of all these areas so attached has been publicly guaranteed. The Crown Representative is reluctant to believe that a beneficent scheme of this nature would have met with so much resistance had some misunderstanding not been created in the minds of the chiefs or Talukdars of the attached areas. The misunderstanding had recently taken definite shape in the form of a rumour that the Crown Representative himself proposes to reserve the whole proceeding and go back on the attachment scheme. I have been instructed to inform Your Highness that this rumour is entirely without foundation. The attachment plan had come to stay and while it is possible that the instrument of attachment may later be amended in certain particulars there is no intention in any quarter of going back on the scheme itself. I have been asked therefore to request your Highness to inform the Chiefs or Talukdars of all units attached to the Gondal state that all such rumours are false and that the attachment scheme represents a considered set of policy which the Crown Representative has every intention of carrying through. If after receipt of such a communication to this effect the chiefs or Talukdars of any unit which has been attached to the Gondal state refuses e.g. to accept letters from your Special officer and so on, I am to request that the circumstances may kindly be reported to me for the information of the Crown Representative. I am to add that the Crown Representative intends thereafter to take and to take immediately such action as may seem to be required to deal with the situation.

The method by which the above communication is to be conveyed to the Chiefs or Talukdar (whether it be in writing or in a personal interview or through a third person) is left entirely to your discretion. It should not prove difficult in the majority of cases. If however any chief or Talukdar deliberately makes it impossible for you to deliver the message this fact should also be duly reported.

Yours sincerely,

Signed P.G. Gaisford.

22 Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State for June 1944

C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept)
[NAI]

Recalcitrant Rulers of attached units in Kathiawar have been informed that there is no foundation for rumour that attachment Scheme will be cancelled and they have been warned that C.R. will take action against any further recalcitrance. Limbdi Bhayats who had forcibly removed their property attached Limbdi Darbar for failure to pay contributions to administrative charges prescribed in Instruments of Attachment are being prosecuted, and a force of agency police has been sent to Limbdi as precaution. Two leading Bhayats are being required to live in Limbdi itself and their estates simultaneously being taken under management by Darbar.

23 Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State for . July 1944

C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept)
[NAI]

Attachment Scheme 3/4 Recalcitrant Rulers of second stage units continue to hold protest meetings and in Limbdi about 60 unarmed Girasias marched on town on July 9th. The Latter refused to disperse until forced to do so by mild lathi charge of Agency and state police, which resulted in one man being detained in hospital and 25 treated for minor injuries. No further disturbances reported since then. Orders have been served on several Bhayats restricting their movements while 15 others have been arrested for forcible removal of their property attached by Limbdi Darbar.

24 Extracts from the Telegram for the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State for August 1944

C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept)
[NAI]

Attachment Scheme: In Limbdi opposition has ceased for time being and comparatively good relations between Darbar and Bhayats have been restored. After further arrests early in August

of principal agitators latter after few days decided to tender apologies to Darbar and were thereupon released. Assurances have been given by Bhyats that contributions to administrative charges will be paid to Darbar and all forms of non-cooperation discontinued Bhadwa Talukdar who was about to assume leadership for agitation has consequently left Limbdi.

25: Brief prepared by the Political Adviser for use of H.E. on the subject of Joint Services

Paramountcy Records – File No. 260 – P(S)/43
[NAI – Acc. No. 222].

His Excellency is receiving a separate deputation of the Princes at 12.10. p.m. on 15th September to discuss the question of joint services. The Chancellor is going to be present though the deputation will apparently be led by H.E. the Maharaja Rana of Dholpur whose mind is a muddle of notions taken mostly from 17th century English history His Highness believes ardently in the divine right of kings and generally is more royalist than any Bourbon.

2. I mention the Maharaja Rana's royalist obsessions as it may afford a clue to the line which the deputation will take. If it is left to His Highness only then the argument will almost certainly be that to require half-a-dozen small states to club together and maintain e.g. a common High Court is an invasion of their sovereignty. That, with many long winded variations, will surely be his main theme. The short answer to it is that the Judges of a joint High Court in our meaning of the term – are the servants of each individual State in a group. When they are trying that is to say, a subject of State X for murder they are the High Court of X State. The inherent right of the ruler of X to try one of his subjects for murder is not blurred or shared with others or in any way diminished by the fact that he maintains jointly with other States – for reasons both of economy and efficiency a High Court to conduct the actual trial.

3. I am afraid however that it is all too likely that His Highness of Dholpur will get a great deal of help from the Princes who support him on the deputation and that as a result discussion may range very widely. The following Princes will be with the Maharaja Rana on this deputation:

H.H. the Nawab of Palanpur;
H.H. the Maharaja of Panna;
H.G. The Raja of Bilaspur;
The Raja of Seraikella;
The Nawab of Kurwai.

H.H. of Palanpur is not likely to say much. He does not understand. H.H. the Maharaja of Panna is a bitter opponent of our grouping schemes in Bundelkhand – largely out of enmity with H.H. the Maharaja of Orchha who has taken a very pre-eminent part in the discussions and who has certain fantastic schemes of his own for grouping on a plane so ambitious that nobody except himself takes them seriously. The Rajas of Bilaspur and Seraikella will not however stay quiet. The first is a lawyerish and very clever young man while the second is a sea lawyer of the most objectionable variety. Akalkot and Kurwai do not matter and will merely be there as a sort of Greek Chorus.

4. On the subject itself, joint services, I hardly know where to begin. Perhaps it will be enough if His Excellency will refresh his memory by reading:

- a) Para 7 of Political Dept. circular letter to Residents dated 28th October 1943.
- b) Para 5 of our telegram of 8th Dec. 1943 to the Secy. of State;

The telegram of 11th December was sent with his personal approval and it summarizes the Crown Representative's conclusions on the results of the Residents' Conference held last December inter alia to discuss the 'cooperative grouping' plan which is the same thing as 'joint services'. The proposals contained in this telegram secured the approval of the Secy. of State and they represent our present official policy in the whole matter.

That Policy put very briefly is:

- a) That small States can improve their administrative arrangements at very little cost by cooperating with each other for the maintenance of joint advisers and joint institutions like High Courts.
- b) That the Crown Representative on the other hand does not think that the cooperative principle can be pushed to the point where States should try to maintain joint heads authority inside each grouped State.
- c) That if any particular groups of States wishes to experiment with joint services in the executive grades there is no objection though the chances of such experiments succeeding are not great.

6. I should not hide from His Excellency the fact that I do not myself much believe in this cooperative grouping business. Some small administrative improvement may be secured in little States by the employment of joint technical advisers but that cooperative grouping can provide a solution of the evil of the small Indian State is in my opinion contrary to all administrative experience. This attitude has a certain background of which H.E. should be made aware. When I returned to my present appointment from Afghanistan in 1943 I became a little alarmed at the emphasis with which we were pressing this 'cooperative grouping' policy on States. In the long discussion which the subject had engendered certain words had also come to be used very loosely and it seemed to me that we were in danger of forcing upon the States an administrative expedient which was in fact contrary to all administrative principle. What was worse, we were inclined to take the lines with the little State that by such methods they could so reshape themselves that they could be either protected by the British Government indefinitely or fitted into an Indian Union whichever alternative should in due course present itself.

This suggestion I personally regard wholly false and in a note dated 21-8-43 I ventured to advise Lord Linlithgow to take careful stock of the position before he delivered his farewell address to the Chamber of Princes and to use no word in that address without scrutinizing most carefully its exact meaning and implications. Lord Linlithgow in a minute dated 10.9.43 described my attitude as 'destructive' as indeed perhaps it was. Nevertheless my note was written in good faith as a warning against inaccurate thinking and the inaccurate use of words in a matter which closely affected our relations with all the Indian States. In the result the warnings contained in my note of 21-8-43 were accepted and our official policy in the matter of 'cooperative grouping' is now strictly limited to advise the State to appoint joint advisers and not to expect too much even from that expedient. I have linked with these papers my note of 21-8-43 and Lord Linlithgow's of 10.9.43 which are kept in my personal custody. H.E. may I think care to glance through them.

7. As regards the forthcoming deputation I venture to suggest that His Excellency listens to their arguments and promises to give them his careful considerations. The pros and cons are somewhat nebulous and anything in the nature of a discussion with the deputation is I think to be avoided. If they produce any new matter H.E. might I think ask them to let him the substance of it in writing. Otherwise I have nothing to suggest

26: Extracts from the Telegram from the Crown Representative to the Secretary of State for September 1944

C.R. Records File No. 25 – P(S)/44 – Pol. (Dept)
[NAI]

In Kathiawar Salute Rulers have held private meetings protesting at being placed in direct relations with political Agents but they show no signs of non cooperation with latter. Second-stage attached units are considering possibility of filing appeal to Privy Council as a result of advice given by their London and India Lawyers that their case has every prospect succeeding on appeal. In Limbdi situation is quiet and Agency Police contingent has been withdrawn.

27 Griffin to the Nawab of Bhopal

Paramountcy Records – File No. 344 – P(S)/44
[NAI – Acc. No. 222]

Secret

Police Department,
New Delhi.

The 2nd December 1944.

D.O. No. F.344-P/44.

My dear Chancellor,

I am desired to refer to your letter of 13th October to Sir Francis Wylie and to convey the Crown Representative's observations on the various matters discussed by the deputation of Princes, led by Your Highness, which met His Excellency on the 15th and 16th of September last.

2. The Crown Representative is glad to observe that the Princes agree generally that the smaller Indian States, which cannot by themselves maintain an efficient standard of administration, should cooperate with some other States or States to secure this essential end. His Excellency notes – and concurs in the deputation's view. That in inviting small State to cooperate with their neighbours in order to secure improvement in their administrative

arrangements there should be no suggestion that all such states are grossly misgoverned. Cases of gross mis-Government, as you correctly point out, fall to be dealt with by the Crown representative in accordance with a separate and well established procedure. The Crown Representative is interested to know that the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes has set up a Committee under the chairmanship of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner to define the minimum standards of efficient administration which the smaller States might normally be expected to maintain. While His Excellency doubts whether it is in fact possible to devise a formula which will cover the very diverse conditions obtaining in the Indian States or embrace the many different pre-requisites which go to the formation of an efficient administration I am to say that the finding of this Committee will be awaited with interest. The three specific suggestions and one additional suggestion which the deputation put forward for improving the existing procedure in grouped areas may now be summarized.

- (a) that Boards of Control for the working of Joint Services should consist only of Rulers representing full powered States and should not contain representative of States under minority or other management or representatives of States where residuary powers of jurisdiction rest in the Crown Representative;
- (b) that Joint Advisers etc. should not deal with political Officers over the heads of State administrations or Board of Control.
- (c) that the working of the various schemes of Joint Services which may be in operation at any given time should be subjected to periodical review by a small Committee consisting of the Chancellor, a few Rulers and the Political Adviser.
- (d) that the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes be given an opportunity to prepare a scheme of minimum standards for efficient administration and to suggest alternative ways of meeting the difficulty presented by the existence of petty Indian States which cannot from their own resources conform to such standards; that thereafter for a period of two years the States may be allowed to work out a scheme of their own without interference from Political Officers, the position to be reviewed after the expiry of the period mentioned.

The Crown Representative realizes that the association of representatives of States under management (for whatever reason) with Board of Control has not in all cases met with the approval of Rulers of full powered States, Nevertheless the alternative that these States should be required to contribute to the cost of Joint Advisers etc. without having a say in their appointment and Control would seem to go against the whole principle underlying the cooperative plan. It must be realized, the Crown Representative thinks, that minority and other forms of management do not last indefinitely and it would seem on principle to be unfair that because a State happened to be under minority management — as all States may be from time to time — it should be deprived of its right to share in the deliberations of the Board of Control. Nor is it sufficient to suggest that, if States under management do not like an arrangement whereby they should contribute to the cost of joint Advisers etc. without having a voice in their appointment and Control, they should look elsewhere. For the truth is that many Indian States are so small that there is no other alternative open to them except to join forces with the nearest group while on the other hand, if the benefits of the cooperative grouping plan are to be realized in the necessary degree, the groups themselves must be as large as possible. His Excellency is therefore reluctantly compelled to disagree with the deputation's suggestion, but he undertakes to keep all Boards of Control where States under

management are represented under close observation with a view to ascertaining whether the objections which the deputation in the existing arrangements are so serious that some alternative plan must be sought for meeting the difficulty.

His Excellency realizes that once the cooperative grouping expedient has been fully developed it would perhaps be inconsistent with the principle of cooperation for joint Advisers etc. to deal with political Officers except through the medium of the group Board of Control. The experiment of cooperative grouping is however still at a representatives stage only, it has been devised by the Crown Representative as possible solution of a very embarrassing problem and His Excellency trusts that you will not at this stage press your objection to Joint Advisers on occasion having access to the Political Agent concerned independently of the Board of Control. I am to assure Your Highness that political officers are fully seized of the necessity of keeping their interference with cooperative grouping arrangements restricted to the absolute minimum but until the expedient has established itself firmly may be on some what different lines in different areas — occasional interventions on the part of Political Officers with the purpose of coordinating and stimulating cooperative grouping schemes is unavoidable. In this connection I am to say that the Crown Representative considers that your suggestion that individual States should report annually or six monthly to the Board of Control, showing the degree to which they have been able during this period to accept the advice of joint Officers is an excellent one and might be implemented straight away.

The Crown Representative gladly accepts your suggestion that the working of the various schemes of joint services and the difference if any relating thereto may be subjected to periodical review by a small Committee consisting of the Chancellor, a few Rulers and the Political Adviser. I am to suggest that this proposal be taken up in the standing Committees of the Chamber of Princes and the details explored. His Excellency will watch the developments of this proposal with interest and will keep himself in close touch with the deliberations of this small Committees.

His Excellency have taken note of the objection mentioned by His Highness, the Raja of Bilaspur that the employment by a number of States of a joint High Court is an invasion of the sovereignty of the contributing States, His Excellency does not accept this view. He considers on the contrary that a joint High Court, in the sense in which he understands the term, becomes the moment it enters the borders of a contributing State the High Court of that State deriving its right to administer the laws of the State from the Ruler and from no other source.

His Excellency will always be glad to receive suggestions from the Chamber of Prince or from individual Princes designed to improve cooperative grouping procedure as the latter is at present organized. He cannot however agree that the existing experiments which have been initiated after much thought and labour on the part of all concerned, should be suspended while the States work out an alternative scheme of their own. This question on joint cooperative effort on the part of small States to improve their sometimes painfully inadequate administrative arrangements has been the subject of discussion for many years past. The plans now put in motion fall far short of what will be necessary if the petty class of Indian States are ever to achieve reasonably efficient standard of administration. This being the case His Excellency would be most reluctant to put the clock back and surrender such progress as has been achieved in pursuit of an alternative plan which when it has been worked out cannot perhaps in the nature of things differ very greatly from the plans which have been evolved and are now under trial in various parts of the country. I am to repeat however that those plans are not to be proclaimed as rigid. They are tentative and subject to revision and readjustment as

further experience of the problem is secured. In these tentative enquiries and experiments His Excellency hopes that he will have the support, as he will always welcome the advice, of all those who are anxious to work for the enhancement of the deputation of the Indian States as a whole.

3. The existing position in this matter is set forth in some details in the correspondences ending with Sir Kenneth Fitze's letter No. F.315 - P(S)/42 dated the 30th of October 1942 to Your Highness, predecessor in the office of Chancellor. His Excellency has given his best consideration to the deputation's proposal that early discussions be initiated between representatives of the Crown Department and of the States to which Legal Advisers of the Government of India may be invited, with the object of making effective the safeguards provided in the Government of India Act and the existing provisions of the law on the subject'. The difficulties in the way of improving on the present legal position are however real and His Excellency doubts whether anything would in fact be gained by holding discussions of the kind contemplated at the present time. I am to assure Your Highness however that this aspect of the Crown's relation with the Indian States will continue to receive His Excellency's watchful attention and that he will at all times use his best endeavors to protect the Rulers of Indian States whether from baseless agitations against individual States directed from British India or from scurrilous attacks in the British Indian Press. Actually His Excellency is inclined to think that with the now rising standard of administration in the Indian States occasions for such attacks on the Princes and on their Governments may with the passage of time decrease. On their side His Excellency is confident that the Princes will, by wise Government in their own areas, contribute this most desirable result.

4. His Excellency has read the summary of the deputation's Representations about the Attachment Scheme with much care. In the first place he desires me to remind Your Highness that the problem presented by the existence of a large number of petty Indian States is both complex and pressing. The Crown Representative has during the last years been so impressed with the necessity - in the interests of all the Indian States - of finding a solution for this problem that he is inclined to regard this subject as perhaps the most important of the issues now confronting the British Crown in its relation with the Indian States. That a complete or permanent solution of the problem will be found either through the cooperative grouping expedient or by the process of attachment cannot yet be categorically affirmed, but so serious are the consequence of a failure to find a satisfactory solution that His Excellency looks with confidence to the Princes for support and advice in his efforts to find such solution. The deputation led by Your Highness made the following principal requests:

- (a) that to instruments of attachment be revised in consultation with the representatives of attaching and attached States.
- (b) that no further extension of the scheme of attachment be permitted.

As regards the first of those requests I am to say that the Crown Representative has under his consideration certain proposals effecting the text of the Instruments of Attachment and that as soon as His Excellency has reached a definite conclusion on these proposals their purpose will, if necessary, be communicated to the States concerned - both attaching and attached. As to the second request as Your Highness is aware the scope of the India (Attachment of States) Act is specifically restricted to certain States in the then Western India and Gujarat States Agencies. I am to inform Your Highness that there is no intention of promoting legislation to admit of its application in other Agencies.

5. The question of the industrial policy of the Central Government as it affects the Indian States has since been the subject of discussion between representatives of the States and of the Central Government. His Excellency trust that as a result of these discussion the doubts to which the deputation gave expression will be resolved and that the Indian States will be enabled to play their full part in the post-war development of industrial and other activities in the country.

6. The specific suggestions which the deputation had to offer on this subject were:

- (a) that there should be systematic recourse to the procedure embodied in the Resolution of 1920 when dealing with dynastic rights and with questions of gross misrule, and
- (b) that where the issues are justifiable or relates to fiscal economic or financial matters including the interpretation of Treaties and Agreements, recourse should be had as of right to a Court of Arbitration.

His Excellency desires me to say that he has considered both these suggestion with the care which they deserve but that he is unable to accept them. This subject has been frequently discussed in the past and for various reasons, into which it is not necessary to enter here, it has always been thought inadvisable to limit the discretion which vests in the Crown Representative under the 1920 Resolution as the text of this Resolution stands at the present time. In the prevailing uncertainty — constitutional and otherwise — His Excellency is not prepared to depart from his view and he regrets that in this particular matter it is not possible for him to accede to he wishes of the deputation.

7. The problem of coordinating post war development objectives as between the Central Government and the Indian States has also since been the subject of discussion between your representatives and those of the Central Government. In the circumstances and pending the conclusion of these discussions it is not possible for the Crown Representative to comment in any profitable way on the suggestions made by the deputation. I am to assure you however that the Crown Representative recognizes this problem as one of very real importance and that it is receiving and will continue to receive his close personal attention.

8. In connection with Treaty Rights this deputation offered the suggestion that 'some effective machinery should be set up to ensure the Treaty Rights shall not be overridden' 'For this purpose the Prince requested His Excellency to set up some sort of machinery whereby the views of Princes through a few representatives selected by His Excellency including the Chancellor are placed before him before His Excellency decided to take formal action in the exercise of the powers of the Crown vis-a-vis the States particularly in such matters as directly affect the Princes or there policies affecting the States in general are proposed to be laid down:

Lacking any details beyond its proposed composition His Excellency is unable to form any clear idea of the matters which would be discussed with the proposed 'permanent committee' On receipt of further details however His Excellency will give this proposal his careful consideration. In the meantime I am to state that there has been no change in the policy of His Majesty's Government towards the India Princes since Sir Kenneth Fitze wrote in his letter No. F. 376-P/43 dated the 4th of January 1943 to the pro-Chancellor of the time the 'the Indian Princes may rest . . . that the fulfillment of the fundamental obligations arising out of their Treaties and Sanads remains an integral part of His Majesty's Government's policy. . . .' I should of course add, that Your Highness already well knows, that the interaction of the text of relevant Treaties has long been affected by usage and sufferance and has in the nature of things to be related to the necessities of changing times. The concern of His Majesty's

Government and of the Crown Representatives for the status and interests of the Indian Princes remains however unchanged . . . and in His Excellency's view it is in this fact that the Princes will find their best safeguard.

Yours sincerely,
Signed L.C.L. Griffin.

Air Commodore His Highness
Nawab Haji Muhammad Hamidulla Khan Bahadur,
GCSI., GCIE., CVO.,
Nawab of Bhopal.
Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

XX Pictorial Documentation of the Famine

In Chapter VIII we presented relevant contemporary written documents on the food crisis that affected Bengal in 1943. In this chapter are reproduced some powerful contemporary drawings about that stark human tragedy that painters were moved to sketch.

Many painters have left their impression of this period. In December 1944, on the occasion of the eighth annual conference of the All India Students Federation, thirty of them were reproduced in an album, with an introduction by Sarojini Naidu.

We are grateful to a Bengali group called 'Daya' (which means obligation) under the leadership of Shri Nikhil Sarkar – historian and journalist who writes under the non-de plume of 'Sreepantha' – for organizing an exhibition of many of these celebrated paintings in Calcutta in 1993 and publishing a volume in Bengali with an introduction by Sarkar (What follows is heavily indebted to that introduction) of the three artists whose creations are reproduced, one (Paritosh Sen) was one of the founder-members of the Calcutta group of 1943 – a band of *avant-garde* professionally trained artists who tried to evolve a distinctively modern style, drawing both on new trends in western painting and on traditional popular indigenous modes of representation. The other two artists – Zainul Abedin and Chittaprasad Bhattacharya – had just started their professional careers. Abedin's paintings were reproduced in a widely read contemporary book on the famine by Ella Sen, *In Those Darkening Days (1944)*. Bhattacharya's drawings were the result of his rural journeys as a Communist Party worker and were published from Bombay in a booklet as *Hungry Bengal*, most of whose copies were at once impounded by the police. Fortunately, a few copies were preserved by the artists family.

The drawings are self-explanatory. The captions below some of them have been provided by the editor of this volume.



1. *A Zainul Abedin Sketch*
(Courtesy: Uma Sehanobis)



2. A Zaimul Abedin Sketch
(Courtesy: Uma Sehanobis)



3. *A Zainul Abedin Sketch*
(Courtesy: Uma Sehanobis)



4. *A Zainul Abedin Sketch*
(Courtesy: Uma Sehanobis)



5. Hoarders counting their ill gotten gains
(Chittoprosad Bhattacharji, n.d.)



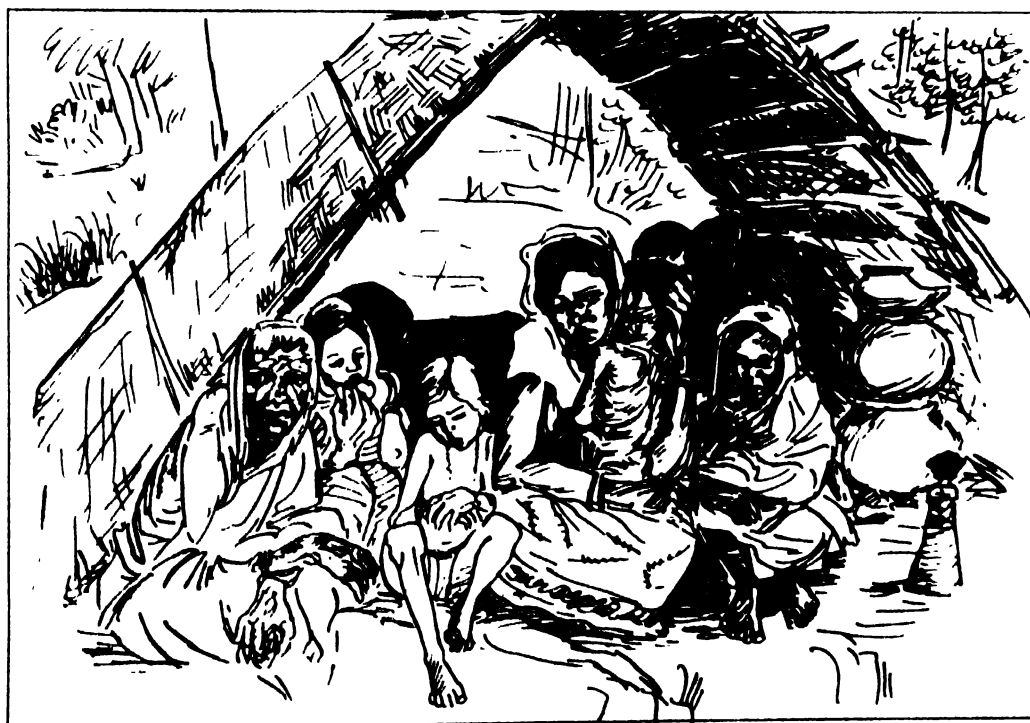
6. Hungry people mortgaging their household utensils, somewhere in Contai, Midnapore – Sketch by Chittoprasad Bhattacharya, 5 Nov. 1943
(Courtesy: Daya Exhibition, 1993 and the magazine Yoga-Sutra)



7. *People scrounging for food from dust bin* A Zaimul Abidin Sketch
(Courtesy: Daya Exhibition, 1993)



8. *A dying man's last drop of water. Sketch by Paritosh Sen (n.d.)*
(Courtesy: Daya Exhibition, 1993)



9. *A boat load of famine stricken villagers leaving their ancestral home in Eastern Bengal.*
Sketch by Chittoprasad Bhattacharya 29 June 1944 (Courtesy: Daya Exhibition)



10. 'Last cup of misery' Statesman pamphlet Maladministration in Bengal
(Chapter II Doc. 74, Chapter VIII Doc. 95)



11. 'Hungry mother with hungry children' Statesman pamphlet Maladministration in Bengal
(Chapter II Doc. 74; Chapter VIII Doc. 95)



12. *'Waiting for food' Statesmart pamphlet Maladministration in Bengal*
(Chapter II Doc. 74; Chapter VIII Doc. 95)



13. 'A party of destitutes' Statesman pamphlet Maladministration in Bengal
(Chapter II Doc. 74; Chapter VIII Doc. 95)

Biographical Index

The spelling of Surnames has been made uniform, irrespective of how they appear in the documents. Thus, Banerjee, Banerjea, Banerji, have all been spelt as Banerji. And Bhattacharya, Bhattacharjee, Bhattacharji, all spelt as Bhattacharya. Similarly Choudhuri, Choudhari, Choudhury, Chowdhuri, all spelt as Chowdhuri.

Abedin, Zainul (1914–1976) Born in Kishoreganj, Mymensingh district, East Bengal. Graduated from Govt. Art School, Calcutta in 1933 and started teaching there. His sketches and paintings depicting the Bengal famine made him famous and were published in contemporary writings like Ela Sen's *Darkening Days* (1944). *Post Partition*. Settled down in East Pakistan. After the foundation of Dhaka Arts & Crafts College (1947) became its Principal, 1949. In 1963 was Dean, faculty of Fine Arts Dhaka University. Another set of paintings depicted the war of liberation of Bangladesh in 1971. Played an active and creative part in the dissemination of Fine Arts in Bangladesh till his demise.

Acharya, Snehangshu (1913–1986) Barrister, Scion of a land owning family from Mymensingh, E. Bengal. Enrolled for the Bar, 1940, and practised in Calcutta High Court. Active in the CPI, 1947. Joined CPM when party split. 1969–70 Advocate General, West Bengal during the second left front Govt. Advocate General 1977–86 when the front came to power again.

Achuthan, R. (b. 1920) Student leader, organised Bala Bharatha Seva Sangham at Palghat, 1930-did picketing work in 1931. Became Gen. Secy. of Madras Students Organisation, 1940. Arrested for different political offences and jailed in 1942–43 at Vellore and Bellary. Organiser, Students Congress, 1944. Jailed again 1944–45. Joined students dept. of A.I.C.C.

Adhikari, Ganga Dhar (1898–1981) Leading Communist, Educ. Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore & Berlin University. Interested in Marxism while in Germany in 1922 Coopted member of CPI, later of its politburo. Editor, *Peoples War*, 1944. Chairman of the Central Commission of the CPI.

Ahmad, Muzaffar (1889–1973) A founder-member of the Communist movement in India. Born in a village in East Bengal, started political work via journalism in Bengali and wrote columns on peasants and workers' problems. Arrested in 1923 – Accused in Kanpur conspiracy case, 1924, jailed for four years, released due to ill health. Re-arrested for the Meerut conspiracy case and served 3 years sentence. A founder of the All India Kisan Sabha. *Post Independence*: Served prison sentences when the CPI was under a ban, and remained an active organiser of the movement. After party split went over to the CPM.

Ahmed, Ayesha (1902–1985) Bengali Muslim lady, Social worker, Educ. Brahmo girls school, and Bethune College, Calcutta. Married (1920) to R. Ahmed, famous dental surgeon and nationalist Muslim. Gave evidence before Famine Commission on behalf of AIWC, *Post Independence*: Active member of West Bengal State Social Welfare Board. Served for 6 years as Gen. Secy. in AIWC, Calcutta and West Bengal for 4 years as a member of Film Censor board.

Ahmed, Sir, S. Sultan (1880–1963) Lawyer, practised in Calcutta, 1905–15, Judge, Patna High Court, 1919–20 Delegate to R.T.C. (1931), Member, Viceroy's Council 1941–45, first as Law member (till May 1943) then for Information and Broadcasting. Adviser to Chamber of Princes, 1947. *After Independence*: Resumed legal practice in Bihar.

Aiyar, Sir, C.P. Ramaswami (1879–1966) Lawyer, Legal practice in Madras since 1903. Advocate-General, 1920–23. Law Member, Madras, 1923–28. Represented Cochin State before

Butler Enquiry Committee, 1928. Delegate Round Table Conference, and Member, Federal Structures Committee. Actg. Law Member, Govt of India, 1931-2. Diwan of Travancore 1936-47. Knighted 1941. *After Independence*: Member Press Commission, 1953-54, Member University Grants Commission, 1955.

Alexander, Horace (1889-) Quaker, Educationist and journalist, Educ. King's college, Cambridge. Since 1919 teacher in International Relations at a Quakers College in Birmingham. Had followed Indian affairs since 1921-8 closely. In 1942-43 was head of a section of the Friends Ambulance unit in Calcutta.

Ali, Asaf (1888-1953) Barrister (Lincoln's Inn) and leading nationalist Muslim politician. Jailed several times for Congress activities. Municipal Commissioner Delhi, Member C.L.A. 1935-45. Re-elected 1945. As congress working committee member arrested in Aug. 1942 and detained till May 1945. Dy. leader, congress party Central Assembly. Member for transport and railways in the interim govt. 1946-47. *After Independence*: Ambassador to USA, 1947-48, Governor of Orissa, 1948-53.

Ali, Sadiq (b. 1910) Joined A.I.C.C. 1936 Permanent Secy. A.I.C.C. 1938-49. *Post Independence*: M.P. (Loksabha), 1952, Rajyasabha 1958 and again 1970, President, Cong. (O), 1971-73, Chairman, Gandhi Museum & Library, 1967-77. Governor of Maharashtra, April 1977, of Tamil Nadu 1980-82. Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, and again Chairman, National Gandhi Museum and library.

Alla Baksh Soomro (1900-1943) Sind Politician, Member of Upper Sind in Bombay Legislative Council, 1926-36. Relinquished his title (Khan Sahib, Khan Bahadur and OBE) as a nationalist gesture. Prime Minister of Sind 1938-1943 (Killed by an assailant on 14 May 1943).

Allsop, James J.W. (1887-1963) Educ. London Univ. Entered ICS in 1910, served in UP in the judicial branch. Legal Remembrance, UP Govt. 1931 and 1933-4. Judge, Allahabad High Court 1934-1947, Knighted 1945.

Ambedkar, Bhimrao Ramji (1893-1956) Educationist (political economy & sociology) and lawyer, champion of the depressed classes; spoke on their behalf during all the major constitutional discussions since 1918. Member Viceroy's Council (Labour), 1942-1946. *After Independence*: Minister of Law, 1947-1951, Member Constituent Assembly - 1946-51, Chairman drafting committee of the Constitution, Embraced Buddhism towards the end of his life.

Anand, Mulk Raj (b. 1905) Man of letters and art critic Educ. Punjab and London Universities and Lecturer, L.C.C. extra-mural adult education classes, 1939-42. Broadcaster, B.B.C., Author of many novels in English. Founded the magazine *Marg* and was its editor for a long time. Sometime Chairman, Lalit Kala Akademi, Awarded Padma Bhushan, 1967.

Andrews, Charles Freer (Rev.) (1871-1940) A christian missionary - came to India in 1904 to teach at St Stephens College, Delhi - Became involved with India - admired Tagore, taught in Santiniketan and later became a very good friend of Gandhi.

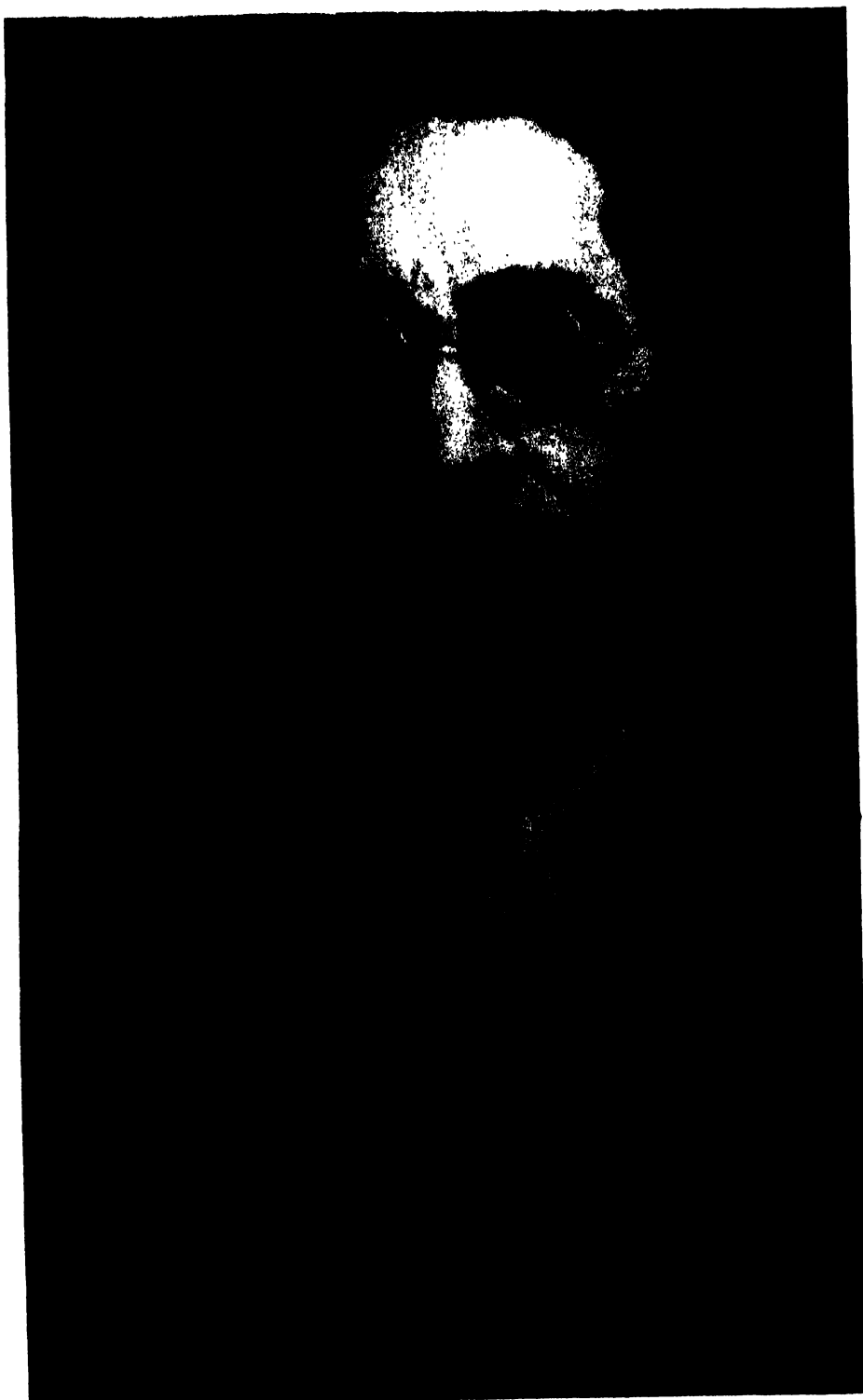
Aney, Madhav Srihari (1880-1968) Educationist and lawyer, Vice-Pres. Indian Home League. President Congress Committee, 1921-30, took part in Civil Disobedience Movement. Member Congress Working Committee, 1924-25 and 1931-34. General Secretary, Anti-Communal Award Conference working committee. Member, Viceroy's executive Council (Indian Overseas) 1941-43. Resigned Membership Feb. 1942. Representative of Govt. of India in Ceylon. Aug. 1943-July 1947. Represented Deccan States in the Indian Constituent Assembly, July 1947-Jan. 48, Governor of Bihar 1948-52 - Elected to Lok Sabha, 1959.

Appa Rao, M.S. (b. 1923) Zamindar of Nuzvid and Vayyur. Gave financial help to the National Student's organization; took a vow not to contest for posts. *Post Independence*: Legal practice and business (Shipping, Publishing, Photographic materials). Political sympathies with the Socialist Party. Jailed during the emergency, 1975-77. Sometime General Secy., Tamil Nadu Janata Party, later treasurer, Janata Dal, and member of its National Executive.

- Aryanayakam, Asha Devi (1892-1969)** Gandhian Social Worker. Educated in Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, where met her future husband, a Sri Lankan Christian, E.W. Aryanayakam. Became Director of Gandhi Ashram at Sevagram. Closely involved with the Basic Education programme of the Mahatma. *Post Independence*: Assisted Vinobha Bhave in his Bhoodan Movement.
- Asaf Ali, Aruna (1909-1996)** Radical Nationalist. Married Asaf Ali (q.v.). Active in Salt Satyagraha & imprisoned 1930. One of the founder members of the Congress Socialist Party. Courted arrest during individual Satyagraha, 1941. An underground activist during 'Quit India' movement till 1946 when arrest warrant withdrawn. Led the C.S.P. opposition to the Cabinet Mission plan. *After Independence*: Elected President of Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee 1947. A strong supporter of the move to split C.S.P. away from the Congress and found socialist party 1943. In 1951, over q. of Co-operation with the C.P.I. and the relevance of Marxism, broke with S.P. & formed left socialist group. In 1955 the group merged with C.P.I. Left C.P.I. in 1958. Elected Mayor of Delhi same year and served two terms. Leading member of Indo Soviet cultural Society and trustee of the paper *Link*.
- Astor, W.W. (1907-1966)** Educated Eton and Oxford. Secy. to Lord Lyton during the Manchuria inquiry commission of the League of Nations. M.P. (Conservative) for East Fulham, 1935-45. Conservative M.P. for Bristol, 1951-62.
- Atal J.K. (b. 1914)** Ed. Winchester College, Oxford, graduating in 1935. Joined I.C.S. 1936. Served in C.P. & Berar, 1937-46. Came to Central Govt. as Dy. Secy. 1940. *Post Independence*: Dy. High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1952-54. Minister, Indian Embassy in Washington D.C. Served as envoy to Turkey, Ethiopia, Greece, Yugoslavia — 1959-69. Ambassador to Italy, 1969, High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1970-71. Secy. in the Ministry of External Affairs 1972-73. Retired in 1973.
- Auchinleck, Claude (1884-1981)** of Anglo-Irish parentage. Joined Indian Army after Sandhurst. Rose to be Commander-in-Chief. Succeeded Wavell as Commander-in-Chief in 1943, Left India a few months after transfer of power.
- Azad, Maulana Abul Kalam (1889-1958)** Educ. privately. Proficient in Arabic and Oriental learning at an early age, started Urdu paper *Al-Hilal* 1912, inviting Indian Muslims to join the Congress, interned by the Raj 1914-20. Joined NCO movement and courted arrest. Elected Congress President 1923 and again 1940-46, Detained 1942-45. *After Independence*: Cabinet Minister (Education) 1947-58. Founder President of Indian Council for Cultural relations.
- Bajaj, Jamnalal (1889-1942)** Banker, Founded Gandhi Seva Sangh and Marwari Education Society at Wardha, Jailed in 1923 and during 1930 & 1932 for Civil Disobedience movement, Treasurer of A.I.C.C. since 1921. President — All India Spinners' Association, Donated Seagaon village to Gandhi on which his Sevagram 'ashram' was established.
- Bajpai, Uma Shankar (1884-1943)** Jurist. joined UP judicial dept. as govt. advocate April 1927; Offg. Judge, Allahabad High Court, March 1931 and again Oct. 1932. Addl. Judge, from July 1933. Confirmed as Judge, April 1937. Died in Dec. 1943.
- Bakshi, Satya Ranjan (1897-1983)** Journalist & revolutionary, Educ. Dhaka & Calcutta Universities, Asst. editor, *Forward*, Founded by C.R. Das, 1923, jailed for sedition 1929-30. After release joined staff of *Liberty*, later *Advance*. Closely associated with Subhas Bose (q.v.) and the Forward Bloc; jailed as a security prisoner during the war till end of 1945. *Post Independence*: Editor, *Nation*, a paper founded by Sarat Bose (q.v.).
- Bal, Loknath (1908-1964)** Revolutionary who led a unit in the Chittagong Armoury Raid 1930. Arrested 1930 and jailed for life 1932. Released in the general amnesty, 1946. Joined the Radical Democratic Party. *Post Independence*: Served a term as Dy. Commissioner, Calcutta Corporation, anti-corruption cell.
- Bandopadhyay Tara Shankar (1898-1971)** Distinguished Bengali Novelist. Jailed during



1. Vivian Bose - III, 5, 37, 247, 249, 250
(Courtesy: Gp. Capt. S.R. Pincar (retd.))



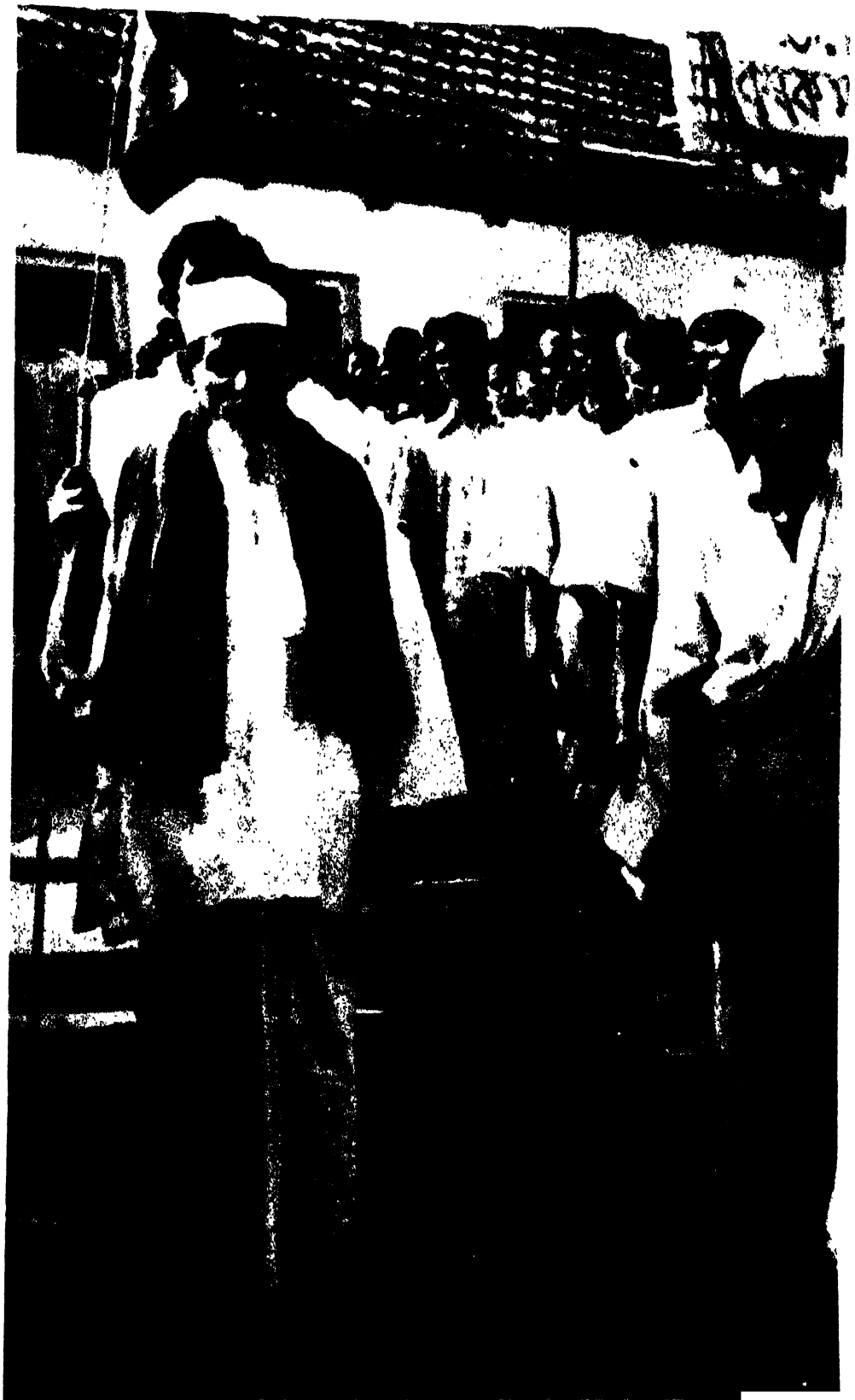
*2. S.M. Bose - III No. 228
(Courtesy: Karuna Sankar Roy)*



*3. A.N. Sen - III, 26, 33, 45
(Courtesy: Mohit Sen)*



4. R.C. Mitter – III, 33, 47
(Courtesy: B.K. Bhose)



5 A. Kisan demonstration in Midnapore, Bengal - Chapter X
(Courtesy Uma Schanobis)



6 Gandhi and Jinnah during the Gandhi-Jinnah talks (NMMIL.)

N.C.O. Movement and for one year during Civil disobedience, 1931. His novels depicted the social tensions in rural West Bengal in the nineteen-thirties. *After Independence* Member Legislative Council (Upper House) W Bengal, 1952. President Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Awarded Padmashree and later Padma Bhushan and most of the important literary awards given from Calcutta or New Delhi.

Banerji, Pramathanath (1878–1960) Economist, D.Sc (Econ), London University. Minto Professor of Political Economy, Calcutta University, 1920–35. Member Bengal Legislative Assembly 1935–46. Had left Congress in protest against the 'Communal Award', and helped Madan Mohan Malavia (q.v.) to found the Nationalist Party, Leader of the Legislative wing of the Nationalist Party in C.L.A., 1942–45. Author of many books on Indian Economics and finance.

Banerji, Pramathanath (1893–1976) Educationist, Brother in law of S.P. Mukherjee (q.v.) Principal Law college, Calcutta University 1939. Minister for Revenue, Food & Law Departments in the second ministry of Fazlul Huq (q.v.) in Bengal. *Post Independence*: Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, 1945–49. Author of standard work on Ancient Indian Law.

Banerjee, Mrs Purnima (1911–1951) Sister of Aruna Asaf Ali (q.v.) Member Congress Socialist Party, offered individual satyagraha, 1941, took part in 'Quit India' movement. Secy., Allahabad City Congress Committee. Member, UP Legislature, and also of Constituent Assembly.

Banerji, Shibnath (1897–1982) Labour leader, Member, Jugantar group of revolutionaries as a student. Visited Soviet Union secretly in 1924, met Bolshevik leaders, reached London 1924. Returned to India 1925. Organised railway strike in Lillooah, 1929. Named as an accused in Meerut conspiracy case. Founder member of Congress Socialist Party 1935. Led Jute Mill workers' strike in 1937. Office bearer of many trade unions. Member Bengal Legislative Assembly 1937–46. Re-elected, 1946–52. Some time President of Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

Banerji, Dr Suresh Chandra (1887–1961) Entered politics during the agitation against partition of Bengal, 1905–7. Qualified as doctor from Calcutta Medical College, 1914. Army doctor in first World War. Resigned job during N.C.O. and active Congressman since then. Involved in Trade Union work since 1933, in Calcutta jute belt. Twice president of A.I.T.U.C. Active during 1942 'Quit India' movement, jailed till 1945. Member, Bengal Legislature, 1936, and again in 1946. *Post Independence*. Sometime Labour minister in West Bengal. Left Congress in 1951, founded Krishak Mazdoor Praja party. Member Legislature 1957–1961.

Bartley, John (1886–1954) Entered I.C.S. 1909. Addl. Secy., GOI, 1938–45, Adviser to Indian delegation at the U.N. Conf. San Francisco, 1945 & to the U.N. first General Assembly, London, 1945–46.

Basal, Lala Shankarlal (1885–1950) 1909 involved in Patiala Sedition case, exonerated from the state 1913: started Swadeshi store in Delhi & Urdu News paper *The Congress* (banned in 1930) 1921–24; imprisoned. On release set up Hindu Muslim unity board 1918–30. A dominant Voice in Delhi Congress Circles. 1938–39 supported Subhas Bose loyally. 1939 helped Bose in establishment of Forward Bloc, became its General Secretary April 1940, visited Japan on a forged passport. On return arrested in 1941 & detained till 1945.

Basu, Jyoti (b. 1914) Educ. St Xaviers & Presidency College, Calcutta & Inns of Court, London. Barrister at Calcutta High Court. Member C.P.I. since 1940 & also of its executive Committee and National Council, Member, Bengal Legislature, 1946–47 – *Post Independence*: Continued as M.L.A., West Bengal Legislature, 1947 to this date; leader of opposition 1957–68, Chief Minister of West Bengal since 1977. When C.P.I. split, sided with CPI (M) group and has been and is member C.P.M. Politburo.

Basu, Manoj (1901–1987) Bengali litterateur and publisher. Associated with revolutionary groups in student days. Started career as a school master. Author of many stories and novels set against

political background of the nationalist movement. *Post Independence* continued his literary activities and one his novels got a 'Sahitya Akademi' award.

Basu, Santosh Kumar (1889–1977) Educ. Presidency College and Calcutta University Law-College. Advocate at Calcutta High Court since 1914. Involved with nationalist movement from student days. Active in Calcutta Corporation under C.R. Das, becoming eventually Mayor of Calcutta, 1933. Member Bengal Legislature as a Swarajya Party Candidate, Minister 1941–43 in Fazlul Haq's Coalition Govt. *Post Independence*: Dy. High Commissioner in East Pakistan (1948–50) twice Member of Rajya Sabha, Author of many books.

Bhaduri, Tripti (1925–1989) Better known as Tripti Mitra, after her marriage to actor Shambu Mitra (q.v.). Distinguished actress on the Bengali stage, forty-four years of acting career, starting with a role in 'Navanna'. Involved with I.P.T.A. and later with the theatre group, 'Bohurupee'. Also acted in some films.

Bhansali, Jaikishan P. (d. 1982) Member of Gandhi Ashram, Sewagram. One time Fellow – Elphinstone College, Left College 1920 & joined Sabarmati Ashram.

Bhargava, Gopi Chand (1889–1966) Left Medical profession to join politics under Lala Lajpat Rai. Prominent Congressmen of Punjab. Member Punjab Legislative Council 1927–28. Participated in N.C.O. & salt Satyagraha, Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly 1935–45, leader of the opposition, Re-elected 1946, detained twice during 42 movement. *After Independence*: Premier of East Punjab, Aug. 1947 – left Congress and was defeated in Assembly elections.

Bhashyam, Krishnagiri Tuppal (1895–1956) Lawyer from Mysore Educ. Bangalore & Madras University. Congressman from 1922 Trade Union Leader, helped to found Binny Millworkers Union 1926 and was its President 1929. Active in State People's Movement *Post Independence*. Minister of Law & Labour in Mysore State Cabinet till 1951. Chairman, Legislative Council 1952–1956.

Bhattacharya, Bijon (1917–1978) Playwright, actor & politically committed journalist. Childhood spent in different districts of Bengal. College education interrupted by political work (salt satyagraha and student movement) in Calcutta. A whole time C.P.I. worker from 1942. Involved with progressive writers Association and I.P.T.A. Author of *Navanna* (1943–44). *Post Independence*: Continued work as a playwright and theatrical producer, founded Calcutta Theatre Group, 1950.

Bhattacharya, Chittoprasad (1915–1978) Born in Naihati, near Calcutta, School & College education in Chittagong, East Bengal, joined the CPI in 1940 and an activist in its cultural front. His artistic reportage of war-ravaged Chittagong and famine-stricken districts of Bengal appeared in the *People's War & Janayuddha*. A booklet of 22 sketches entitled *Hungry Bengal* (1944) was banned by the Government. *Post Independence*: distanced himself from the CPI during its extremist phase (1948–51) but continued painting in his committed style for progressive movements. Suffered from financial hardship & ill-health in his last years.

Bhattacharya, Kalyani (1907–1983) Revolutionary, Social Worker. Educ. Calcutta. After graduation (1928) organised 'Chhatree Sangh'. (Women students Association, jailed (1930) for Salt Satyagraha. Detenu for 5 years (1933–38) for revolutionary Association). Founded a political monthly for women called *Mandira* 1938. Jailed in 1942 for taking part in 'Quit India' movement. Activist in Famine Relief work, 1943. *After Independence*: remained connected with social welfare organisations till her death.

Bhattacharya, Manoranjan (1889–1954) Bengali actor & playwright; who combined professional excellence with political commitment. Interned during student days for association with revolutionary groups and in 1921 involvement in N.C.O. Successful actor on the stage and also in films. Attracted towards communist ideology in the forties and thus with IPTA which benefited from his professional advice. Known in the theatre world as 'Maharshi'.

Bhave, Vinobha (1895–1982) Joined Gandhi's Sabarmati Ashram, 1916 and became a staunch

follower of the Mahatma. Imprisoned by the Raj a number of times. Director Mahila Ashram in Wardha. First person chosen by Gandhi for individual Satyagraha in 1940. *Post Independence*: Originator for the Movement for peaceful land reform called 'Bhoodan Yagna' Recipient of Magsaysay award.

Bhopatkar, L.B. (1880–1960) Lawyer, Practised in Poona, M.L.A. (on Swaraj Party nomination) in Bombay presidency, 1923. Took part in Civil Disobedience (1938) and served a jail term. Courted arrest (1939) during Bhavnagar satyagraha. Veered towards Hindu Mahasabha afterwards. Author of works on the ideology of the Mahasabha.

Birla, Ghanshyam Das (1894–1983) Industrialist, Managing Director of Birla Brothers Ltd., President Indian Chamber of Commerce Calcutta 1924, and FICCI, 1929. Member, Indian Fiscal Commission, Bengal Legislative Council, Royal Commission on Labour, C.L.A. 1928–30. Attended 2nd R.T.C. Unofficial adviser in Indo British trade negotiations 1936–37. *Post Independence*: Extended and diversified his commercial & industrial interests to become one of the topmost business magnates in India.

Bishi, Prmatha Nath (1901–1985) Bengali litterateur. Educ. Tagore's School at Santiniketan. Studied & taught Bengali literature at Calcutta University. Dramatist, Novelist and literary critic associated with Congress in Bengal. *Post Independence*: sometime member, legislative council, West Bengal, Member, Rajya Sabha 1972.

Biswas, Charu Chandra (1888–1960) Practising Advocate since 1910. Justice of the Calcutta High Court from 1937 to 1948. Vice Chancellor, Calcutta University 1949–1951. Union Minister for Law & Minority Affairs after 1952. M.P. (Rajya Sabha) 1952–60.

Biswas, Hemanga (1912–1987) Musician Composer, Tune-setter of popular political songs in Bengali & Assamese. Involved with the C.P.I. since 1932. Detained by the Raj, released on health grounds, 1935. One of the founder of I.P.T.A. 1938–39. *Post Independence*: Interned during the Telengana uprising for the years 1948–51. A committed supporter of Sino-Indian amity, Founder of a group called, 'Mass Singers'.

Blair, James R. (1890–1958) Chief Secy., Bengal Govt. 1942 Retired 1946.

Bordoloi, Gopinath (1890–1950) Lawyer by profession, joined N.C.O. in 1921, Chief Minister and Education Minister of Assam in 1938; Following the direction of the Congress his ministry resigned in 1939; joined individual Satyagraha in 1941 & courted arrest. When congress came to power again, he became the Chief Minister. He was instrumental in establishing Kamrup Academy, Barooah, College, Gauhati University.

Bose, Aurobindo (1921–1988) Son of Suresh Chandra Bose (q.v.). Politically active from student days. Expelled from college for organizing a strike. Involved in the Student Federation, privy to the escape plan of Subhas Bose in January 1941. Arrested 1941: detained for 4 years in Campbellpur, Punjab. Passed B.A. (Hons) examination while in prison, Released Sept. 1945. Resumed studies and took M.A. degree. *Post Independence*: leading figure in student movement, led the Indian delegation to conference of World Federation of Democratic Youth at Prague 1947. Joined congress and was twice elected to West Bengal Legislature. A full time trade unionist and official of the INTUC.

Bose, Dwijendra Nath (1916–1989) Younger of the two sons of Satish Chandra Bose (q.v.) Educ. St Xaviers College; Calcutta, and Calcutta University taking M. Com. degree active in A.I.S.F. as a student leader all throughout. Uncle Subhas Bose (q.v.) advised him to form youth league. Employment at an Insurance company, managed by Shankar Lal Basal (q.v.) helped in undercover liaison work between Subhas Bose and revolutionaries in rest of India, involved in Subhas Bose nocturnal escape from Calcutta, Jan. 1941. Detained for 5 years thereafter in various jails including Lahore Fort. Released in late 1945. *Post Independence*: Member, Forward Bloc till early seventies and Secy. of its West Bengal State unit till 1966.

Bose, Jyoti – See **Basu, Jyoti**

Bose, Dr Maitreyee (b. 1905) Medical education in Calcutta & Munich; practised till 1942, involved in Trade Union work from 1943. Hony. Secy., Save the Children Committee since 1944. *After Independence* Joined INTUC and President of its Bengal Branch, 1955–62 and President at All India level, 1962–3, 1970–71, M.L.A. (West Bengal) 1954–67, M.P. 1967–70.

Bose, Rash Bihari (1885–1945) A revolutionary from before the first World War. Built up a network of secret societies in North India till 1915. Escaped to Japan and founded Tokyo Indian League. Settled in Japan, after 1941 founded 'India Independence League' of East Asia among Indians settled in Japanese occupied territories. Handed over the organisation to Subhas Bose (q.v.) on the latter's arrival in Japan. A member of the Cabinet of the Provisional Govt. of Free India under Subhas Bose.

Bose, Sarat Chandra (1889–1950) Barrister and elder brother of Subhas Bose (q.v.) A leading figure in Bengal congress. Leader congress Legislative party in Bengal assembly, intended by Fazlul Huq. (q.v.) to be Home Minister in his Progressive coalition Cabinet (from Dec. 1941) but was interned by Govt. of India before that happened. Was privy to Subhas Bose's plans and kept as security prisoner outside Bengal till the end of the war. Aug. 1946 joined interim Govt. but was dropped during the reshuffle when the Muslim League members joined. *Post Independence* Left Congress, founded Socialist Republican Party. Elected to West Bengal Legislature, 1949 in a bye-election defeating Congress candidate.

Bose, Satish Chandra (1888–1948) Eldest brother of Subhas Bose (q.v.) Lawyer, Barrister of the Inner Temple. Practised at first in Calcutta High Court and later at Patna High Court. Resumed practice at Calcutta after arrest of brother Sarat Chandra Bose. Elected member of Bengal Legislature as a Forward Bloc candidate.

Bose, Sir S.M. (1878–1970) Educ. Cambridge, called to the Bar, 1902, Advocate, Calcutta High Court, Member Bengal Legislative Council, 1920–23 and 1929–36. General Secy., National Liberal Federation for two years. Member, Bengal Public Service Commission, 1937–43 – Advocate General, Bengal (later W. Bengal) 1943–66. A leading figure in the Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta.

Bose, Sisir Kumar (b. 1920) son of Sarat Chandra Bose (q.v.) Actively assisted Subhas C. Bose (q.v.) in his escape from India in Jan. 1941, and worked with the Forward Bloc underground until arrested. Interned in Delhi Fort and later in the Punjab. Released only after the end of the war in Asia. *Post Independence*: Completed his interrupted medical education, qualifying as a pediatrician. Founder and Director of the Netaji Research Bureau devoted to the Collection of archives on Subhas Bose and the I.N.A. Served as an M.L.A. West Bengal in the early eighties.

Bose, Subhas Chandra (1897–1945) Educ. Calcutta Colleges and Cambridge University. Selected for the ICS but resigned to join the N.C.O. movement. A prominent leader in Bengal Congress after the death of C.R. Das. Jailed many times by the Raj, President of Congress, 1938, re-elected, 1939 but manoeuvred out of power by the Right-Wing. Founded Forward Bloc and attempted consolidation of the Left-Wing groups in the country. Escaped from India while under house arrest, January 1941, and eventually founded the Indian National Army out of Indian soldiers taken prisoner by Japan, October 1944. Reported to have died in air crash in August 1945.

Bose, Suresh Chandra (1890–1932) An elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose (q.v.), just below Sarat Bose (q.v.). In Govt. Service as Deputy Magistrate in Bihar and Orissa till N.C.O. in 1921, when he resigned after releasing an Orissa Congress Leader. Rejoined Bihar Govt. Service after provincial autonomy, 1937 Resigned again after 'Quit India' movement launched, 1942. *Post Independence* Member enquiry commission on Subhas Bose's death, submitted a minority dissentient report.

Bose, Vivian (1891–1983) Judge, Nagpur High Court, 1936. Chief Justice 1947, App to Supreme Court as Judge 1951, retired 1956. Ad hoc Judge Supreme Court 9 Sept. 1957–30 Sept. 1958.

- Bourne Sir F.C. (1891–1977)** Educ. Rugby & Christ Church, Oxford, Military Service 1910–20, I.C.S. 1920, served in the Punjab, Secy., Home Dept. Punjab, 1940–41, Chief Secy., Punjab Govt 1941–45. Actg. Governor of CP & Berar, May–Oct. 1945 and of Assam, 1946. *After Independence* opted for Pakistan and was Governor of East Pakistan till 1950. Appointed as adviser, Gold Coast, 1955. Knighted 1946.
- Brelvi, Syed Abdulah (1891–1949)** Journalist of Bombay, joined *Bombay Chronicle* in 1915 and became the editor in 1944. Member A.I.C.C. imprisoned 1930–31, 1932–33 for part in Civil Disobedience movement. Member Standing Committee of All India Newspaper Editors Conference and its President 1943–45. Nationalist Muslim in politics, loyal Congressman. *Post independence*: delegate to the UN Conference on Press Freedom, 1948.
- Brockway, A. Fenner (Lord) (1888–1988)** Journalist and I.L.P. leader, conscientious objector in the first World War; editor, *Labour Leader*, 1912–17 and *New Leader* 1926–31. General Secy. I.L.P. 1928 and 1933–39. Labour M.P. 1929–31, 1950–61. Made a Life peer afterwards. Active in the League against Imperialism, 1927–29 and the India League. Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom, 1954–67. Campaigner against race discrimination in Britain.
- Casey, R.G. (Baron) (1890–1976)** Australian Politician, M.P. Australian Federal parliament since 1931. Minister, 1939–41. In 1942 given a seat in the UK War Cabinet and appointed British Minister resident in the Middle East. Governor of Bengal, 1944–46. Returned to Australia 1946. Australian Minister for External Affairs, 1951–60. Life peer, 1960, Governor General of Australia 1965–69.
- Catto, Sir Thomas (1879–1959)** Director and later Chairman Andre Yule & Co. Dy. Chairman, Mercantile Bank of India. Financial Adviser to the Treasury during the war. April 1944 till Feb 1949. Governor of the Bank of England.
- Caveeshar, Sardul Singh (1886–1963)** Graduate of Punjab University 1909. Founder Editor (1913) *Sikh Review* in Delhi. Externed from Delhi in 1918, shifted to Lahore and started *New Herald*. Secretary and later President Sikh League. Secy. (1920) Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. Involved Sikhs in NCO and was jailed for 5 years. Founded Peoples Insurance Co. in 1926. Member Congress working Committee 1928. Imprisoned, 1932–1933 over Civil Disobedience Movement. Resigned Congress Working Committee membership on office acceptance question. Supported Subhas Bose (q.v.).
- Cawthorn, Major General Walter J. (1896–1970)** Director of Intelligence, Indian Command 1939–45. Member Indian delegation to the San Francisco Conference of the UN 1945. Represented C-in-C of India on Joint Chiefs of Staff in Australia, 1946–47. *After Independence* Opted for Pakistan and was Dy. Chief of Staff, Pakistan Army, 1948–51, retired 1951, Director joint intelligence, Defence Dept. Australia, 1952–54. Envoy of Australia to Pakistan 1954–8 and to Canada 1959–60.
- Chacko M.M. (b. 1909)** Educ. studied upto Malayalam seventh class. Joined the Travancore State Congress and participated in the agitation for responsible government. Took part in the All India Travancore State Congress volunteer Jatha as well as in the Vattuyoorkavu conference of the State Congress. Detained in Changanacherry and Karukachal police lock-ups for having attempted to hold meetings.
- Chagla, M.C. (1900–1981)** Barrister of Inner Temple 1922, Judge, Bombay High Court 1941–47, Chief Justice, Bombay High Court, 1947–58. Represented India abroad at UN and as envoy to USA and UK. Minister for Education 1963–66, for External Affairs 1966–67. Leader of the House, Rajya Sabha, 1964–67.
- Chattopadhyay, Bijoy Lal (1898–1974)** Politically committed poet and journalist. involved in NCO movement and Congress party work 1921–22. Jailed for 6 months 1922. Left newspaper world during salt satyagraha and jailed again, 1932 and one of his books proscribed by the Raj.

Jailed for one year during 42 movement. Life long devotion to village reconstruction in native village *Post Independence*: Member West Bengal Legislature 1952-62

Chattopadhyay, Kamala Devi (1903-88) Author and social worker. Active in the CSP Member, A.I.C.C. and Sometime member C.W.C. Organizing Secy., then President, Later Patron of A.I.W.C. President, Indian Cooperative Union. *After Independence*: Contributed a great deal to the development and popularization of Handicrafts Board, Chairman, Childrens' Book Trust.

Chavan, Yashwantrao B. (1913-1984) Legal practice at a small town in Sangli district, Maharashtra, President, Dist. C.C. 1941. Member Maharashtra PCC 1948-50. Active in the underground rebellion of the 'Quit India' Movement. Member, Bombay Legislature, 1916. *Post Independence*: Cabinet Minister, Bombay 1952. Chief Minister bilingual Bombay states 1956-60, later of Maharashtra 1960-62. M.P. (Lok Sabha) in a bye election 1964. Many ministerial posts in the Central Cabinet from 1962 till 1977 (Defence, Home, External Affairs) Leader Congress Party 1977. Leader of the opposition 1977-82. Dy. PM & Home Minister 1979. Joined Congress (I) 1981. Chairman, Finance Commission 1984.

Chettiar, T.S. Avinashalingam (1903-1991) Lawyer with large business interests in Coimbatore Advocate Madras High Court Imprisoned (1930-32) for part in Civil Disobedience movement. Member C.L.A. 1935-45. Detained under DIR in 1942. Elected M.L.A. Madras in 1946 and appointed Minister of Education *Post Independence*. Remained M.L.A., Madras Assembly till 1951, M.P. 1951-64. Awarded Padma Bhushan, 1970. Founder Sri Ramakrishna Vidyalaya, Coimbatore

Chhotu Ram, Sir (1881-1945) Came from a family of small Jat Landowners in Rohtak. Educ. in Lahore and Agra, Secy. to a Talukdar in UP 1906-10. Qualified as lawyer and practised in Rohtak from 1911. Founder president All India Jat Mahasaba 1906. Editor *Jat Gazette* 1916-21. Member Congress 1917-20. Resigned from Congress over issue of NCO; entered Punjab Legislature 1923 and victorious at all subsequent elections. Co founder, Unionist Party, Minister for Agriculture, 1924-5. Education 1925-27. Development 1937-41 and revenue 1941-45.

Chowdhuri, Annada Prasad (1897-1964) Born in a family with business interests in Cuttack district Orissa. Educ. Calcutta Univ. joined NCO in 1920 in charge of the Khadi Dept. of Abhaya Ashram in Comilla, with Mahatma Gandhi's encouragement. Secretary, Bengal Committee of All India Spinners' Association 1934-42. Courted arrest during salt satyagraha 1930. Active underground participant in 'Quit India' movement till his arrest in 1944. After 1946 elected to Bengal Legislature. *Post Independence*: Minister of Finance in the first Congress Cabinet after Independence.

Chowdhuri, Naba Krishna (1901-84) Entered political activity with N.C.O. Active Congressman. Took part in salt satyagraha. Founded (1933) Utkal Samyavadi group, which affiliated to Congress Socialist party in 1934. Worked amongst kisans and also active in Praja-Mandal movement in the Orissa princely states. Member, Orissa Legislature 1937-46, and again after 1946. Minister for Revenue, 1946-48. *Post Independence*: After a spell of constructive work in promoting Basic education scheme, became Chief Minister, Orissa, 1950-56. Member Congress Working Cttee, 1951-56. After 1956, active in Bhoodan movement, and village reconstruction, assisted by wife Malti. Joined Jai Prakash Narain (q.v.) in his Lok Sangram movement (1974): jailed during the emergency June 1975. Released after 16 months on medical grounds.

Conran-Smith, Sir Eric. (1890-1960) Educ. Dulwich College & Oxford. Entered ICS 1915. After war service, posted to Madras, rising to rank of Secretary, 1931. Served in Central Govt. in various Depts from 1934. Secy. Home Dept. 1939. Secy. Defence July 1945, Member Viceroy's Council - July-Aug. 1946.

Craik, Sir Henry (1876-1955) Educ. Eton & Oxford, Entered ICS, served in Punjab Chief Secy. Punjab, Home Member, Governor-General's Council 1934-38; Governor of Punjab 1938-41, Political Adviser to the Viceroy, 1941-43.

- Cunningham, Sir G. (1888–1963)** Governor of NWFP, 1937–46. After retirement recalled by Jinnah to serve again as Governor 1947–48. Rector of St Andrews University, Scotland after final retirement.
- Dalal, Sir Ardeshir R. (1884–1949)** joined ICS served in Bombay Presidency, rising to Secretary level. At the centre, Secy., EHL and later member (Planning and Development) Viceroy's Council, 1944–46. Director and Partner, Messrs Tata Sons Ltd., Director T.L.S. C.O. and other industrial enterprises.
- Dalmia, Seth Ramakrishna (1893–1978)** Industrialist, Financier and news paper proprietor. Founder of Dalmia Jain group of Industries covering a wide range of manufactures. Devout Hindu and orthodox in his life style.
- Damodaran, Ambady K. (b. 1921)** Student leader. Active in Student movement in Trichur, Cochin State. Founder Member of the Nationalist Students organisation based in Madras since Feb. 1912. Jailed Sept. 1942 to March 1943. Continued N.S.O. activities in the South and was a founder member of All India Students Congress, May 1944, Nagpur Convention. While studying for his M.A. and LL.B. studies at Lucknow University remained active in Student congress. *Post Independence*. After a short spell of teaching at a College in Delhi University, joined the Indian Foreign Service, retiring as Ambassador to Italy. Has held post retirement assignments in Jawaharlal Nehru University and the Ministry of External Affairs.
- Dange, S.A. (1899–1991)** Founder Member of Communist movement in India since 1922 and of A.I.T.U.C. since 1920. Spent many years in jail (1924–27), 1929–35, 1935–43 for alleged Communist Conspiracy Cases. M.P. 1957–62, 1967–70. Resigned from CPI Dec. 1977. Founded a separate left party. CPI expelled him Mar. 1981.
- Das Gupta, Ranadhir (1914–1987)** Just after finishing school, was involved in the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case in April 1930. Afterwards became a Communist while in prison in Andamans for 4 years. Secy. Chittagong Kisan Sabha, migrated to West Bengal after 1947. Remained with the CPI after the party split in the early sixties. Member editorial board of the CPI Bengali newspaper *Kalantar* and theoretical journal *Mulyayan*.
- Das, Baba Raghav (1896–1958)** Born in Chitpavan brahmin family in Konkan, joined Congress in 1920.
- Das, Biswanath (1889–1984)** Orissa Congress leader, Gave up legal practice during NCO, Involved in peasant movement in Ganjam district since 1922. Member, Madras Legislative Council 1920–30. Took leading part in agitation for separate Oriya province. Jailed during salt Satyagraha, 1930. Member, Orissa Legislative Assembly 1936–46. Premier of Orissa 1937–39. Detained during war 1940–41, 1942–1945. *After Independence*, Member Constituent Assembly 1947–51, later M.P. (Rajya Sabha) Governor of UP 1962–67. Chief Minister of Orissa 1971–72.
- Das, Pandit Nilakanta (1884–1967)** Author and political leader from Orissa. Gave up Professorship during NCO and started congress organisation in Sambalpur. President, Utkal provincial congress. Member, C.L.A., 1924–30, 1935–45. Editor of *The Nababharat*. *Post Independence* Leader of Independent Peoples' party in Orissa. Speaker Orissa Assembly 1957. First President Orissa Sahitya Akademi Pro-Chancellor, Utkal University, 1955.
- Das, S.K. Justice (1898–1994)** Educ. Calcutta and London Universities. Entered I.C.S. 1921, served in Bihar and Orissa initially in the executive branch and later in the judicial branch. Registrar, Patna High Court, 1944. Appointed Puisne Judge, Patna High Court, 1950. Chief Justice, 1955. Apptd. Justice of the Supreme Court 1956. Retired 1963.
- Das, Sajani Kanta (1900–1962)** Bengali poet, literary critic, editor and publisher. Started literary and political activity while still in his teens. Founder editor of monthly magazine. *Shanibarar Chitthi*. President, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Joint Secy. Congress Sahitya Sangha. *After Independence*

Composed many songs on the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, served on most of the major literary committees. Noted for his satirical style.

Das, P.R. (1880–1963) Younger brother of Deshbandhu C.R. Das. Barrister. Practised (1906–1917) Calcutta High Court and after the establishment of Patna High Court (1917) practised there. Apptd Judge, Resigned post in 1929 and resumed legal practice. President All India Civil Liberties Union.

Datta, Hemen (1874–1969) Joined Brahmo Samaj 1896, took up social work 1897. Founded business enterprises. H. Datta and Sons Ltd. 1929. with interests in Tea, oil refinery, printing press, potteries, Chemicals & Drugs & Insurance Company. *Post Independence*: Unsuccessful defendant in a case brought against him for financial irregularities.

Datta, Kishori Lal (b. 1907) Originally from Bhola sub-division of Barisal district, E. Bengal. Member, Anushilan Samiti. A detenu under the Bengal Ordinance from 1930 in various jails in Bengal. Released 1937. Joined the Staff of *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Re arrested during war and sent to Delhi jail. After release rejoined *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, retiring from service in 1967.

Datta, Labanya Probha (1888–1971) Involved in Swadeshi movement, 1906. Widowed at age of 23. Resumed political work, 1929. Jailed for 1 year during civil disobedience movement 1932. Held official posts at various levels of Bengal congress committee (1940–45)

Datta-Majumdar N. (b. 1905) Barrister, Called to the bar in 1932. Embraced left wing ideology, while a student at the Inns of Court. Founded Labour party of India, of which Bolshevik Party was the underground organisation. Supported Subhas Bose in 1938–39. Served 5 years jail sentence as political prisoner for seditious speeches. Member, Bengal Assembly for labour constituency 1937–45; re-elected 1946. *After Independence*: Cabinet Minister in West Bengal, 1948–52. Returned to legal practice after electoral defeat in 1952.

Datta, Radhika Kanta (b. 1914) *alias* Biswajit. Enrolled with Bengal volunteers in 1925, rose to the rank of 'Captain' under 'Major' Satya Gupta. Imprisoned 1931–2 and in May 1940 under DIR for two years; went underground after release, rearrested August 1944, finally released in 1946. *Post Independence*: Associated with various left sponsored movements in W Bengal.

Dennehy, Sir Harold, G. (1890–1956) Educ. Cambridge. Served in the Indian Army Reserve of officers, 1915–19. Indian Civil Service, Assam. O.S.D. with Govt of India Sept. 1926–March 1927. Secy. in Govt. of Assam subsequently rising to the post of Chief Secy. in 1939, a post held till 1947, Knighted, 1940.

Derbyshire, Sir Harold (1886–1972) Educ. Cambridge & Gray's Inn. Called to the bar, 1911. After being a judge in U.K., made Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court 1935 till 1946, when he went on leave preparatory to retirement. *Post Independence*: A fruit farmer since 1950.

Desai, Bhulabhai (1877–1946) Lawyer, joined Congress in 1930; Member of the working Committee of Indian National Congress (1934–35); evolved a formula for the formation of Interim Govt. Desai Liaquat Pact (1945); defended I.N.A. prisoners at the Red Fort Trial towards the end of 1945.

Deshpande, Purushottom Yashwant (1900–1986) Litterateur & Political activist. Educ. University of Bombay. LL.B. from Nagpur University. Reputed Marathi novelist. President, Betar Youth League, 1931. Secy., provincial Congress Committee 1934. A founder Member of Congress Socialist Party. Active part in Civil Disobedience (1930–31) and 'Quit India Movement'. Editor *Bhavitavya* (Marathi) and *Nagpur Times* (English).

Deshpande, Vimlabhai (1903–1989) Poet, novelist and journalist, wife of P.Y. Deshpande (q.v.) Managed the newspaper *Bhavitavya* though P.Y. Deshpande was the actual editor. Educationist – was the earliest to establish a school for children in the Montessori method in Nagpur. Established women's organizations like 'Bhagini Mandal' in Nagpur. Fluent in Marathi, Hindi and English: Sanskrit scholar. Author of many books. *Post Independence*: Parliamentary secretary and M.L.A., C.P. and Berar, 1946–52. Chief whip of the Congress party.

- Devi, Nirupama (1895–1984)** Authoress, first marriage to a Prince of Cooch. Bihar royal family. Editor, 'Pracharika', 1923–31. Published volume of poetry. After failure of first marriage, involved herself with Gandhian 'village uplift' movement. Second marriage to a Sarvodya worker. During 1942–43 active in famine relief, joined Congress Sahitya Sangha and co-authored dance-drama 'Abhyudaya'. *Post Independence*: continued social work in countryside.
- Dey, Bishnu (1909–1982)** Distinguished Bengali poet, connoisseur of art and literary critic. Professor of English literature in Calcutta. Associated with the I.P.T.A., Progressive Writer's Association, Friends of the Soviet Union, etc. Received the Jnanpeth Award for his literary achievements.
- Dey, Sushil Kumar (1908–1971)** Entered I.C.S. 1930. Served in the executive branch in Bengal as District Magistrate. During war in Calcutta in charge of Air Raid Precaution. *Post Independence*: Development Commissioner of West Bengal till 1955. Left I.C.S. to join the F.A.O. in Rome. After fourteen years retired and settled in Shantiniketan.
- Diraviyam, Kanthimathinatha (1925–1983)** Educ. Madras Christian College and Annamalai University. Student leader. Jailed twice, first for student activism for six months, afterwards for two years under D.I.R. as a detainee at Vellore and Tanjore jails. *Post Independence* Asst. Editor, *Dinamani*. Joined the I.A.S., rising to be Chief Secy., Tamilnadu at the time of his death.
- Draviyam, K.** See under **Diraviyam**.
- Dubey, Bishwanath [also spelt as Vishwanath] (1914–1967)** Trade Union leader in Bengal, among jute labourers and railway workers. Founder Member of Bolshevik Party of India. *After 1947*: unsuccessfully contested for a seat in the West Bengal legislature from a Calcutta constituency in the first general election.
- Dutt, Rajani Palme (1896–1974)** Born in U.K. of an Indian father and Swedish mother. Educ. Balliol College, Oxford. Member, Executive Committee of British Communist Party since 1922, later becoming its Vice-President. Editor *Labour Monthly* since 1921. Author of *Marxist Treatise on International Affairs, Colonialism and India*.
- Dutt, Dr S. (1891–1970)** Educationist and scholar; specialist in English literature and Buddhist studies and Ancient Indian History. Taught English at Calcutta, later at Ramjas College, Delhi University, where he was also Principal. Author of a large number of books on Buddhism, Indian History and numerous articles in periodicals.
- Fazl Ali, Sir Syed (1886–1959)** Judge, Patna High Court, 1928. offg. Chief Justice 1938. Made permanent 1943. Judge Federal Court, 1946–1951. Nationalist Muslim in politics. *After Independence*: Judge Supreme Court, 1951–52, Chairman, States Re-organisation Commission, 1954–56, Governor of Orissa, 1952–54, Governor of Assam till his death.
- Fischer, Louis (1896–1970)** American journalist. Author of numerous works on the Soviet Union, India and international affairs including *Men and Politics: An Autobiography* (1941), *A Week with Gandhi*, *Gandhi & Stalin*, *The Soviet in World Affairs and Empire* (1945).
- Fitze, Sir Kenneth (1887–1960)** Educ. Marlborough and Oxford. Entered ICS 1911. Joined political deptt. 1915. Resident for Central India, 1935–40. Political Secy. to Crown Representative, 1941–44. Adviser to Secy. of State for India, 1944–47. *Post Independence*: Wrote a book *Twilight of the Maharajahs* (1956).
- Gadgil, N.V. (1896–1966)** Educ. Bombay, Baroda & Poona. Lawyer with practice in Poona. Congress Activist from 1921, President Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee, 1931, Member (on Congress Party ticket) of the C.L.A. from 1935. *Post Independence*. Union Cabinet Minister, 1947–52. Governor of Punjab 1958–62. Vice Chancellor, Poona University, 1964.
- Gajendragadkar, P.B. (1901–1981)** Educ. Deccan College & Law College, Poona. Enrolled as Advocate in 1926. Apptd Judge, Bombay High Court 1945–57. Judge Supreme Court, 1957–64.

Chief Justice, Supreme Court, 1964–66. Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University, March 1966–Oct. 1971 – Chairman, Law Reforms Commission afterwards.

Gandhi, Devdas (1900–57) Journalist. Son of Mahatma Gandhi, joined *Independent* 1920. *Young India* & *Navjeevan*, 1923–24. Editor, *Hindustan Times*.

Gandhi, Indira (1917–1984) Daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru (q.v.) Educ. at Allahabad, Switzerland, Poona and Bombay, Visvabharati and Somerville College, Oxford; became member of Congress; married Feroze Gandhi (q.v.) courted imprisonment with her husband in 1942. *Post Independence*: Minister for Information and Broadcasting 1964–66. Prime Minister of India, 1966–77; 1980–84.

Gandhi, Feroze (1912–1960) Educ. Bombay and Allahabad, involved in politics from the agitation against Simon Commission and the Civil Disobedience movement (1932). Married Indira Gandhi (q.v.) in 1942 and courted arrest during Quit India movement. As journalist worked for *National Herald* (1946–50) and *Indian Express*. Nominated to Constituent Assembly. *Post Independence*: M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1952 onward, exposed a financial scandal, which led to the resignation of a cabinet minister.

Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand, Mahatma (1869–1948) Leading personality in All India Nationalist movement since 1918. Lawyer by training. Practised in South Africa where developed the technique of passive resistance against discriminatory laws. On return to India started political career with the indigo labourers agitation in Champaran, Bihar. At the head of most of the non-violent movements against the Raj. Courted arrest many times. Worked for Communal amity during riots, 1946–47. Killed by a member of the R.S.S. shortly after independence.

Gautam, Mohanlal (1902–1977) Active Congress Worker from NCO days 1920–21, participated CD movement, 1930–32 Gen. Secy. unlawful UPCC 1930–31. Foundation Member CSP 1934. First Secy. All India Kisan Sangh. Secy. UP Agrarian Enquiry Committee, Member UP Legislative Assembly, 1937–45, underground work for 2 years during 'Quit India' movement. *Post Independence*: Member, Constituent Assembly. Member UP Legislature, 1952–1968. Minister UP Govt. 1952–54, 1957–62, Rajya Sabha 1969.

Gazdar, Muhammad Hashim (1893–) Engineer & Land Lord, Vice President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, 1941–43; Member, Council of All India Muslim League. Mayor of Karachi 1941–42. Member Sind Legislative Assembly 1937–46. Re-elected 1946. Member Pakistan Constituent Assembly 1946, *Post Partition*: Development Adviser to the Govt. of Sind.

George, C.S. (b. 1921) A member of the Travancore State Congress from 1938. Sentenced to five months imprisonment for having defied the Government's prohibitory order at Trivandrum in 1946. Opposed the Independent Travancore Movement.

George, S.K. (1900–1960) Educ. M.A. B.D. left Bishops College, Calcutta in protest against the Metropolitan's support of British policy. Became Gandhi's disciple and an inmate of Wardha Ashram. Author of *Gandhi's Challenge to Christianity*. Ran Social Welfare Centre in Trichur Dist, Kerala. Editor, F.F.T. Quarterly, a journal in support of Communal Solidarity.

Ghaznavi, Sir Abdul H.A.H.K. (1876–1953) Landlord and merchant. Member C.L.A. from a Bengal rural Muslim constituency. Delegate to all the three R.T.C.s & involved in the constitutional talks prior to 1935 Act. President, Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta. President, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, 1939–40. President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, 1945–46. Never joined hands with the Muslim League.

Ghosh, Subodh (1909–1980) Bengali short story writer & novelist. On the editorial staff of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*. A founder member of the Congress Sahitya Sangh and co-author of the dance drama 'Abhyudaya'. Accompanied Mahatma Gandhi in his tour of areas affected by communal riots in East Bengal. *After Independence*: Covered the Kashmir and Sino-Indian conflicts for his paper and wrote a book on the history of the Indian armed forces in Bengali.

- Ghosh, Tushar Kanti (1899–1994)** Journalist, Editor & proprietor of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta & Allahabad. Founded Bengali daily 'Jugantar'. Founder & Dy. President, Indian & Eastern Newspaper Society. Director, United Press. President, All India Newspaper editors conference 1946–47.
- Giri, V.V. (1894–1980)** Educ. National University, Ireland. Called to the Bar. Trade Union leader. Gen. Secy. & President of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. Twice President of the All India Trade Union Congress. Member C.L.A. for several years. Minister of Labour in the Congress govt. in Madras, 1937–39. Minister, Madras Govt. 1946–47. *Post Independence*: Govt. of India representative to Ceylon, 1948. M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1952–57, Cabinet Minister (Labour), 1952–4. Served as Governor of U.P. Kerala and Mysore. Vice President, 1967. President of India, 1969–74.
- Glancy, Sir Bertrand J. (1882–1953)** Entered I.C.S. 1905. Governor of Punjab, 1941–46. Served in Foreign & political depts, G.O.I. 1946–47.
- Godbole, Yashwant Anant (1889–)** Educ. Fergusson College, Poona & Cambridge. Entered I.C.S. 1913. Served in Bihar & Orissa, later Bihar, rising to be Chief Secy., Bihar Govt., 1939–41. Advisor to Bihar Governor, 1944 to 1946. Member, Board of Revenue, Bihar, 1946. Came to GOI as Secy. to Governor General (Public), 1946–47. *Post Independence*: Chairman, Public Service Commission Bombay.
- Goenka, Sir Badridas (1883–1973)** Merchant, Banker, Millowner and Zamindar, with widely dispersed interests in a variety of enterprises. President, Marwari Association, 1928–30; Member Bengal Legislative Council, 1923–35; Sheriff of Calcutta, 1932–33, Director, Reserve Bank of India (Central Bank), 1935–41. President, FICCI, 1945–46. Knighted, 1934.
- Goenka, Ramnath (1904–1991)** Born in Northern Bihar in a Marwari family; Educ. Kashi Vidyapith. Joined business and moved to Madras at the age of 18. Identified himself with the freedom movement: 1928 – protested against the Simon Commission. Took over *Indian Express* from Sadanand in the thirties. Helped Jaiprakash Narayan during Quit India Movement. *Post Independence*: Member of Lok Sabha for one term and left active politics after that.
- Golwalkar, M.S. (1906–1973)** R.S.S. leader. Educated B.H.U., taught there in 1930's. Succeeded Dr Hedgewar as the Sarsangchalak of the organisation in 1940. Detained for sometime after Mahatma Gandhi's assassination.
- Goray, N.G. (1907–1992)** Social worker and socialist. Founded Maharashtra Youth League, 1928. Joined Congress during Civil Disobedience, 1930; jailed 4 years: Member, C.S.P. & on its National Executive from 1934. Member, A.I.C.C., in jail, 1941–46, except for 4 months underground work in 'Quit India' movement. *Post Independence*: When CSP broke away from Congress, became Jt. Secy. of the Socialist Party, General Secy. P.S.P., 1953–4. its Chairman, 1965. M.P. (LS) 1957–62 & Rajya Sabha 1970–76. High Commissioner to UK 1977–79.
- Goswami, T.C. (1898–1957)** Educ. Oxford and the Inns of Court. Called to the Bar, 1921. Gave up practice during N.C.O. and worked under C.R. Das in politics. joined Swaraj Party, 1923, edited party organ *Forward*. Member C.L.A., 1923. Chief Whip of Swaraj parliamentary Party & Dy leader of the opposition. Member Bengal Legislature, 1937–45 & Dy leader of Congress Parliamentary Party. Finance Minister (1943) in Nazimuddin Cabinet; opposed partition plan. *Post Independence*: Left Congress & contested 1952 Lok Sabha elections. Retired from politics after defeat in that election.
- Griffiths, Sir Percival (b. 1899–)** Educ. Cambridge & London Universities. Entered ICS 1922. Served in Bengal. Retired 1937 and joined European Business houses. Member, C.L.A. from 1937. Leader European group in C.L.A., 1946. Central Organizer, National War Front. Publicity advisor to GOI. Knighted 1947; *Post Independence*: Retained his links with expatriate European firms. Sometime President of India, Pakistan and Burma Association. Author of many books on Indian & Imperial History.

- Guha, Braja Kanta (1900–1978)** Educ. Presidency College, Calcutta & B.N.C. Oxford. Entered ICS. Served as District Judge before independence. Services utilized for Famine Relief work & apptd Relief Commissioner. *Post Independence*: Secy., Judicial dept., & Legal Remembrancer, W. Bengal govt. Apptd Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1949. Vice Chancellor, Burdwan University, 1960.
- Gupta, Ashoka (b. 1912)** graduated from Bethune College, Calcutta. Wife of Saibal Gupta (q.v.). Social Worker. Welfare work for women and children. Member, A.I.W.C. since 1943. Worked for famine relief, rescue and rehabilitation of Orphans in 1943–44, for communal peace under Mahatma Gandhi's direction in Noakhali, 1946–47. *Post Independence*: Social work in refugee relief and rehabilitation. Chairman, West Bengal State Social Welfare Board, 1955–60, and later Member, Central Social Welfare Board. Sometime President A.I.W.C. and afterwards its Patron.
- Gupta, Atul Chandra (1884–1961)** Lawyer and man of letters. Educ. Calcutta University. Enrolled as Advocate, Calcutta High Court, 1914 and was lecturer in Law Faculty, Calcutta University 1918–28. Established himself as a distinguished literary critic and essayist in Bengali in the midst of a highly successful legal practice. President, Congress Sahitya Sangh, 1944. *Post Independence*: Awarded LL.D. (1957) by Calcutta University.
- Gupta, Bhupesh (1914–1981)** Lawyer & Communist Party Activist. Called to the Bar. Member C.P.I. since the thirties. *Post Independence*: Elected to Rajya Sabha, 1952, & eventually leader of the CPI parliamentary party in the Rajya Sabha. Member, Central Executive & the Secretariat of the C.P.I. Sometime editor, *New Age* (monthly).
- Gupta, Indrajit (b. 1919)** Educ. Delhi & Cambridge universities. Political worker for the Communist Party, especially in the trade union front, among jutemill workers in Calcutta. President, several trade union organisations. *Post Independence*: trade union work, general secretary AITUC, 1980–90. General Secy., CPI since 1990 till 1996. M.P. since 1957. Cabinet Minister (Home) in the U.F. Govt. at the Centre 1996 onward.
- Gupta, Saibal K. (1902–89)** Educ. Mofussil School in E. Bengal and Presidency College Calcutta. Entered ICS 1925. Was shifted from the Executive to the Judicial branch in 1931 for overt sympathy with the Congress Satyagrahis. District and Session Judge in many districts of undivided Bengal. *After independence*: returned to Executive Side, as Secy., Education, later Local Self Govt., West Bengal. Chairman, Calcutta Improvement Trust, 1950–60.
- Gwyer, Sir Maurice (1878–1952)** Jurist & Educationist. Fellow of All Souls, 1902–16; called to the Bar (Inner Temple) 1902; K.C. 1930. Solicitor to the Treasury 1926–33. Knighted, 1927. First Chief Justice, Federal Court, 1937–43. Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, 1938–50.
- Haddow, Sir Robert R. (1891–1946)** Businessman: McKinnon McKenzie & Co. Member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1929–31; Bengal Legislative Assembly 1940–41; Bengal Council of State, 1941–43. President, ASSOCHAM 1942–43; 1945–46.
- Hajara, Karuna Kumar (1903–72)** Entered ICS, 1928. Till 1933 served as S.D.O. Afterwards, few postings District magistrate but mostly as District & Session Judge. District judge, Midnapore from late 1942 to early 1944. Subsequent postings in Darjeeling & Comilla. *Post Independence*: Secy. to Chief Minister, West Bengal (1947). 1950–51, Chief Commissioner, Cooch Bihar & later Tripura. 1952–63. Legal Remembrancer, West Bengal govt. Retired 1963.
- Haldane, J.B.S. (1892–1964)** Distinguished scientist. Fellow of the Royal Society. Academic career spanned Cambridge, London University, Indian Statistical Institute. Member, Editorial Board of British Communist '*Daily Worker*', 1940–49. Settled in India towards the end of his life. Head of Genetics and Biometry Laboratory, Govt. of Orissa, 1962–64.
- Haldar, Gopal (1902–1993)** Man of letters and political activist. Scholar in comparative philology, Involved with the 'Jugantar' group of revolutionaries. Spent the nineteen thirties as a detenu. After release, a follower of Subhas Bose's group in politics. Joined CPI in 1941 and served the Communist

movement in the agrarian and cultural spheres. *After Independence*: detained when the CPI was illegal. Subsequently, a member of the West Bengal Legislative Council for a term. Author of many books in Bengali.

Hallett, Sir Maurice G. (1883–1969) Educ. Winchester & New College, Oxford. Entered ICS 1907. Served in Bihar and Orissa Chief Secy. Bihar & Orissa 1930–32, Secy., Home Dept., GOI 1932–36. Governor of Bihar, 1937–39. Governor of UP, 1939–1945.

Haroon, Yousuf (1918–??) Member, Karachi Municipal Corporation, 1940, of Indian Legislative Assembly, 1941; met Jinnah at the Muslim Students Conference of the Federation 23 April 1941; first President, Pakistan Stock Exchange; Chief, Sind 1949–50; Pakistan Ambassador to Australia; President, Muslim Chamber of Commerce; Chief Editor 'Dawn', Governor West Pakistan for six days (20–26 March 1969); Vice-President Pan Am 1973. Recently was Governor Sind.

Herbert, Sir John Arthur (1895–1943) Conservative M.P., 1934–39. Governor of Bengal 1939–43.

Hidayatullah, M. (1905–1992) Junst. Educ Nagpur & Cambridge. Barrister at law (Lincolns Inn) 1930. Advocate, Nagpur High Court, 1930–46. Advocate-General, C.P. & Berar, 1943–46. Puisne Judge, Nagpur High Court, 1946–53. *After Independence*: Chief Justice, Nagpur High Court, 1953–58. Judge of the Supreme Court 1958. Chief Justice of India, 1968. Vice-President of India, 1979–84 and twice officiated as President (in 1969 and 1982).

Hidayatullah, Sir Sheikh Ghulam Hussain (1879–1948) Muslim politician from Sind. Educ. Bombay University. Legal practice. Political activity since 1904, first in municipal politics, later in provincial arena. Member Bombay Legislature in 1912–20. Minister in Bombay Govt., 1921–28. Member, Bombay Governor's Executive Council, 1928–34. Attended R.T.C. & President Sind Advisory Council on the Separation of Sind from Bombay. Member, Sind Legislative Assembly 1937–47. Either minister or Premier in one Cabinet or other since 1937. Premier, 1943–47. *Post Partition*. First Governor of Sind in Pakistan till his death.

Holland, Edgar William (1899–??) Educ. Brasenose College, Oxford. Entered ICS, 1923. Served in Bengal rising to be Local self govt. & Health Secy., 1944. Also Chairman, Calcutta Improvement Trust, 1943 onwards.

Houlton, Sir John Wardle (1892–1973) Educ. Perse School & Christ College, Cambridge. Entered ICS, 1920, & served on the executive side in Bihar & Orissa, rising to be Commr of Excise, Bihar govt. 1940. Offg. Chief Secy., Bihar govt., Apr. 1944. Advisor to Governor, 1945. Commissioner of a division, Apr. 1946. Retired 1948. *Post Partition*; author of *Bihar, the Heart of India* (1950). President of the Senate of Swaziland, 1968.

Huq, Abul Kasim Fazlul (1873–1962) Educ. Calcutta university, qualified lawyer, 1897. Legal practice in Barisal, East Bengal, 1900 onwards. joined govt. Service 1906–11. Resigned & enrolled as Advocate, Calcutta High Court. Member, Bengal Legislative Council, & also Secy., Bengal Provincial Muslim League, 1913. President, All-India Muslim League, 1918–21. General Secy., Indian National Congress. 1918–19; Founder-President, Krishak-Praja party of Bengal, 1927. Delegate to the R.T.C. (1930–31), Member, C.L.A., 1934–36. After 1937 election, became Prime Minister of Bengal, (1937–43) first with a coalition Cabinet including the League, later the 'progressive coalition' without the League. At Lahore conference of the League (1940) moved the 'Pakistan' resolution. Expelled from the League by Jinnah, 1941. Dismissed from Prime Ministership by Governor, March 1943. *Post Partition*: Legal practice in Dhaka. Prime Minister of East Pakistan during the Jukta Front ministry, 1954. After a spell as Home Minister of Pakistan, became Governor of East Pakistan, 1956–58.

Huq, Sir Azizul (1892–1947) Lawyer & Educationist. Started practice in 1915. Minister of Education, Bengal, 1934–37. Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, 1938–42; High Commissioner in U.K. 1942–43. Member (Commerce) Viceroy's Council, 1943–46. Elected to Bengal Legislative Council, 1928 and again in 1946.

- Huthee Singh, Krishna (1907-1967)** Youngest sister of Jawaharlal Nehru (q.v.). Married, 1933, to Raja Huthee Singh, a barrister coming from a business family in Gujarat. Took part in the political struggle, and went to jail. *Post Independence*: Not much in evidence in public life, and devoted her time to family affairs.
- Hydari, Sir Akbar (1894-1948)** Educ. Bombay University & Oxford; joined ICS served in Madras Presidency till 1923. Served Govt. of India in various capacities, rising to Secretary's rank in 1938, Member, Viceroy's Council 1945-46. Governor of Assam, May 1947-Dec. 1948.
- Iengar, H.V.R. (1902-1978)** Educ. Mysore University & Queen's College, Oxford. Entered ICS 1926, Served in Bombay Presidency, Rose to be Secy., Revenue dept. 1947; Addl. Secy., Home dept. 1942, later secy., Home 1943. Joined GOI as Secy., Planning & Development, Oct. 1944. *After Independence*: Secy., Commerce Dept. & later Home Dept. GOI. Last post held before retirement was Governor, Reserve Bank of India.
- Iftikar-ud-din, Mian (1907-62)** Educ. Lahore & Oxford Universities, Socialist and non communal. Joined Congress 1935. Member on Congress nomination, in Punjab Legislature, 1937-46. Secy. Congress Pol. Party till 1940. jailed for 2 years for participation in Quit India Movement. President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, 1940-45. Joined Muslim League Sept. 1945. *Post Partition*: Member Pakistan Constituent Assembly. Expelled from Muslim League 1950. In 1957 joined National Awami Party. Editor, *Pakistan Times* & *Imroz* English & Urdu dailies.
- Ispahani, Mirza Abul Hassan (1902-1981)** Educ. St John's College and Inner Temple. Member, Bengal Legislature 1937. President, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, 1945-47, Joint Secretary, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, 1936-37; its Treasurer 1936-47, Deputy Mayor, Calcutta; Member, All India Muslim League Working Cttee; Member Pakistan Constituent Assembly, 1947. Sometime Pakistan Ambassador to the U.S.A.
- Iyengar, Ananthasayanam (1891-1978)** Trained as lawyer. Involved in Home Rule movement. When Annie Besant detained in 1916 suspended practice 1921 and took to constructive work; worked for Harijan upliftment & President, Harijan Sevak Sangh. Member C.L.A. from 1934. Member, Constituent Assembly. *After Independence*: Dy speaker of Lok Sabha, 1952-56. Speaker, 1957-62. Chairman, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association 1957, Governor of Bihar, May 1962-Dec. 1967.
- Jafferbhoy, Abid Ali (1899-1973)** Labour leader, based in Bombay.
- Jakatdar, Prabhavati (1911-)** Took part in Quit India movement & interned in Jabalpur jail. Congress worker in C.P. *Post Independence*: Member, Madhya Pradesh Legislature, 1952-56; Dy Minister for Social Welfare, Madhya Pradesh, 1952-56 President: Matra Sewa Sangh, Jabalpur.
- Jayakar, M.R. (1873-1959)** Educ. Bombay University. Practised as barrister in Bombay High Court. Member Bombay Legislative Council & Leader of Swaraj Party therein. Member, C.L.A., 1926-30. Delegate to RTC & member Federal Structures cttee. Judge, Federal Court Oct. 1937-Dec. 1938. Member, Judicial cttee of Privy Council Jan. 1939-Mar. 1942. Member Constituent Assembly 1946-47. *Post Independence*: Vice Chancellor, Poona University 1948-56.
- Jayaratnam, T.C.S. (1893-??)** Educ. Royal College, Colombo & Clare College, Cambridge. Entered ICS & served in Central Provinces, with a short spell at GOI at Home dept. Labour dept., and as Jt. Secy., Franchise Cttee 1932. Afterwards Settlement Commr, C.P., Commr. Jabulpore Division, and Chief Minister, Rewa State, Central India. *Post Independence*: Financial Commr. C.P.
- Jehangir, Sir Cowasjee (1879-1962)** Son of a Parsee baronet. Educ. Bombay & Cambridge. Member. Bombay Corporation 1904-21 and its President 1919-20. Member, Bombay Legislature 1921-28. Member, C.L.A. 1930 on. Delegate to R.T.C. 1930-33 & to World Monetary Conference President, National Liberal Federation, 1936. Chairman, Bank of India. Director of many Companies including Tata Steel, Oriental Life Assurance etc.

- Jenkins, Sir Evan Meredith (1896–1985)** Educ. Rugby & Balliol College, Oxford. Entered ICS, 1920 served in the Punjab. Dy Secy., GOI, Dept. of Industry & Labour. Nov. 1933. Rose to rank of Jt. Secy. in same dept. by Jan 1936. Chief Commissioner, Delhi Province, March 1937. Secy., Supply Dept., GOI, July–1940 to Sept. 1943. Pvt. Secy. to Viceroy Oct. 1943–45. Governor of Punjab, 1946–47. *Post Independence*: Director, Eastern Bank Ltd. 1958–67.
- Jinnah, Mohammed Ali (1875–1948)** Barrister, with legal practice in Bombay. A nationalist Congressman, 1906–1920. Opposed the N.C.O. resolution and drifted away from the Congress. 1920–28. A leader of the Muslim League & spokesman of its specific ideology from the mid thirties. *Post Partition*: First governor-General of Pakistan
- Jog, Durgabai (1897–??)** Social worker & nationalist political figure from Maharashtra. By profession a schoolteacher. Secy., Poona City Congress Cttee. Member, standing Cttee of A.I.W.C.
- Josh, Sohan Singh (1896–1982)** Leading Communist worker of Punjab. President of the Workers & Peasants Party. Member Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1937–45. *Post Independence*: Active member of the Punjab unit of the CPI, especially in the Kisan movement. Remained with CPI after the split. Member, CPI Politburo till a few years before his expiry.
- Joshi, N.M. (1879–1955)** Joined Servants of India Society, 1909; Secy., Bombay Social Service League since 1911. Trade Union leader. Represented Indian labour at the first conference of the I.L.O. in 1919 and at many later conferences. Founder member of the All India Trades Union Congress, Member Royal Commission on Indian Labour, 1929–32. Delegate to the first Round Table Conference. Member (representing labour) in the C.L.A., since 1921.
- Joshi, Puran Chandra (1907–1980)** Communist leader. Arrested while a student & youth organizer, 1929, the youngest accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Jailed for 5 years; on release became organizer in U.P. of illegal C.P.I., evaded arrest for 7 years. Jailed again for 2 years. Became General Secy., CPI, a post held till 1948. Founder-editor *People's War*. *After Independence*: Re-elected to CPI Politburo in 1956. Editor, CPI organ *New Age*, 1957–64.
- Kabir, Humayun (1906–1969)** Educationist, Litterateur & political worker. Educ. Calcutta & Oxford Universities. Lecturer in philosophy, Calcutta University, 1937–45. Involved in trade union movement (workers of Calcutta Port, Bengal & Assam Railway, and All-India Post & Telegraph) Member, Krishak Praja Party. elected to Bengal Legislature on that party's nomination. Joined Congress subsequently. *Post Independence*: Secy. & educational adviser to Govt. of India, 1952–56. M.P. (Rajya Sabha) till 1962 M.P. (Lok Sabha), 1962–69, Minister in the Central Govt. in various departments (education, scientific research, civil aviation and petroleum) till 1966. Left Congress in 1967 & eventually joined Lok Dal.
- Kachru, Dwarka Nath (d. 1950)** Secy. All India State Peoples Conference. Joined Nehru's Sectt. to deal with State affairs. Died in air crash 1950.
- Kalappa V.R. (d. 1949)** Railway employee, prominently associated with All India Railwaymen's Federation and A.I.T.U.C. President of A.I.T.U.C. 1940–42.
- Kalyanasundaram, M. (1909–1988)** T.U. Leader & freedom fighter. Jailed by the Raj. Activist of the A.I.T.U.C. Vice-President, Railwaymen's Federation, 1944–46. Member, Executive Cttee of the C.P.I. Sometime Secy., Tamil Nadu State cttee of CPI. *Post Independence*: M.L.A. in Madras Presidency & later Tamil Nadu, 1952–67. M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1971–79, M.P. (Rajya Sabha) afterwards till his demise.
- Kamath, Hari Vishnu (1907–1982)** Entered ICS, 1930, resigned in 1938 & joined Congress, Secy., National Planning Cttee, 1938. Followed Subhas Bose (q.v.) in estg Forward Bloc of which he was organizing Secy., 1939. Imprisoned, 1940, for anti-war propaganda. Toured India, 1941 to organise Forward Bloc units. Detained till 1945 from about the time F.B. declared illegal (1942). *Post Independence*: Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946–50. Joined PSP, 1953, when F.B. merged with it. M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1962–67.

- Kamtekar, Shankarrao Anandrao (1893-1962)** Educ. Wilson College, Bombay University, B.A., L.L.B. Entered Baroda Judicial Service. Served as District and Sessions Judge, rising to be Legal Remembrancer and Secretary, Dhara Sabha (Legislature).
- Karaka, D.F. (1911-1974)** Educ. Bombay & Oxford. President, Oxford Union, 1934. Author and Journalist, Founder editor, *The Current*, a weekly published from Bombay.
- Karim, Rezaul (1900-1993)** Nationalist Muslim Congressman from Birbhum district, Bengal. Author of many books in English and Bengali on the syncretic tradition in the sub-continent and against the 'Pakistan' proposals.
- Karnik, V.B. (1902-1985)** took part in N.C.O. 1921. Practised as lawyer, Bombay High Court, 1927. from 1930-31 associated with M.N. Roy in trade union & political work. General Secy., Radical Democratic Party, 1942-44, Indian Federation of labour 1942-48. Jailed in 1932, 1934 for trade union work. *Post Independence*: helped found Hind Mazdoor Sabha 1948 continued trade union work, & writing about it.
- Katju, Dr Kailash Nath (1887-1968)** Jurist & Congress leader. Advocate, Allahabad High Court from 1914; LL.D. Allahabad University 1919. Member, A.I.C.C. till 1946; Minister of Justice, U.P. govt. 1937-39. Imprisoned for 18 months in Nov. 1940 Detained Aug. 1942-Apr. 1943. Minister, U.P. govt., 1946-7. *After Independence*: Governor of Orissa, 1947-8; Governor of West Bengal, 1948-51. Union Cabinet Home Minister, 1951-52, Home Minister 1951-55 Defence Minister, 1955-57. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, 1957.
- Keithahn, Ralph Richard (1898-1984)** American missionary in India. Of German extraction. (all grant parents came from and settled in the Mid-West) Training for confirmation in Germany, and advised by Pastor to be a missionary in India at the age of 14. Completed theological training in Carleton College, Chicago University (1920-22) and graduate work in Education at Yale (1922). Spent a term in India from 1927 mainly in Madura. Afterwards at Union Theological seminary as a Missionary Fellow. Preacher in South Dakota, 1932-34. Return to India with family (wife a qualified doctor). 1934, Associated with Christian Institute for study of religion and society, Bangalore; Admired Gandhi's ideals of Sarvodaya and village uplift.
- Kesavan, P.N. (b. 1916)** Educ. Took B.A. & B.L. degrees. Joined the Travancore State Congress and participated in the movement for responsible govt. from 1938. Courted arrest during the political agitation of September, 1938. Detained in prison from October 1946 to August 1947.
- Khan, Abdul Gaffar (1890-1988)** Congress leader of the North West Frontier Province. Founded the 'Red Shirt' volunteer organisation in 1929. Popularly known as the 'Frontier Gandhi' *After partition*: Detained by the Pakistan Government 1947-55. Visited India after 31 years on the occasion of Gandhi's birth Centenary in Oct. 1969.
- Khan, Shah Nawaz (1914-1983)** Commissioned in the Indian Army, 1936. Taken prisoner after the fall of Singapore. Joined I.N.A. under Subhas Bose. Rose to rank of Major General in the INA. Tried by Court Martial at Red Fort, New Delhi, 1945-46. Dismissed from the Indian Army but life imprisonment sentence was remitted by Auchinleck (q.v.) G.O.C. Congress Seva Dal, 1946. *After Independence*: M.P. 1952-67, & Dy Minister in the govt. Re-elected M.P., 1971 & Minister for Petroleum & Chemicals, 1973-74.
- Khan, Sikandar Hayat (1892-1942)** Educ. Aligarh University & London. Recruiting Officer, European War, 1914-18; First Indian to command a company on Active Service. Member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1921-42. Leader, Unionist Party. Prime Minister, Punjab, 1937-42.
- Khan. (Nawabzada) Liaqat Ali (1895-1951)** Educ. Aligarh, Allahabad & Oxford. Called to the Bar (Inner Temple) 1922. Joined Muslim League, 1923 & elected its Hony Secy. 1938-47. Member. U.P. Legis. Council, 1926-1940. Member, C.L.A. 1940-47. Dy leader of Muslim League Party in C.L.A., Mar. 1943. Member for Finance in interim Govt. 1946-47. *After 15 Aug. 1947*: Prime Minister of Pakistan till his death at the hands of an assassin.

- Khare, N.B. (1884–1969)** Jailed for Civil Disobedience, 1930. Member, C.L.A. 1935–37. Chief Minister C.P. & Berar, 1937–8, resigned because of differences with Gandhi and Congress working cttee. Member, Viceroy's Council (Commonwealth Relation), 1943–46. Prime Minister, Alwar State and represented Alwar in Constituent Assembly, 1947. *Post Independence*. President, Hindu Mahasabha, 1949–51. M.P. (Lok Sabha), 1952.
- Kher, B.G. (1888–1957)** Educ. Bombay University. Enrolled as a vakil 1912. Solicitor, 1918 & partner in a firm of solicitors in Bombay. Secy., Swaraj Party & Bardoli Satyagraha Inquiry cttee. Jailed during Civil Disobedience, 1930–32. Member Bombay Legislature, 1937–46 & leader of Congress Legislative Party. Prime Minister, Bombay, 1937–39. Detained 1940 & again from Aug. 1942–44. Re-elected to Bombay Legislature, 1946 & Prime Minister 1946–47. *After independence*. Continued in same post till 1952. Indian High Commissioner in London, 1952–54. Chairman, official language commission, 1955–56.
- Khizr** – See under **Tiwana**.
- Khuhro, Mohammed Ayub (1901–1980)** Member, Bombay Legislative Council, 1924–36. Took leading part in the movement for the separation of Sind from Bombay as an autonomous province. Member, Sind Legislative Assembly since 1937. Leader of Muslim League Assembly Party and leader of opposition 1939 & 1941–2. held minister's office 1940–41 (PWD) and 1942–44 (Revenue). Re-elected, 1946 and Minister (PWD & Development) *After partition*: chief Minister, Sind 1947–48; Defence Minister in Central Cabinet, 1957. A chequered political career ended with his being defeated by Z.A. Bhutto in the 1970 elections.
- Khundkar, Nural Azeem (1890–1947)** Educ. Cambridge Called to the Bar (Lincoln's Inn) 1918; worked for long as Crown Prosecutor; also lecturer, Mercantile law in Calcutta University. Judge Calcutta High Court from 1935 till his death (May 1947). Knighted 1946.
- Kirchner, Bernard J. (1894–??)** Came to India after war service 1914–19. Joined *The Statesman* in 1942, rising to be Managing Editor & later a Director, Statesman Ltd. Chief Press Advisor, GOI 1941–44.
- Kirkwood, David (1872–1955)** Labour Leader of Scotland. An activist of the Amalgamated Engineering Union on the Clydeside, Glasgow. Deported for his agitation for lower rents, 1916. Labour M.P. 1922–51. Raised to the Peerage afterwards as Baron Kirkwood.
- Kishore, Acharya Jugal (1893–1974)** Educ. Oxford, Taught history at Gujarat Vidyapeeth Ahmedabad. In charge of Gandhi Ashram in U.P. as Secy. to J.B. Kripalani (q.v.) Member, U.P. Legislature, 1936–39. Courtied arrest more than six times during freedom movement. Apptd Gen. Secy., Congress, 1946 and elected to Constituent Assembly 1946. Later, President of UPCC. *After Independence*: Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University, 1952; Cabinet minister in U.P., 1954–58 and again in 1960. Vice-Chancellor, Kanpur University, 1966–69.
- Kitchlew, Saifuddin (1888–1963)** Born in a Muslim mercantile family in Amritsar Educ. Agra College and Peterhouse, Cambridge. Doctorate from Munster, Germany. Involved in Nationalist movement from around 1912. Took part in Rowlatt Satyagraha, N.C.O. & Khilafat movements. Opposed Communal electorates. Externed from Punjab during Rowlatt agitation. Jailed during Salt Satyagraha 1931–34. supporter of the leftwing under Subhas Bose in Congress politics in late thirties. Physically attacked by Muslim League during communal riots, 1946–47. *Post Independence*: Active in the World Peace Council.
- Kripalani, Acharya J.B. (1888–1982)** Academic, social worker & politician. Professor in Bihar, 1912–17. Helped Gandhi in Champaran Satyagraha, 1917. Secy. to Madan Mohan Malviya (q.v.). Professor of politics, B.H.U. 1919. Resigned to take up khadi & village work, 1920 in Benaras & Principal, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, 1922–7. Jailed nine times by the Raj upto & including the '42 movement. Secy., Indian National Congress, 1934–46. President, Congress 1946–47. *After*

Independence: Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-51, Left Congress to found K.M.P. Party, 1951. Merged with Socialists to create P.S.P. & became its chairman till Dec. 1954. M.P. (L.S.) 1952-62, 1963-71.

Kripalani, Sucheta (1908-1974) Educ. Lahore & Delhi University. Taught at B.H.U. 1931-39. Entered active politics after marriage (1936) with Congress General Secy. J.B. Kripalani (q.v.) Secy., Foreign dept. A.I.C.C. 1939 Later Women's wing, 1941. Organizing Secy., Kasturba Gandhi Trust, 1945. Elected to Constituent Assembly from U.P. Did relief work among victims of riots in Noakhali; 1946. *Post Independence:* Member C.W.C., 1947-51. Left Congress to join Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party, 1951 but returned to Congress after elections to Lok Sabha, 1952. Minister of Labour, U.P. 1960-63. Chief Minister 1963-7. M.P. 1967-71.

Krishnamachari, T.T. (1899-1974) Businessman in Madras. Member, Madras Legislature from the Indian Commerce Constituency, 1937-42. Elected to C.L.A. at a by-election in 1942 from Tanjore-Trichinopoly rural constituency; joined Congress at the same time. Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946, & on the drafting cttee of the Constitution. M.P. 1952-67. Minister for commerce & industry, 1952-56, Finance 1956-8. Minister, 1962-63 for Defence co-ordination. Minister of Finance 1963-65.

Krishnamachari, Sir V.T. (1881-1964) Educ. Presidency College, Madras and Law College, Madras. Entered Madras Civil Service as Dy. Collector 1903. Chief Revenue officer, Cochin State, 1908-11. Secy. to Govt. of Madras, 1924-1927. Delegate to the three R.T.C. & the Jt Parl Sel. Cttee and most of the important sub-cttees connected with the Govt. of India Act 1935. Chairman, Minister' cttee, Chamber of Princes since 1941; Diwan of Baroda, 1927-44; Knighted 1933; Prime Minister, Jaipur state 1946-49; Deputy Chairman' Planning Commission, 1953-60.

Kulkarni, S.R. (1928) Trade Union leader of Bombay dockworkers since the late forties. President, All-India Port and Dock Worker's Federation, President, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, Trustee, Bombay Port Trust since 1962.

Kumaramangalam, Kalyani W/o Mohan Kumaramangalam (q.v.).

Kumaramangalam, Mohan (1916-1973) Son of Dr Subbarayan (q.v.) Educ. Eton and Cambridge. President, Cambridge Union 1938. Joined Communist movement from student days. Lawyer by profession. Advocate, Madras High Court. Jailed by the Raj 1941. *Post Independence:* detained (1950-1) when the CPI was outlawed. Legal Advisor for and/or President of many trade Unions. Joined Congress Party in early sixties. Advocate-General, Madras, 1966-7. A Cabinet minister at the Centre since March 1971, in charge of Steel & Mines. Killed in an air crash.

Kunzru, Pandit H.N. (1887-1978) Educ. Allahabad University & London School of Economics; joined Servants of India Society 1909. President of that society from 1936 till his demise. member U.P. Legislature, 1921-23. President, National Liberal Federation, 1934. Member, C.L.A., 1927-30 & Council of State, 1937-1946. *After Independence:* Member, Constituent Assembly 1946-50, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, Rajya Sabha 1952-62. Member, States Reorganization Cttee, 1953-55. President, Indian Council of World Affairs.

Kurshid Behn (Naoroji) (1894-1966) Granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji. Involved in the Salt Satyagraha, and Civil Disobedience movement, 1930-32. Imprisoned as a result. Worked with Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in N.W.F.P. in 1940. Externed from there and confined to Bombay. Also active in the 'Quit India' movement.

Lahiri, Somnath (1909-1984) Educ. Schooling & College in Calcutta. Drawn towards Marxism in 1930. Joined C.P.I., 1931 & helped to found E.B. Rly Workers Union. Trade Union Work, 1933, among the workers of Tata Iron & Steel Co. An activist in the T.U. movement among Calcutta tram workers' union. Pamphleteer & Columnist for Bengali Communist papers. Since 1938 at Party's directive, worked within the Congress & joined Left Consolidation Committee initiated by Subhas

Bose (q.v.), led the strike (1944) of the Scavengers of Calcutta Corporation, first communist Councillor of the Corporation. Only Communist to be elected to Constituent Assembly. Member Central Committee. C.P.I., 1933-50 & its Politburo, 1948-50. *After Independence*: Member, Bengal Legislature, 1957-76. Stayed with C.P.I. when C.P.M. split away. Twice cabinet minister in the left front govts of 1967 & 1969. Failing health led to retirement.

Laithwaite, Sir Gilbert (1894-1986) Educ. Oxford. After war service (1914-18) joined British Civil Service, at the India Office. Rose to Principal, 1924. Attached to Prime Minister during 2nd R.T.C. 1931. Private Secretary to Viceroy 1936-43. Secretary to Governor General 1937-43. Asst. Under Secretary of State for India, 1943. *After Transfer of Power*: Dy. Under Secretary of Commonwealth Relations - 1948-49. Envoy of U.K. to Irish Republic, later to Pakistan. Permanent Under Secretary at C.R.O., 1955-59 (ret'd.).

Lakshmipathi, Rukmini, A. (1891-1951) Secretary of Bharata Stri Mahamandal, Madras & Prominent Member, Women's Indian Association since its inception. Involved in Salt Satyagraha, 1931 and Civil Disobedience, 1932 and arrested in consequence. Elected to Madras Legislature, 1935-45, Dy. Speaker, 1937-39. Vice-President, Tamilnadu C.C. 1935-6, Imprisoned (1940) for individual Satyagraha. Re-elected to Madras Assembly, 1946 and made Minister for Health. *Post Independence*: Continued in that post till her death.

Lalbhai, Kasturbhai (1894-1980) Mill owner and Banker. Educ. Ahmedabad. President, Ahmedabad Mill owners Association, 1933-35 and FICCI, 1934-35. Director, Reserve Bank of India 1937-49. Director of 20 enterprises in a wide range of industries. *Post Independence*: Appointed for consultation by the govt. for many scientific industrial projects. Director Reserve Bank of India for another term, 1957.

Lall, Diwan Chaman (1892-1972) Educ. Jesus College, Oxford & Middle Temple, Inns of Court, called to the Bar. Lawyer, Journalist and labour leader. One of the founders of the A.I.T.U.C. 1920 and its President in 1927. President of a number of trade unions in the railway and post and telegraph services. Member, R.C. on Labour, 1929-30, Member CLA 1924-31, 1944-46, Member Punjab legislature 1937. Member A.I.C.C. since 1938. *Post Independence*: Ambassador to Turkey, 1948-50. Afterwards went to Kenya to defend Jomo Kenyatta at his trial.

Linlithgow, 2nd Marquis of - Victor Alexander John (1857-1952) Educ. Eton, served European war 1914-18 Chairman, Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform 1933-34 Viceroy and Governor General of India (1936-43).

Lodge, Ronald F. (1889-1960) Entered I.C.S. 1912-Postings in the judicial branch in various districts in Bengal. Apptd. Judge, High Court, Calcutta 1941. On the bench till 1948. *Post Independence*: Chief Justice, High Court of Assam, 1948-49, Governor of Assam, 1949. Retired April 1949.

Lohia, Dr Ram Manohar (1910-67) Founder Member of Congress Socialist Party, 1934 and on its executive Committee. Secy. foreign dept. of the A.I.C.C. in the nineteen thirties. Underground activity during 'Quit India' movement. Arrested, 1944 and detained in Lahore Fort. *After Independence*: Left Congress 1948, when Socialist Party was formed out of the old C.S.P. Remained in a separate Socialist Party with the formation of P.S.P. M.P. (Loksabha), 1963-67.

Low, Sir Francis (1893-1972) Journalist-Joined *Times of India* in 1922, rising to be editor in 1932, knighted in 1943.

Luce, Clare Booth (1903-1987) Newspaper columnist, playwright, married Henry Luce, 1935, Member, U.S. Congress, 1943-1947. U.S. Ambassador to Italy, 1953-57.

Mahmood, Mir Maqbool Educ. Oxford & Inns of Court. Member, Punjab Legislative Council (1923-30) Held responsible offices in the Indian States since 1926. Secy. to the Princes delegation at Round Table Conference Member. Punjab Legislature 1937-45, & Parl. Secy. to the Premier, Punjab 1938-44. Director, Secretariat of the Chamber of Princes.

- Mahtab, Harekrishna (1899-1987)** Oriya political leader. A congress worker since N.C.O. Edited an Oriya daily paper. Involved in the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930 & 1932. Member, Congress working Cttee, 1938-46. Minister, Orissa Cabinet, 1937-39. Re-elected 1946, Prime Minister Orissa, 1946-7. *Post Independence*: Chief Minister, 1947-50 & again 1956-61. Governor of Bombay, 1955-56. M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1962-??.
- Maitra, Pt. Lakshmi Kanta (1893-1953)** Lawyer, with successful practice in Nadia district, Bengal. Member, C.L.A., 1934 & leader of the Congress Nationalist group. Elected to constituent Assembly, July 1947. *After Independence*: Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-1952.
- Majithia, Sardar Sir Surendra Singh (1895-??)** Landlord & Industrialist, with extensive interests in Oil mills, Dairy Farm & Sugar manufacturing, in Punjab and U.P. life member, Sikh Educational Cttee. Member, U.P. provincial Hindu Mahasabha. Knighted, 1946.
- Majumdar, Hemaprabha (1888-1962)** Wife of a revolutionary (Jugantar group) and Congressman. Active in N.C.O. Took charge of Women's wing of the movement in Calcutta: Helped husband in the strike of merchant marine workers in 1921. Jailed with her family for Civil Disobedience, 1930. Member, Bengal Legislature 1937-46. Joined 'Forward Bloc', 1939 & responsible for many of its work after 1941. Elected Alderman, Calcutta Corporation 1944. *Post Partition*. Stayed on in the East Pakistan because her home was in East Bengal.
- Majumdar, Mohit Lal (1888-1952)** Distinguished Bengali poet and literary critic. After a career as schoolmaster, professor of Bengali language and literature at Dhaka University, 1928-44.
- Majumdar, N.D.** — See under **Datta-Majumdar, N.**
- Majumdar, Satyendra Nath (1891-1954)** Bengali journalist & author. Involved in politics from the time of N.C.O. Started journalistic career on the staff of *Narayan*, ed. by C.R. Das. Joined *Ananda Bazar Patrika* 1922 & was its editor, 1926-41. Associated with foundation of Bengal branch of Progressive Writer's Association, 1936. Left *Ananda Bazar* & took on editorship of *Arani*, 1941, a pro-communist journal. Chief Editor, Calcutta branch of Globe News Agency. *Post Independence*: Visited USSR and E. Europe in 1951.
- Malaviya, Keshav Deo (1904-1981)** Congress worker in U.P. General Secy., U.P.P.C.C. organizer of the Congress electoral campaign of 1937, as Gen. Secy. of Congress Pol. Board Member, U.P. Legislature, 1946-51. *Post Independence*: Minister, U.P. Cabinet, 1947-57. Dy. Minister 1954-57; Minister for Petroleum & Natural Gas, 1957-63. Built up the public sector in Petroleum. Resigned, 1962. M.P. (Lok Sabha) till 1967. Chairman Heavy Engineering Corporation at Ranchi 1968-9. President All India Co-operative Union, Re-elected to Lok Sabha as M.P. 1971-77.
- Malaviya, Harsha Deo (1917-1989)** Educ. Allahabad University: Member, Allahabad City Congress Cttee, 1937-39 & U.P.P.C.C. 1939-40. Involved with Kisan agitation, became Secy. U.P. Kisan Sabha, 1936 and again 1943-44. Member, Central Council of A.I.K.S. 1939-44. Imprisoned for political work, 1941-43. *Post Independence*: Secy., Econ & Pol. research dept. of A.I.C.C.; & Asst Secy., U.P. Zamindari Abolition Cttee, 1947-48, & the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee. Worked exclusively on agrarian problems, village panchayats etc. From 1958 interests concentrated on Afro Asian solidarity movements and the World Peace Council. Edited from 1961, *Socialist Congressman*. Member Rajya Sabha for one term, 1972-78.
- Malviya, Pandit Madan Mohan (1861-1946)** Nationalist educationist lawyer in UP. Attended second session of Congress 1886, Edited three journals, 1885-1967. President of Congress, 1909 and 1918. Member UP Legislative Council 1902. later of the Legislative Assembly. Orthodox Hindu, founded B.H.U. in 1915. thrice elected President of Hindu Mahasabha.
- Mani, A.D. (1890-1977)** Educ. Madras University some time secretary to B. Shiva Rao (q.v.) Member, Servants of India Society; joined the Newspaper *Hitavada* in 1933, becoming its editor in 1936. This Nagpur based newspaper increased its circulation under his editorship. Twice elected President A.I.N.E.C. twice M.P. (Rajya Sabha). Dec. 1960 re-elected April 1966.

- Martyn, Philip D. (1904–1989)** Educ. Manchester University & Oxford Entered ICS 1927. Served in Bengal, rising to be Dy. Secy., Home Dept., 1938. Jt. Secy., Home Dept. 1942, Transport Controller & Ex. Officio second Addl. Secy. Home Dept. July 1944.
- Masani, Sir R.P. (1876–1966)** Banker, Educ. Bombay University of which became Vice Chancellor 1939–42. Prominent public figure in Bombay Urban government Minister 1943. Editor, Indian Spectator author of books on a variety of subjects. Provincial Leader, National War Front. *Post Independence*: Devoted his time to scholarly works in English and Gujarati.
- Masani, M.R. (b. 1905)** Educ. Bombay University. L.S.E. Called to the Bar (Lincoln's Inn) Advocate, Bombay High Court, 1929. Member, Bombay P.C.C. and Sometime, of A.I.C.C. Courted arrest during civil disobedience 1933. One time Secy. & a founder of the C.S.P. Member, Bombay, Municipal Corporation from 1935, and Mayor, 1943–44. Member CLA 1945–47, Constituent Assembly 1946–50. Provisional Parliaments. *Post Independence*: Ambassador to Brazil 1948–49. M.P. Lok Sabha 1957–62, 1963–70. President Swatantra Party 1969–71 Chairman Minorities Commission 1978. Management Consultant, author and columnist.
- Mascarene, Ann (1902–1963)** Educ. Convent school and Trivandrum Law College and Lawyer by profession. One of the junior lawyers of Travancore state congress, member of its first working Cttee; 1938 active in the agitation for responsible govt. in Travancore, imprisoned 1938–40. Leading part in 'Quit India' movement in Travancore, imprisoned, fined. Secy. Travancore State Congress 1944 and elected unopposed to Travancore Legislative Assembly 1948 and also to constituent Assembly. *Post Independence*: Left Congress 1950. In 1952 M.P. Lok Sabha as an independent candidate.
- Mashruwala, Kishorilal G. (1890–1952)** Educ. Wilson College, Bombay, joined the Salt Satyagraha 1930 and the 'Quit India' Movement and imprisoned for it. Worked as a journalist on the *Harijan*. Member of Basic Education Committee under Dr Zakir Hussain, author in Gujarati and English.
- Mason, Philip (b. 1906)** Educ. Oxford. Entered ICS 1928 served in UP with posting in the Garhwal region, an army recruitment area; in GOI held various posts in War dept. ending as Joint Secy War Dept. 1944–47. Retired from ICS 1947. *Post Independence*: Held academic appointments in Royal Institute of International Affairs and has written many books on India, British Empire, Race Relations as well as novels.
- Master, Nagindas T. (1874–1953)** Solicitor. Participated in Home Rule League, 1916. Member Cttee of Indian Merchants Chamber Active Congress member from the C.D. Movement of 1930, imprisoned 1930, 1932. Member, Bombay Municipal Corporation 1935, Imprisoned 1940 detained 1942/1944 President, Bombay PCC Mayor of Bombay 1944–45. Member Bombay Legislative Assembly 1946. President, Bombay Arya Samaj.
- Mathai, John (1886–1959)** Educ. Madras Christian College, LSE, Oxford. Professor of Economics, Madras University 1922–25. Member, Madras Legislative Council 1922–25, Indian Tariff Board, 1925–34 Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and statistics 1935–40. After retirement from Govt. service joined Tata Sons Ltd. 1940 of which appointed Director 1944. Member (Finance) Interim Govt. Aug. Sept. 1946: *After Independence*: Minister of Finance in Union Cabinet. Sept. 1948–June 1950 was Chairman, State Bank of India till June. 1956.
- Mavalankar, G.V. (1888–1956)** Educ. Ahmedabad and Law College, Bombay. Legal practice 1913–21. Active in Kaira movement and campaign 1918. Entered Ahmedabad Municipality 1919. Secy. Gujarat PCC 1921–23. President, Ahmedabad Municipality 1930–33 and 1935–36. Jailed during Salt Satyagraha 1930 and again 1933. Trustee, Mahatma Gandhi's Ashram at Sabarmati. Speaker Bombay Legislative Assembly 1937–45 and jailed during Quit India movement 1942–44. *Post Independence*: Speaker, Constituent Assembly 1947 onward and Speaker of the First Lok Sabha 1952–58.

- Maxton, James (1885–1946)** Scottish working-class leader. Militant trade unionist on the Clydeside during the first World War. Member, Independent Labour Party. M.P. 1929–31, 1935–45.
- Maxwell Reginald. M. (1882–1967)** Entered I.C.S. 1906 served in Bombay Presidency rising to Secy., Home Dept. Bombay. Secy., GOI Home dept. 1936. Member (Home). Viceroy's Council 1938 – Apr. 1944. Adviser to Secy. of State for India April 1944 to August 1947.
- Mazumdar, D.L. (1905–1977)** Educ. Presidency College, Calcutta; entered ICS 1928, served in the executive Branch in different districts of undivided Bengal till 1942. Placed at the disposal of GOI, Dept. of labour, March 1943 and Secy. Dept. of Labour 1943. Jt. Secy. 1944. *After Independence:* Last posting was Secy. Dept. of Company Affairs. Retd. 1963.
- Meherally, Yusuf (1903–50)** Native of Bombay. Political activity from the boycott of the Simon Commission General Secy., Bombay Youth League, 1928, and All India Youth Congress 1929. Organised volunteer brigade during 1930 Salt Satyagraha. Editor English monthly *Vanguard*. Jailed 1932–34 for Civil Disobedience. A founder member of the Congress Socialist Party in Nasik jail 1934. General Secy. of that party 1939. Jailed during 1942 movement. Released in 1943 due to ill-health. Sometime Mayor of Bombay.
- Mehta, Balwantrai G. (1899–1965)** Educ. Bombay University. Hailed from the small Bombay state of Bhavnagar in Kathiawad. President, Bhavnagar Praja Mandal One of the founders of the All India States Peoples Conference 1927 and its Vice President. Member, A.I.C.C. Spent about 7 years in jail for part in various Satyagrahas. *Post Independence:* Deputy Chief Minister of United States of Saurashtra till 1962. Chief Minister of Gujarat 1963–65. Killed in an air crash.
- Mehta, Chunilal (1888–1968)** Industrialist. Managing Director of a large number of companies in Bombay and Director of others, including United Bank of India. President, Bombay Shroff Association for many years. Sheriff of Bombay 1935–36. President FICCI 1941. Knighted 1942. Leader Indian delegation to International Business Conference, New York, 1944.
- Mehta, Gaganbihari Lal (1900–1974)** Educ. Bombay & LSE. Businessman. Manager, Scindia Steam Navigation Company 1926. President, Indian Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, 1942–43. President FICCI, 1942–3. *Post Independence:* Member Planning Commission 1950–52, Ambassador to USA 1952–58. Chairman Air India and Indian Airlines Corp. 1965.
- Mehta, Jamnadas M. (1884–1955)** Lawyer and trade union leader. Member, Bombay Municipal Corporation since 1922. Member C.L.A. 1929–30 and again 1941–45. President All India Railwaymen's Federation 1931–44. President Indian Federation of Labour, 1941–44. Member A.I.C.C. 1932–31. Mayor of Bombay 1926–27. Minister Revenue (Finance), Govt. of Bombay 1937. Indian worker's delegate to International Labour Conference 1934–1944. *After Independence:* President Bombay Civic Association.
- Mehta, Saudamani (1903–1989)** Social Worker wife of Gaganbihari Lal Mehta (q.v.) Lived for 20 years in Calcutta and ran adult education classes. Started a Harijan Bal Mandir. President of the Bengal Harijan Sevak Sangh of Calcutta and also of AIWC Calcutta branch; gave evidence before the Bengal Famine Commission, Founder of the Gujarat Stree Mandal in Calcutta, author of several books in Gujarati.
- Mehta, V.L. (1891–1964)** Social and political worker with business interests. Managing Director Bombay Central Provincial Cooperative Bank Ltd. 1922–46. Member Bombay provincial banking enquiry Committee 1929. Trustee, All India Village Industries Association. *After Independence:* Minister for Finance Co-operation and Village industries, Govt. of Bombay 1947–52. Chairman, Commission on Agricultural Co-operative Credit, 1959.
- Menon K. Ramunni (b. 1922)** Student leader from Trichur. Broke with Communist students over the Peoples War thesis. Dec. 1941 and helped found National Students Organisation in Trichur, Madras. Led strike in Madras Christian College, August 1942. After 4 months imprisonment early

1943, became full time activist of underground A.I.C.C. in charge of student wing. In 1944 was Convener Indian Students Congress and in 1945 Chief editor, *Sathi* (its journal). *Post Independence*: Active in Socialist Party, College teacher till 1958. Recruited to the IAS. Served in Kerala, rose to the rank of Member, Board Revenue before retirement.

Menon, V.K., Krishna (1892–1974) Educ. Madras and LSE Called to the Bar. Came to Britain to study in mid-twenties and lobbied for Indian freedom in the labour movement. Secy., India League 1929–47; Councillor, St Pancras, London 1934–47. Represented Indian National Congress at various International Conferences — *Post Independence*: Indian High Commissioner to U.K., India's permanent representative at the UNO, Minister of Defence, 1957–62. Resigned ministerial post, and returned to legal practice. Member Lok Sabha 1957–74 with brief breaks.

Meredith, Herbert R. (1890–??) Born in Dublin. Educ. Trinity Coll Dublin. Enrolled ICS, 1914. Served in judicial branch from 1931. Registrar Patna High Court, 1932. Legal Remembrancer and judicial Secy. Bihar govt. 1934. Judge, Patna High Court 1940, rising to be Chief Justice, just before retirement.

Mirajkar, S.S. (1902–80) Communist trade union leader. Founder member of CPI (1926). Involved in TU work from the beginning of the A.I.T.U.C (1920). Part in Bombay textile strike 1928. Organised Girmi Kamgar Union and the general strike of S I Rly workers municipal, telegraph dock workers. One of the accused Meerut Conspiracy case. Jailed and later interned in village. Detained, 1939–43 Member, Central Cttee of CPI. *Post Independence*: President, A.I.T.U.C. 1956 Mayor of Bombay 1958–59.

Mishra, Ramanandan (1905–1989) Learnt Sanskrit in his village. Took 'Shastri' degree from Kashi Vidyapeeth, 1926. Took to Gandhian way of simple living, rebelled against orthodoxy and traditionalism. During 'Quit India' movement (1942) went underground, kept a close contact with the secret revolutionary societies of Bengal and Bihar and organised the revolutionaries in Madras, Calcutta, Cuttack etc. Arrested in Orissa, kept in different jails and finally in the Hazaribagh jail. In Nov. 1942 with Jaiprakash Narayan (q.v.) and Yogendra Shukla (q.v.) escaped from the jail. Re-arrested. Released in 1946. Prominent member of the Bihar Congress Socialist Party and for sometime a member of the All India Socialist Party. *Post Independence* — Left politics for good. In 1952 he was initiated into a life of renunciation and spiritualism by Kalipada Guha Ray of Calcutta — Author of Several books.

Misra, Shyama Nandan (b. 1920) Congress worker in Bihar. Editor, *Liberator* and *Bihar Vaibhav*. Office bearer of Bihar PCC. Member A.I.C.C., detained during 'Quit India' movement. *After Independence*: M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1952–62; Deputy Minister, 1954–57. Elected to Rajya Sabha, 1962 and re-elected 1966–67. After Congress Split in 1969 stayed with Cong. (O).

Mitra, Panna Lal (1901–1970) b. Calcutta involved in NCO movements (1921) as a student, 1921–23, engaged in revolutionary activity, including the Alipur conspiracy case. Released, but rearrested under Bengal Ordinance after 1930 and detained for eight years till 1938. Rearrested during war under DIR and released in 1945. *After 1947*: Member, A.I.C.C. and West Bengal PCC; 1957–1965 Assessor of the Calcutta Improvement Trust tribunal on behalf of the Calcutta Corporation. Retd. 1960. Also active in the cooperative movement in Bengal.

Mitra, Haridas (1912–1992) Son of a successful lawyer in a provincial town in Bengal. Father was a Congress member of the Legislature and had twice been Dy. Speaker, Married a niece of Subhas C. Bose (q.v.) 1936. Involved in political work for the left wing of the Congress, from 1938. From late 1941, under the cover of a Wartime Contractor, moved around in Eastern Bihar establishing contact with Forward Bloc leaders and 'Quit India' insurgents. Returned to Calcutta Feb. 1944, made contact with the secret service of the I.N.A. and worked with them. Arrested and sentenced to death, June 1945. Reprieved through Mahatma Gandhi's intercession with the Viceroy. Nov. 1945. *Post Independence*: Member West Bengal Legislature, 1957–77, Dy. Speaker in 1967.

- Mitra, Shambhu (1915–1997)** Educ St Xavier's College, Calcutta. Joined professional stage of Bengal, 1939. With I.P.T.A. as producer, director, and actor, 1943–46. Organised theatre group 'Bohurupee' 1948, which established an All-India reputation for its productions. Fellow, Sangeet Natak Akadami, recipient of award as the best director, 1959. Sometime Professor and Head of Drama Dept., Rabindra Barati University, Calcutta.
- Mitter, Sir Brojendra Lal (1875–1950)** Barrister (Lincoln's Inn) Practised in Calcutta High Court. Advocate-General, Bengal 1925. Law member, Viceroy's Council 1928–34. Member, Bengal Executive Council 1934–37. Advocate General of India, 1937–45. Diwan of Baroda 1945–47. *After Independence*: Officiated as Governor of Bengal 1947, Chairman, Calcutta University Inquiry Committee 1949.
- Mitter, Sir Rupendra Coomar (1890–1959)** Educ. Calcutta University, Professor Calcutta University Law College Advocate, High Court Calcutta. Judge High Court, Calcutta, 1937 onward. Actg. Chief Justice Feb. 1947.
- Mody, Sir Homi (1881–1969)** Businessman Chairman, Bombay Millowners Association, 1927 and 1929–34. Knighted 1935. Member, R.T.C. and the Reserve Bank Committee arising out of the Conference. President Employers Federation of India, 1933–41. Member C.L.A. 1929–43. Member (Supply) of Viceroy's Council 1941–43. Resigned Feb. 1943. *After 15 Aug. 1947*. Governor of Bombay for a brief period in Sept. 1947 Chairman, Associated Cement Corpn., Chairman Central Bank of India, Director Tata Sons Ltd., Governor of UP 1949–52.
- Mohammad, K.P. (b. 1922)** Resident of Calicut. Started political career as a Students Federation activist, and a critic of anti national attitude of Muslim Conservatism. Broke with AISF over the issue of participating in the Quit India movement, jailed for 3 months in Nov. 1942. After release, a leading activist of the National Students Organisation, arrested again in 1943. Founder member of the All India Students Congress, and on its Executive Committee, General Secretary of its Kerala Unit. Involved in pro-INA demonstration after the war. Active member of CSP and a Jt. Secy. of its youth wing, Young Socialist League. *Post Independence* – Remained with Socialist Party after CSP left Congress. Later, supported Lohia (q.v.) was Kerala State Secy. of Lohia – led Socialist Party. A trade union leader for saw-mill workers, Copra Workers, textile workers, represents labour interests on various committees.
- Mookerji, Shyama Prasad (1901–1953)** Educationist - politician son of Sir Ashutosh Mookerji, qualified as lawyer but made development of Calcutta University his main pre-occupation in his early years. Vice-Chancellor 1934–37. Member Bengal Legislature 1929 as a Congressman. Later joined Hindu Mahasabha (President 1939) and M.L.A. Bengal on that party's ticket. Finance Minister in Huq's Progressive Coalition Cabinet (1941) resigned Dec. 1942. Worked on famine relief 1943. *Post Independence*. Cabinet Minister at the Centre (1947–50). Resigned, 1950, founded new party (Jan Sangh) 1951. Elected to Lok Sabha, 1952. Campaigned for modification of Kashmir's terms of accession to India, died during that campaign, in prison.
- Moon, Penderel (1905–1987)** A prize fellow of All Souls – Joined the I.C.S. in 1929. *After Independence*: served the Govt. of India. Author of several Books. Co-Editor: *Transfer of Power* Volumes.
- Moonje, Dr B.S. (1872–1948)** Reputed eye specialist, who gave up practice and entered politics, accepting B.G. Tilak as his mentor. Involved with the Hindu Mahasabha and increasing Hindu participation in military affairs. Attended the Round Table Conference, founded a Hindu Military Education Society (1937) and started Bhonsle Military School. Represented Hindu Mahasabha in the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform 1934–35.
- Moore, W. Arthur (1880–??)** Editor of the Calcutta Edition of the *Statesman*, 1933–43.
- Moraes, Frank (1907–1974)** Journalist Educ. Bombay and Oxford. Called to the Bar. Started

journalistic career on the *Times of India*. War correspondent Burma China theatre 1942-45. Editor *Times of India*, Bombay 1950-57. *Times of Ceylon* 1946-48, and later Editor in Chief of the *Indian Express* 1957-72. Author of a number of works on contemporary affairs

Mudaliar, C.N. Muthuranga (1882-1949) Leading Mirasdar of Chingleput district Madras. Congressman M.L.C. (Madras) 1926. Vice-President, Tamil Nadu PCC, President three times (1929, 1937, 1938) Member C.L.A., went to jail several times for Satyagraha work on behalf of the Congress.

Mudaliar, Sir A. Ramaswamy (1887-1976) Educ. Madras Christian College, Law College. Advocate. Member, Madras legislature 1920-26 and President Madras Corporation, 1928-30, Member C.L.A. 1931-34. Member R.T.C., Federal Structures and the Franchise Cttee. Member Army Retrenchment Cttee, Reserve Bank Cttee and Member Viceroy's Council 1942-46. Dewan of Mysore, 1946-49. *Post Independence*. Senior Vice President of UN Econ. Social Council.

Mudie, Sir Francis (1890-1976) Educ. Edinburgh & Cambridge, entered ICS 1912. Served in Bengal, later UP, rising to be Chief Secy. UP, 1943, Actg. Governor of Bihar, 1943-44; Home Member, Viceroy's Council, 1944-46, Governor of Sind 1946-47 *After 15 Aug. 1947*. Governor of West Punjab. Pakistan, Between 1951 and 1958, member of various govt. commissions in Britain, including one on the West Indies and on the constitution of the Isle of Man

Mukerji, A.K. (d. 1969) Educ. Allahabad University. Started trade Union activity among card-board and cigarette manufacturing workers in Saharanpur. Attended foundation meeting of World Federation of Trade Union Activist of the RDP; a columnist for its newspaper.

Mukherji, Bankim (1897-1961) Took part on NCO 1921, and imprisoned. Worked for Congress Swarajya Party on Motilal Nehru's advice. Involved in Labour and peasant agitation. Led a jutemill strike in 1927 and carriage drivers strike 1928-29. Jailed for the latter and also in 1930 for part in C.D. movement; joined CPI in 1936. Founder of All India Kisan Sabha and since 1927 a pillar of the A.I.T.U.C. Elected to Bengal Legislature (1934) from a labour constituency. *Post Independence*: As a CPI member opposed Congress Govt. Member, West Bengal Legislature, 1952 till his death.

Mukherji, Biswanath (1915-1991) Entered politics as Congress Worker under influence of elder brother Ajoy, active among Midnapore peasants. Joined C.P.I. in 1934 Active in Student movement in the thirties, Secretary of Bengal Provincial Student Federation. Member, Central Committee of C.P.I. from its first Congress in 1943 till 1952. *Post Independence*: Active in peasant movement. Jailed, 1948, when C.P.I. illegal. Remained with C.P.I. when C.I.I.(M) broke away, becoming member C.P.I. National Council & Executive Committee. Secretary West Bengal C.P.I. State Council, 1977-89. Served as Minister for Irrigation in Left Front Govts in West Bengal, 1967 & 1969.

Mukherji, Hirendra Nath (b. 1907) Education Presidency College, Calcutta and St Catherines Society, Oxford. Historian. Taught at Andhra and Calcutta Universities, 1934-62 Member, C.P.I. *Post Independence*. M.P., Lok Sabha, 1952-77. Sometime Member, C.P.I. National Council. Author of many books.

Mukherji, Dr Jadu Gopal (1886-1976) Joined the revolutionary 'Anushilan' group at age of 19. Took part *alongside* Jatin Mukherji in the armed battle in Orissa coast during 1915 (so called Indo-German Conspiracy) Absconded, continuing revolutionary activities till 1921. After amnesty qualified as a doctor. Detained 1923-27. After release, exonerated from Bengal and set up medical practice in Ranchi, Bihar. TB specialist, Re-arrested during Quit India movement 1942-45. Helped Jaiprakash Narayan (q.v.) to escape from Hazaribagh jail.

Mukherji, Ram Krishna (b. 1919) Anthropologist. Education, Calcutta, Cambridge Universities. Worked at Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta for many years. Has held academic posts in London, Berlin, and New York. 'Distinguished Scientist' at the Statistical Institute till 1979.

- Mukherji, Tarak Nath (1893-1957)** Born in a big landowning family of Bengal. Trustee and Vice-President, British Indian Association. Member, Bengal Legislative Council and Bengal Legislative Assembly, re-elected 1946-52. Revenue Minister 1943-45 and for Irrigation and Waterways 1946-67. *Post Independence*: Retired from active politics.
- Munshi, K.M. (1887-1972)** Lawyer. Member Home Rule League, 1915. Secy. Bombay Home Rule League, 1919-20. Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly since 1927. Six months jail for Salt Satyagraha, 1930. Member A.I.C.C. 1930-36. Two years jail for Civil Disobedience 1932. Secy. Congress Parliamentary Board, 1934. Home Minister, Bombay Govt. 1937-39. Detained under DIR 1940-45. Resigned Congress over non-violence issue 1941, rejoined 1946. Member Constituent Assembly, 1946-52. *After Independence*: Agent General in Hyderabad, 1947-48. Food Minister in the Central Govt. 1952. Joined Swatantra Party 1960.
- Nagarkatti, Krishna N. (1905-??)** educ. Mysore and Cambridge Universities. Entered ICS 1929 served in CP & Berar rising to be officiating Registrar of Cooperative Society, 1943-44.
- Nagoke, Udham Singh (1894-1966)** Active in Gurdwara Reform movement and later in Akali politics. After passage of Gurdwara Shrine Bill (1925) and subsequent division in Akali Leadership, joined the pro-Congress group in Akali Dal and SGPC of which he was President 1948. Later drifted away from Congress and joined Swatantra Party in 1959.
- Naicker (Periar), E.V. Ramaswami (1879-1973)** Leader of the Non-Brahmin movement in Tamil Nadu. Successfully led Vaikkam Satyagraha. Imprisoned many times for political and social beliefs. Left Congress because it represented an Aryan outlook. Joined 'Justice Party' and reorganised it as Dravida Kazhagam 1944.
- Naicker, P.M. Audikesavalu (1898-1964)** Working Class leader, joined labour movement 1916; organised strike in 1917. Member, Madras Legislative Assembly 1937-46. Imprisoned during individual Satyagraha Movement, 1941-43.
- Naidu, Sarojini (1899-1949)** Educ. London & Cambridge University, Member Congress Working Committee in 1925 & President of the Nagpur Session of the Congress in the same year. Arrested for part in Civil Disobedience movement. Delegate to 2nd R.T.C 1931. Arrested during 1942 movement. Distinguished poet, *Post Independence*: Governor of UP from 15 Aug. 1947 until her death.
- Nair, Krishnan (1902-1986)** Born in Travancore State. Expelled from College for political activities. Came to Delhi and went to Aligarh for further studies. In 1930 Gandhi selected him as a Satyagrahi for the Salt Satyagraha. Arrested many times. Active during 'Quit India' movement. *Post Independence*: Sometime president of Delhi PCC. M.P. (Lok Sabha) from outer Delhi constituency for two terms, 1952-62. Known as Nayarji in Delhi Congress Circle.
- Nair, N. Sreekanthan (1915-1983)** Jt. Secy. Travancore Youth League, 1936. Member Working Committee of Travancore State Congress 1942-46. President of several trade unions in engineering textiles & plantation industries in Kerala. *After Independence*: Member, presidium of A.I.T.U.C. 1953-58. M.P. (on RSP nomination) 1952-57, 1962-69, 1967-70, 1971-77, 1977-82 representing Quilon, Kerala.
- Namboodripad, E.M.S. (b. 1909)** Entered political life with the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1932. Founder Member, Congress Socialist Party, Kerala, 1934. Also joined the Communist Party of India. Secy. Kerala P.C.C., and Member, Madras Assembly, 1939-40. Member Central Committee, C.P.I. 1941-47. *Post Independence*: Continued as member, C.P.I. Central Committee, becoming Politburo Member, 1950. Member Kerala State Assembly, 1957-60, 1965, 1967, 1969-70. Chief Minister 1959 and on some subsequent occasions when the C.P.I. (M) led Front had a majority. Gen. Secy., C.P.I. (M) 1968.
- Nanavati, Sir Manilal (1877-1967)** Educ. Baroda, Bombay & USA. Joined Baroda State Service, 1904, Director of Commerce & Industries, 1912, Revenue Commissioner 1932-33; Naib Dewan

(Member of Executive Council) 1934–35. Dy. Governor, Reserve Bank of India, 1936–41. President, Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. Member, Famine Inquiry Commission. Chairman, Agricultural Organisation Committee, Bombay, 1947. Knighted, 1941.

Nanda, Gulzari Lal (b. 1898) In the NCO movement in 1921. Secy. Textile Association, Ahmedabad (1922–46) jailed during 1932, 1942–44. *After 1947*: Minister for Labour, Bombay govt. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission 1950–51, Govt. of India, Minister for Labour 1962–3. Actg. P.M. May 64 and again June 1966. Home Minister, 1963, 1966 Railway Minister, 1970–71.

Nandy, Bhabesh (1902–1982) Revolutionary in Dhaka. Close associate of Subhas Bose, Member of 'Bengal Volunteer'. Spent many years as a security Prisoner. *After Independence*: Stayed on in East Pakistan, Member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Activist for Human Rights, & minority rights. Took part in Bangla Desh liberation struggle. Came to West Bengal 1980 and associated with organisation of ex-revolutionaries.

Narain, Jai Prakash (1902–1979) Educ. Patna & California, USA. Attracted to Socialism while in USA. On return got involved in the 1930–32 civil Disobedience movement and jailed for it. In Nasik jail (1934) co-founder of the Congress Socialist Party. Leader of CSP till Independence; jailed during 1942 movement. Escaped from Hazaribagh jail and continued underground work. Re-arrested. *Post Independence*: Withdrew from formal politics and devoted himself to the 'Bhoodan' movement. Came back to active politics in the early seventies leading a movement against the Congress regime of Mrs Gandhi. Detained without trial during the emergency, 1975–77. One of the advisers to the Janata Party which took office after the election of 1977.

Narayanan, Edatata (1907–1978) Born in a village in Tellichery, Kerala; Studied in Coimbatore and later in Presidency College. Protested against the Simon Commission and for this was expelled from college. Started writing for *Young India* and in 1930 joined *Hindustan Times*: imprisoned in 1942. *Post Independence*: Founder Editor of *Link*.

Natesan, G.A. (1873–1949) Educ. Madras University. Belonged to Moderate wing of Congress, 1919. Jt. Secy. National Liberal Federation 1922. Member Council of State, 1923–33. Editor *Indian Review*, Sheriff of Madras, 1938. In 1939 apptd. Chairman, Propaganda Committee of the Madras Presidency.

Nazimuddin, Kwhaja (1894–1964) Scion of the Nawab family of Dhaka Educ. Aligarh & Cambridge, Barrister-at-law. Entered politics 1922. Chairman, Dhaka Municipality till 1929. Minister for Education, Bengal, 1929–34, leader of opposition and leader of Muslim League Parliamentary Party in Bengal Assembly 1943–5 Premier, Bengal 1943–45. Member, All India Muslim League Working Committee, 1937–47. *After Independence*: Governor of East Pakistan, 1947–48 – Governor General of Pakistan 1948–51.

Nehru, Jawaharlal (1889–1964) Educ. Harrow & Cambridge. Involved in all the nationalist agitations since NCO, 1920. Gen. Secy. Congress, 1928. President of the Congress, 1929, 1936, 1946, Member Congress Working Committee. Arrested on the eve of 'Quit India' movement and detained till 1945. Member (External Affairs) of Interim govt. 1946–47. *Post Independence*: Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs 1947–64.

Neogy, K.C. (1888–1977) Educ. Dhaka & Calcutta. Advocate, Calcutta High Court and later Federal Court, New Delhi, Member, C.L.A., 1921–34. At R.T.C of 1931 was spokesman for princely states of Eastern India. 1935–40. Member, Stdg. Council of Princes. Re-elected to C.L.A. 1942 *Post Independence*: Cabinet Minister, 1947–50, when he resigned in protest against Nehru-Liaquat pact. Chairman, Finance Commission, 1951. Member Planning Commission 1953.

Neogy, Jnananjan (1891–1956) Social worker, founder Secretary of Bengal Social Service League. Pioneered in running night schools for elementary and vocational education for slum children, and rural people. Organizer of many movement for the propagation of indigenous crafts and manufactures. *After Independence*: involved in relief work among people displaced by partition.

- Nimbkar, Raghunath Shioram (1899-1948)** educ. Wilson College, Bombay, Secy. Bombay. Provincial Students Federation. 1917-20. Gave up studies for the NCO movement. Jailed 1922, Delegate to the first Trade Union Congress. Member A.I.C.C. 1926-29. Secy. Bombay Textile Strike Committee, 1928. One of the promoters of Bombay Girni Kamgar Union. Sentenced to R.I. in Meerut Conspiracy case in 1933. Left Communist party in 1933. Represented Indian Labour at ILO. Detained under DIR 1941-2. Labour Welfare Adviser, GOI, 1942-45. Adviser on labour questions to UP Govt. 1947.
- Pain, Barada Prasad (1881-1975)** Lawyer, Congressman in Bengal. Member of the Cabinet in Nazimuddin ministry, 1943-45. After the fall of that ministry, retired from active politics and built up a very successful legal practice. *Post Independence*: Re-entered the Bengal Legislative Council (1967) on a congress ticket.
- Pandit Vijaya Lakshmi (1900-1990)** Sister of Jawaharlal Nehru. (q.v.) Member UP Legislative Assembly and a Minister in the Congress Govt. 1937-39. President All India Women's Conference, 1940-43. Jailed three times in connection with Congress Civil Disobedience movements. Did propaganda in USA in 1945 for Indian nationalism, at the time of the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. Re-elected (1946) to UP Assembly and appointed a minister. *After Independence*: Envoy of India to USSR, USA and UK, Governor of Maharashtra Dec. 1963-1964 M.P. (Lok Sabha 1964-67); Re-elected 1967 but resigned 1968. Left Congress and joined Congress for Democracy after the emergency, 1977.
- Pandit, Nibaran (1912-1984)** Son of a primary school teacher, of peasant stock. Father's death ended formal education, became a vendor of bidis (indigenous cigarettes). Took to composing songs about daily existence, communal riots of 1926. Became a local worker of the A.I.K.S. from 1936. Took part in first session of IPTA in 1943. Had a roving musical squad for following each peasant agitations 1946-47. *Post Partition*: stayed in East Pakistan till Dec. 1950 continuing earlier work. Came to India afterwards and lived by selling his songbooks.
- Pant, Apasaheb Balasaheb (1912-1992)** Son of the Raja of Aundh. Educ. Oxford, called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. Minister of Education Aundh State. Elected Prime Minister, 1944-48. *Post Independence*. Member of A.I.C.C. 1948. Represented India as envoy to British East Africa, Indonesia, Norway, UK, awarded Padma Shree 1964.
- Pant, Govind Ballabh (1887-1961)** Lawyer. Elected member, U.P. Leg. Council on Swaraj Party ticket, 1923. President U.P.C.C. 1927. Jailed for Civil Disobedience, 1930-32. Member C.L.A. 1934 and Dy. leader of Congress Parliamentary party. Member, U.P. Leg. Assembly, 1937 & Premier 1937-39. Resigned on war issue. Jailed 1940-41. Been member of Congress Working Committee since 1931. Imprisoned Aug. 1942. March 1945 Re-elected to UP Assembly, Premier 1946-47 and afterwards. *Post Independence*: Defence Minister, G.O.I. Home Minister.
- Parikh, G.D. (1915-1976)** Activist of Radical Democratic Party. Lecturer in Economics. Coauthor of the *Peoples Plan*. Reader, Bombay University 1958-68. Member of the Maharashtra State Board of Literature and Culture 1960.
- Parlekimedi, Raja K.G.N. Deo of (1892-??)** Feudal landowner of Ganjam District, Orissa. Delegate to first R.T.C. 1930 assessor of Orissa boundary Committee. Represented landholders association before Jt. Select Committee 1933-34. Member Orissa Assembly 1937, formed the first ministry before the Congress Govt. Premier second time Dec. 1941-July 1944.
- Parmanand (1901-??)** Educ. Allahabad & Cambridge Universities. Entered I.C.S. 1924. Served in C.P. & Berar, rising to be Secy. Settlement and land records dept. 1939. Secy., Local Self-Govt. 1943.
- Patel, Maniben (1903-1990)** Daughter of Sardar Vallabhai Patel (q.v.). Gave up studies to join nationalist agitation in 1920. Jailed for active part in salt Satyagraha (1930). Civil Disobedience

(1932-34). Princely state Satyagraha (1938-39). individual satyagraha (1940) and Quit India movement (1944-45). *Post Independence*: held senior position in Gujarat PCC M.P. (Lok Sabha) for two terms, 1952-62, (Rajya Sabha) 1964-70. Trustee, Navjeevan Trust, Kasturba Gandhi trust, since 1951. On governing body of A.I.C.C. women's section. Author of many books in Gujarati.

Patel, Rajni (1915-1982) Educ. Cambridge. Called to the Bar (Middle Temple). Associated with the CPI 1940-50. Jailed in 1940. *After Independence*: Left CPI. joined Congress. Sometime president of Bombay Provincial Congress.

Patel, Sardar Vallabhbhai (1875-1950) Lawyer Bar-at-law (Middle temple). Practised in Ahmedabad. Entered public life (1916) as associate of Mahatma Gandhi, Led Kaira Satyagraha, Baroda no-tax campaign. President Indian National Congress 1931. Jailed many times. Member Congress Working Committee. Chairman Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee 1935-42. Detained 1940-41 again Aug. 1942 to June 1945. Member (Home Affairs), Interim Govt. 1946-47. *After Independence*: Dy. Prime Minister, Minister for Home Affairs, Information & Broadcasting, Integrated Princely States into India.

Patil, Ramrao Krishnarao (b. 1907) Educ. Law College Nagpur & BHU – Entered ICS 1930 and called to the Bar 1931. Various postings in different districts. Resigned from the ICS 1943. Secy. Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund. *Post Independence*: Elected to CP Legislature as a Congress Candidate 1946 and became Minister for Food & Agriculture. Afterwards devoted all his time to the Bhoodan movement of Vinobha Bhave (q.v.).

Patil, S.K. (1900-1981) Educ. St Xavier College, Bombay, active in NCO and conducted National Schools till 1924. Studied journalism in London University. On Staff of Bombay Chamber for 5 years. Secy., Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. 1929-46, Member A.I.C.C. 1930 – Member of Municipal Corpn in 1934 and leader of Congress Party in the Corpn. Arrested under DIR 1942-44. Member 1946-1950. *After Independence*: M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1952-67 1969-Dec. 1970. Cabinet Minister 1957-63, 1964-67.

Patil, Vasant B. (1917-1989) A Congressman from his early years. An activist in the underground movement in Satara during the 1942 uprising. Wounded in police firing 1943 and jailed. *Post Independence*: Member Legislature, Bombay Presidency and later Maharashtra 1952-67. Promoted the development of the Cooperative movement. Sometime President Maharashtra PCC – Padma Bhushan, 1969. Minister for irrigation and power, 1972-76. Chief Minister Apr. 1977. Joined Cong. (I) became its Gen. Secy. Sept. 1980. Elected to Lok Sabha, 1980. Chief Minister Maharashtra 1983-5. Governor of Rajasthan 1985-87.

Patnaik, Dibakar (1899-1976) Joined NCO 1920 and gave up studies in School. Jailed for 6 months. Jailed again for Salt Satyagraha (1930) and civil disobedience 1932. Active in local govt. in Ganjam district. In 1942 a member of Forward Bloc and supported INA activities in India. *Post Independence*: Sometime Member Rajya Sabha, Member Orissa Legislature, 1967.

Patwardhan, Achyut Sitaram (1905-1992) A founder member of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. Member. Congress Working Committee, 1936. Took leading part in 'Quit India' movement and in the parallel govt. of Satara district (1945-6). *After Independence*: Stayed with the Socialist Party till retirement from politics in 1950.

Pearson, Drew (1897-1969) American journalist and columnist. Quaker background, specialized in investigative journalism. Ardent supporter of civil rights. In post-war period exposed Senator McCarthy.

Pheruman, Darshan Singh (1883-1969) Educ. upto Matriculation. Akali activist 1921-25. Jailed for 14 months for part in NCO movement jailed after for 4 years during Civil Disobedience movement 1930-34. Drawn towards the Kisan movement in 1936. Active in 'Quit India' movement and suffered 3 years imprisonment. Belonged to the left wing of the Akali Dal.

- Pilditch, Sir Denis (1891–1975)** Educ. Tunbridge school joined Indian Police UP 1912. Director, Intelligence Bureau, 1939–45. Adviser to Secy. of State for India 1947. King's Police Medal 1933, Bar to Medal 1935.
- Pillai, Pattom A. Thanu (1885–1970)** Trained as a lawyer in Trivandrum. Member Travancore Legislative Assembly, 1928. M.L.A. Travancore-Cochin and Kerala States except for a short break when Congress members were banned from contesting. Most prominent leader of Travancore Congress from its inception in 1938 to 1948. *Post Independence*: Chief Minister of Travancore (1948), of Travancore-Cochin (1954) of Kerala (Feb 22, 1960). President Travancore State Committee of PSP.
- Pirzada, Abdus Sattar (1907–1974)** Native of Sind. Educ. Bombay and London Universities and Lincoln's Inn. Called to the Bar. Practised at Sukkur 1930–41, becoming Public Prosecutor. Entered politics via municipal politics, 1934. Member Sind Legislature, 1937–1946. Minister, 1941–43. Minister again in 1946. *Post Partition*: Minister for Food & Agriculture in Pakistan Cabinet Dec. 1947. Chief Minister of Sind, 1953–54. Left Muslim League to join Republican Party. Lost the 1970 election.
- Pollock Sir Ronald E. (1891–1974)** Educ. Harrow & Cambridge. Entered ICS 1912. Judicial postings, in CP & Berar. Qualified as Barrister 1934. Judge, Nagpur High Court, 1936–48. Actg. Chief Justice, 1947. *Post Independence*: Chairman, Medical Appellate tribunal Southern Region 1948–63.
- Porter Alfred E (1896–1987)** Educ. Manchester Grammar School. & Oxford University. Entered ICS 1922 and served in Bengal on the executive side rising to be Addl. Secy. Home Dept. Oct. 1939. Awarded CIE June 1942. Secy. to Governor Feb. 1944–Oct. 1945. Secy. Home Dept. GOI Nov. 1945. Secy. Viceroy's Executive Council, July 1946.
- Pradhan, Sudhi (b. 1911)** Involved with militant nationalist group in the thirties and served jail sentence. On release became an organizer in the Progressive Writer's Association IPTA. An activist in the trade unions of the audio visual workers. Author of several books on cultural and political subjects.
- Prakasam, Tanguturi (1872–1957)** Born in Andhra Pradesh. Lawyer by profession: gave up practice and joined Gandhi's Movement. President Andhra Pradesh Provincial Congress, 1921. Led the Simon Commission boycott in 1928. Started a National daily *Swarajya*. Accepted office in the Ministry formed by C. Rajagopalacharya in 1937. Chief Minister, Madras State 1946. Headed the first Andhra Ministry.
- Prasad, Rajendra (1884–1963)** Advocate Calcutta High Court (1911–16), Patna High Court 1916–20. Suspended practice and joined NCO 1920. Member, Congress Working Committee. President, Indian National Congress, 1932, 1934, 1939 & 1947. Jailed several times for civil disobedience. Detained Aug. 1942–1945. Member, Interim Govt. (Food & Agriculture) 1946–47. Chairman, Constituent Assembly, 1946 for its duration. *After Independence*: Minister for Food 1947–48. First President of the Indian Republic 1952–62.
- Pyare Lal Nayyar (1900–1982)** Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi, Elder brother of Dr Shushila Nayyar. A regular contributor to *Harijan*. Accompanied Gandhi everywhere after his release in 1944. Has written extensively on the Mahatma's life.
- Radhakrishnan, Sir Sarvepalli (1888–1975)** Educationist, Professor of Philosophy at Calcutta University, 1921–39, at Oxford (Spalding Professor of Eastern Religion and Ethics, 1936–50). Vice Chancellor, Benares Hindu University 1939–48. Knighted 1931. *Post Independence*: Ambassador to USSR, Vice President of India, 1952–62, President 1962–67.
- Rahim, Sir Abdur (1867–1952)** Called to the Bar (Middle Temple). 1890 Practised as Advocate, Calcutta. Apptd. Judge, Madras High Court. Twice Offg. Chief Justice, Madras (1910–1919). Member Executive Council, Govt. of Bengal 1920–25. Member and leader of the Opposition Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1931–34. President Central Legislative Assembly. Knighted 1924.

Rajagopalachari, Chakravarti (1879–1972) Lawyer, started practice 1900. Joined Rowlatt Satyagraha (1919) and N.C.O. 1920. Held senior position in the Congress from the twenties (General Secretary, Member Working Committee). Premier, Madras, 1937–39. Imprisoned, 1940. Resigned CWC membership Apr. 1942, over difference of opinion. Member, interim govt. 1946–47. *After Independence*: Governor of West Bengal, 1947–8, Governor General, 1948–50. Chief Minister, Madras 1952–54. Founder of the Swatantra Party 1959. Author and Scholar in Tamil and English.

Ramachandran G. (1904–1995) Educ. Visva-Bharati. Active Congressmen, participant in NCO 1921 and Salt Satyagraha 1930. Member of Travancore State Congress from its inception in 1938. Active in Quit India movement and jailed 1942–43. Jt. Editor. *Indian Express* in Malayalam 1944–45. Elected to Travancore State Legislature, 1947. *Post Independence*. Nominated M.P. Rajya Sabha, 1964. Vice-Chancellor Grameen University at Gandhigram, Madurai. Associated with Gandhian Institute in the later years in Kerala.

Ramamurti, P. (1909–1987) Educ. Presidency College, Madras and BHU. Took Part in Salt Satyagraha 1930 and jailed 1930–32. Been a political activist ever since. Member A.I.C.C. for 4 years. Member, Executive of CSP 1935–39 and of AITUC. Leading trade unionist of Madras. *Post Independence* M.P. (Lok Sabha) for one term.

Ranadive, B.T. (1904–1990) Member CC and Politburo of CPI 1943–48. General Secy. CPI 1948–50. Member of its National Council 1958. At the time of split joined CPI(M) as member of its politburo since 1964. Jailed 1928, 1934, 1940–42. President CITU.

Ranga, N.G. (1900–1995) Agriculturist, Professor of Economics in a Madras College, 1927–30. Member, C.L.A. 1930 and again 1935–45. Organised many Kisan Satyagraha Campaigns since 1931 in Andhra region. Member A.I.C.C. 1930–51. After independence. Member Constituent Assembly 1946–50. M.P. (Rajya Sabha), 1952–56. Lok Sabha 1957–70. Rajya Sabha, 1977–9. Lok Sabha 1950–4. Changed party affiliation from Congress to Krishi Lok later Swatantra Party and came back to Congress in the seventies.

Rao, A. Kaleshwara (1881–1962) Lawyer by profession. Took part in Swadeshi movement in 1905. Gave up practice during NCO. One year jail for no tax campaign in Vijayawada municipality. Chairman Vijayawada Municipal Council, 1925–30. Member, Madras Legislature, 1926–30. Jailed for his part in Salt Satyagraha (1930). Civil Disobedience (1932) and Individual Satyagraha (1940). Gen. Secy. Andhra Provincial Congress Committee 1923–35. Member Madras Legislature 1937–46. Chief whip Congress Legislature party 1937–39. Detained Quit India movement 1942–44. *Post Independence*: Speaker, Andhra Pradesh Legislature, 1956–62. Author of political and historical works in Telugu mainly on world affairs.

Rao, B. Shiva (1891–1975) Labour Leader, Associate of Annie Beasant in the Home Rule League. Active in the Labour movement in the twenties. Journalist. Correspondent in Delhi of the *Hindu* and the *Maharashtra Gurdian* from 1935. *After Independence*: Member Constituent Assembly 1946–50. M.P. (Lok Sabha), 1952–57, (Rajya Sabha 1957–60). Delegate to UN General Assembly, 1947–50, 1952. Awarded Padma Bhushan 1967.

Rao, C. Rajeshwara (1914–94) educated at BHU upto intermediate level. Gave up studies to join CPI in 1934. Secy. of the Andhra Unit of the Party 1943–61 (except 1950). General Secy. CPI 1964–89.

Rao, M.S. Appa -- See under Appa Rao.

Rao, M. Thirumala (1901–1970) Congressman from Andhra. Jailed during Salt Satyagraha, 1930, jailed again for part in Resettlement agitation 1931 and for individual Satyagraha 1940. A detenu during Quit India movement, 1942 and after. *Post Independence*: M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1952 and Deputy Minister for Food in the Central Govt. 1952–57.

Rasul, Muhammad Abdulla (1903–90) Born in Burdwan district, Bengal, General Secy. Bengal

Provincial Kisan Sabha, 1938–44. Officiating Secy. All India Kisan Sabha, 1944–46. Secy. 1947–1953. Written two books on the history of the All India Kisan Sabha.

Ray, Nihar Ranjan (1903–1981) Educationist, historian and art critic. Educ. Calcutta University and University of Leiden, Netherlands. Professor of the History of Fine Art at Calcutta University. Politically involved since N.C.O., literary editor of *Liberty* founded by Subhas Bose (q.v.) afterwards with *Kranti*, mouthpiece of the RSP; jailed during the Quit India movement. *Post Independence*: After retirement from Calcutta University, Director Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla till 1973. Chairman Indian Council of Historical Research, 1980–81.

Ray, Sir Asoka (1886–1982) Enrolled as a pleader in 1908. Called to the Bar (Middle Temple) with certificate of honour, 1912. Practised at Calcutta High Court. Twice officiated as judge. Standing Counsel, 1929. Advocate General 1934–1943. Knighted 1937. Law Member of Viceroy's Executive Council 1943–46. *Post Independence*: from 1950 for about 20 years held senior positions in various business houses.

Reddy B. Gopala (1907–1997) Educ. Visva Bharati, Santiniketan. Boycotted govt. schools in early years. Active Congress worker since 1931 and jailed several times, Minister in Congress govt. in Madras 1937–39. Re elected 1946. Minister for Finance, Madras govt. 1946–47 and beyond. *Post Independence*: President, Andhra Pradesh Congress Commuttee, 1953. Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1955–6; Minister in the Union Cabinet till 1958. Member, Rajya Sabha 1958–62. Union Minister of Economic Affairs, 1958.

Reddy, K. Brahmananda (1909–94) Lawyer; active in local politics in Guntur since 1936. Detained during 42 movement till 1945. Elected to Madras legislative assembly 1946. *After Independence*: minister in the Andhra Pradesh government since 1954, minister in the central government 1974–77, Member Rajya Sabha, 1974–77. M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1977–79.

Richardson, Sir Henry (1889–1980) Businessman and Banker. After military service in first World War joined Andrew Yule, and Co in Calcutta of which Dy. Chairman, 1936–41. Vice-President Bengal Chamber of Commerce 1939 and President 1940. President, Associated Chamber of Commerce of India 1940. Knighted 1941. Member GOI Council of State 1939–41. Member C.I.A. and leader of its European group 1942–45.

Roy, Anil (1901–1952) Educ. Dhaka University 1919–25, MA LLB involved with revolutionary groups. Founded social welfare league from 1925 to 1929; active in Congress politics. Cooperated with women's organisation Depali Sangh, whose leader Leela Nag, he married in 1939. Detained for political activities 1930–38. Actively helped Subhas Bose in formation of Forward Bloc. 1938–42. Third time imprisoned Jan. 1942 till beginning 1946. After release worked for the relief of victims of communal riots in Noakhali Nov. 46. *Post Independence*: Worked for Forward Bloc till his death.

Roy, Benoy (1918–1975) Member of revolutionary 'Jugantar' group in his teens; then a C.P.I. member. Worked among Ahmedabad mill workers as a trade union organizer, 1936, and among jute mill workers in Calcutta, 1939. Because of his musical talent was assigned work with the I.P.T.A. Wrote many songs for the left-wing movement. *Post Independence*: In 1950 went to USSR and assigned broadcasting duties in Moscow Radio. Returned to India, 1959 and taught Russian, first at Delhi University and later at the Centre for Russian Studies, JNU. Died in road accident in Moscow while on a visit.

Roy, Dr Bidhan Chandra (1882–1962) Eminent physician and Statesman. Educ. Calcutta, MD 1908. Further medical studies in UK 1909–11. Developed a successful medical practice along with teaching. Member, Calcutta University Senate 1916. Vice Chancellor 1942. Entered politics 1923; elected to Bengal Legislature on Swaraj Party ticket. Mayor of Calcutta 1931–32. Jailed during Civil Disobedience 1931. Extensive industrial and business interests also. Member Bengal Legislature 1947. *Post Independence*: Chief Minister West Bengal, 1948–62. Awarded 'Bharat Ratna', 1961.

Roy, Kiran Sankar (1891–1949) Born in landowning family of Eastern Bengal. Educ. Calcutta

and Oxford, called to the Bar (Lincoln's Inn). Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta. Joined Congress 1921. Member A.I.C.C. since 1922. Secy. BPCC 1925-30. Member Bengal Legislature, 1923-30, 1930-47. Leader of the Congress Parliamentary party in the Opposition 1937-47. Member Constituent Assembly. *Post Independence*: briefly stayed in E. Pakistan as Leader of the Opposition in E. Pakistan. In 1948 joined W. Bengal cabinet as Home Minister.

Roy, Manabendra Nath (1893-1954) Involved in Indian revolutionary movement since the age of 14. Left India (1916) and involved with similar movements in Mexico and Europe. Founder Mexican Communist Party. Founder-member, Comintern and on its executive. Expelled from Comintern 1929. Returned to India (1930) and served a 6-year prison sentence. Founded Indian Federation of Labour and the Radical Democratic Party. *After Independence*: Changed the party's name to Radical Humanist and devoted his time to writing.

Roy Chowdhuri, Saroj Kumar (1903-1972) Graduated with English Honours from National Vidyapeeth, Calcutta. Journalist on the staff of daily 'Krishak', 'Navashikhi' and *Andhra Bazar Patrika*. Well known novelist in Bengali.

Roy, Sisir (1912-1960) Son of a technical officer in the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Implicated in a revolutionary conspiracy while still in college. Served prison sentence. On release became active in the labour movement. First General Secy. (1933) of Calcutta Port Dock Workers Union. One of the founder members of the Bengal Labour party, and its underground wing Bolshevik Party of India. Active role in the 3 week dockworker strike of 1934. Same year demonstrated on behalf of League against Gandhism. Remained with the Bolshevik Party of India even after a large number of its members decided to join the C.P.I. in 1944. *Post Independence*: Worked in the Calcutta Dock Labour Board as representative of trade union interests. Was Gen. Secy. United Trades Union Congress at the time of his death.

Ruikar, R.S. (1895-1954) Trade Unionist. Leftwing nationalist Educ. Poona, Allahabad and Nagpur universities. Legal practice along with trade union work. Joined Forward Bloc, Secy. of Forward Block programme. President A.I.T.U.C. 1932 and 1935. Jailed 1942-45. Elected to Legislature, C.P. & Berar 1946. *Post Independence*: First President of Hind Mazdoor Sabhas. Worked for labour welfare in Madhya Pradesh.

Rutherford, Sir. Thomas George (1886-1957) Educ. Edinburgh and London Universities. Entered ICS 1910, War Service 1914-19. Postings in Madras, ending as Secy. to the Governor 1938-39. Adviser to Governor of Madras, 1939-43. Governor of Bihar 1943-46, with a short spell of simultaneously acting as Governor of Bengal (1943-44) after the death of Sir John Herbert (q.v.) *Post Independence*: Settled in Australia.

Sahay, Vishnu (1901-1989) Educ. Allahabad University. Lincoln College, Oxford. Entered ICS 1925 (batch mate of Sai' al Gupta (q.v.)) served in the executive side in the UP. Director of agriculture, 1939. With GOI during war time, Dy. Secy. later Joint Secy. Home Dept., 1943-44. Sugar Controller for India. Sept. 1944. Dir. Gen. (Food) and ex-officio Jt. Secy. Food & Agriculture Feb. 1946. *After Independence*: Secy., Food Ministry, 1947-49, Kashmir Affairs, 1949-50. Food Ministry 1951-54. Labour Ministry 1955. Cabinet Secy. 1958-62. Acting Governor, Assam, 1960-6. Member, Planning Commission, 1962.

Sakrekar, Dinkar (1917-1989) Journalist and member of the C.S.P. Ed. *Hind Praja* from Bombay. Detained during '42 movement. *Post Independence*: After a short spell at All India Radio, edited *United Asia* from Bombay. Active in the Samyukta Socialist Party, and a contributor to the *Janata*.

Sampurnanand (1891-1969) A Congressman of the UP. Member Executive Committee, CSP in the late thirties. *Post Independence*: Chief Minister of UP 1955-60. Governor of Rajasthan 1962-67.

Sanyal, Dr Nalinaksha (1898-1987) Economist. Professor at Calcutta University. Educ. Calcutta

and London School of Economics, where he got the Ph.D. under supervision of Harold Laski. Took part in anti-Simon Commission demonstration. A leading figure in Bengal PCC in the nineteen thirties. Imprisoned a number of times. Member (Congress) Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1937–47 Chief Whip of Congress Legislature Party till 1945. *After Independence*: Left Congress in 1967 and elected M.L.A. on Bangla Congress ticket. Changed sides and became a minister in the shortlived P.D.F. ministry. Retired from politics after the fall of this ministry.

Sapru, Sir Tej Bahadur (1875–1949) Lawyer, Advocate in Allahabad High Court, Liberal Nationalist Law Member, Viceroy's council 1920–23. President, National Liberal Federation, 1923–27. Delegate to the first two RTCS.

Sapru, Prakasa Narayan (1894–1969) Jurist; eldest son of Sir T.B. Sapru (q.v.) Educ. Allahabad University and Lincoln College, Oxford. Called to the Bar 1921. Practised at Allahabad High Court. General Secy. All India Liberal Federation 1934–35, President of the Same 1938–39. Member Council of State 1934, Secy. Progressive Party, Council of State. Alternate delegate to the UN General Assembly 1946. Appointed Judge, Allahabad High Court, Jan. 1947. Given LL.D (Honoris Causa) by Aligarh Muslim University. Member U.G.C.

Sarabhai, Ambalal (1890–1969) Industrialist and company Director, joined business 1908. Director, Bank of India, and other group of companies in Ahmedabad, Bombay and East Africa in textiles and Chemicals. Sometimes President, Ahmedabad Millowners Association. Awarded Kaiser-i-Hind medal which he refused on arrest of Mahatma Gandhi in 1930.

Saraswati, Sahajanand (1889–1950) Kisan Leader from Bihar. Published a Hindi magazine entitled *Bhumihar Brahmin* during 1913–16. Organised NCO movement in Bihar and UP. propagated Khadi prohibition 1924–28. Jailed during Salt Satyagraha. worked towards building the All India Kisan Sabha from 1928 to 1936, with Marxist inclination from the mid thirties. *After Independence*: Supported the idea of a United Left Front.

Sarkar, Kamal (1913–1992) Trade Union leader in Bengal, since the thirties. A member of the CPI after leaving the Bolshevik party in 1943. Official of the A.I.T.U.C. *Post-1947*. After the CPI split joined the CPM and became a leader of the CITU. M.L.A. in West Bengal for two terms 1977–87.

Sarkar, Mukunda Lal (1885–1955) A revolutionary who after 1920 involved himself in the trade union movement in Bengal. Associate of Subhas C. Bose (q.v.) on the establishment and organisation of the Forward Bloc.

Sarkar, Nanlini Ranjan (1882–1953) Left College education incomplete to join Swadeshi movement. Rose to the top of an insurance firm in Calcutta starting at the lowest level. Successful businessmen. Member (Swarajya Party), Bengal Legislative Council 1923–28. Councillor, Calcutta Corporation 1932. Mayor of Calcutta 1935. Member, Exec. Committee of FICCI and its President 1935. Finance Minister in Fazlul Huq's first coalition Ministry 1937–39. Member, Viceroy's Executive Council. 1941–43. Resigned over Gandhi's fast. *After Independence*: Minister of Finance, West Bengal Govt. 1948–51. Retired from politics due to illness.

Sastri V.S. Srinivasa (1869–1946) Nationalist elder statesman. Liberal in politics. President National Liberal Federation 1922. Privy Councillor, agent of the Govt. of India in South Africa, 1927–29, delegate to the first two R.T.C.

Satyamurti, S. (1887–1943) Born Pudukottai State in Madras Presidency. Lawyer by profession. Active Congressman from 1923. Jailed during CD Movement 1930–32. Member C.L.A. 1934 till death. Mayor of Madras, 1942, Imprisoned during the Quit India movement.

Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar (1883–1966) Educ. Poona & London. Barrister at law. Revolutionary nationalist, transported to Andaman for 14 years. Released in 1921, published *Who is a Hindu* (1923) and became the principal ideologue of the Hindu Mahasabha. President, Hindu

Mahasabha, 1937-44. *After Independence*. Suspected of complicity in Gandhi's assassination, but acquitted after trial, 1948-49.

Schuster, Sir George (1881-1982) Barrister and Company director. Member of numerous British government committees on economic and financial questions. Finance Member, Viceroy's Council, 1928-34. Liberal National M.P. 1938-45. Author of *India and Democracy* (1941).

Sen Amarendra Nath, Justice (1891-1954) Educ. Calcutta, Rangoon, and University of London, Qualified as Barrister (Middle Temple): started practice at Calcutta High Court 1928. Apptd. districts & sessions Judge of undivided Bengal, Apptd. Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1937. Retired 1951.

Sen Gupta, Nirmal Chandra (b. 1910) Son of Dr Naresh Chandra Sengupta, Bengali lawyer and litterateur. Trained as a barrister in UK where he imbibed Marxist doctrine. On return founded Bengal Labour Party 1931 along with Sisir Roy (q.v.) and Kamal Sarkar (q.v.) During war supported war effort. *Post Independence*: After a varied career partly in government service and partly in non governmental organisation now devotes his time to social work in a village.

Sen Gupta, Jatindra Nath (1887-1954) Distinguished Bengali poet. A civil engineer by profession, practised in Nadia and Murshidabad districts. Apart from original works, translated into Bengali some works of Shakespeare and Kalidasa.

Sen Jnan Ranjan (1890-1949) Jurist. Educ. Allahabad University, qualified as a lawyer 1912. Started practice 1913. Joined the Bar at Nagpur High Court 1919. Apptd. Judge Nagpur High Court 1943.

Sen, Bhawani (1909-1972) Communist writer and theoretician; interned by the Raj 1930-38. passed his M.A. Exam in Economics from jail. Joined CPI 1938, worked among rly workers. Worked underground among Bengal peasants, 1940-42 and acquired a leading position in Bengal provincial CPI. Leading role in the Tebhaga movement among the Bengal peasants, 1946. Member, CPI politburo, 1948-50. Underground 1948-51. Re-elected to CPI Central Committee 1961. Stayed with the CPI during party split and joined their secretariat 1962-71.

Sen, Mani Kuntala (1910-1987) Headmistress of a girl's school in Calcutta in the 'thirties. Active member of C.P.I. and the Women's movement. One of the founders of the 'Mahila Atmaraksha Samiti', worked on relief during Bengal Famine. *Post Independence*: detained without trial when C.P.I. was illegal. Member, West Bengal Legislature, 1952-62.

Sen, Paritosh (b. 1918) Born in Dhaka, East Bengal, studied at Govt. College of Arts in Madras 1936-40. A founder member of the Calcutta group of *anante-garde* artists in 1943. *Post Independence*: Pursued further training in Paris 1950-53. Taught at Indore and at Jadavpur, Calcutta. Has exhibited extensively in India and abroad. Some time Fellow, Lalit Kala Akademi. Author of books in Bengali.

Sen, Priya Ranjan (1893-1967) Educationist and Congress Worker. Professor of English Literature at Calcutta University for thirty years. Inspired by Gandhian ideals from the NCO days and associated with Gandhian rural reconstruction programmes in Bengal. Interned by the Raj during the 'Quit India Movement', 1942-43. Hony. Secy. Harijan Sevak Sangha, Bengal branch. *After Independence*: Member, West Bengal Legislature 1952-57. Awarded Padma Shree 1967, author of works on literary criticism.

Sen, Sir Usha Nath (1880-1959) Educ. Calcutta, Director & Managing Editor, Associated Press of India news agency. Chief Press adviser, Govt. of India during War. Knighted 1944. Member, C.L.A. *Post Independence*: When Associated Press merged into Press Trust of India he was its first Managing Director. First President, All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society.

Sham Lal (b. 1912) Journalist on the staff of *Hindustan Times* 1934-1946. Asst. Editor. *Indian News Chronicle*, Delhi 1946-50. Joined *Times of India* 1950. Editor, *Times of India* 1967-78. Contributing editor and columnist in the same paper afterwards till 1994.

- Shankar, R. (1909-1972)** Malayalee political activist. Started as an SNDP leader (of the Ezhava community). Congressman started a paper called *Dinamani*. Member, Constituent Assembly from Kerala. Chief Minister Kerala under Congress regime, 1960-62. Chief Minister, 1962-64.
- Shastri, Lal Bahadur (1904-1966)** Political Worker for the Congress since NCO. Studied at Kashi Vidyapith, Shastri in Philosophy (1926). General Secy. Allahabad District CC (1934) and later President. General Secretary UPCC 1935-37. Member UP Legislature 1937-45 Re-elected 1946 and was Premier's parl. Secy., later on a minister. *Post Independence*: Gen. Secy. A.I.C.C. 1951 and union Rly minister till 1956. Held other Cabinet portfolios. Prime Minister 1964-66. Concluded Indo-Pak agreement after the war of 1965.
- Sheehy, Sir John F. (1889-1949)** Irishman, Educ. St. Tarlath's College, Tuam, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth; University College, Galway. Entered ICS 1914, Member, Central Board of Revenue, GOI and Addl Secy., Finance Dept. GOI, 1937 onwards. *Post Independence*: Director of Public Revenue, Control Commission, Germany 1947, Asst. Financial Adviser (Executive) to British Military Governor in Germany from 1948.
- Shroff, A.D. (1899-1965)** Businessmen and Economist. Educ. Bombay University and L.S.E. Director Tata Sons Ltd., Tata Oil Mills Co Ltd. Vice President Bombay Shareholders Association, 1936-37. Vice-President, Indian Merchants' Chamber 1936. Secy. Currency League, 1933-34. Non-official delegate to the Bretton Woods Conference on monetary affairs 1944. One of the authors of the Bombay Plan 1944.
- Shukla, Pt. Ravi Shankar (1877-1956)** Educationist, qualified as lawyer, 1908, Congress worker of CP & Berar. Jailed during NCO, Salt Satyagraha, Member Legislative Assembly, 1937 and at first Minister for Education later Prime Minister 1938-39. Detained in 1940 and again Aug. 1942-June 1945. Re-elected to State Assembly 1946. Premier, CP & Berar 1946-47. *Post Independence*. continued in same post till his death by which time province was reorganized as Madhya Pradesh.
- Shukla, Yogendra (1896-1966)** Studied at Muzaffarpur — did not complete his education. Acharya Kripalani was his political 'Guru'. Joined Indian National Congress. Joined the Anusilan Party of Bengal, involved in revolutionary activities. In 1938 joined the Congress Socialist Party — With Jaiprakash Narayan (q.v.) he escaped from the jail. Again arrested in 1942 (Dec.) released in 1946. *Post Independence*. 1958-59 became a member of the Bihar Legislative Council.
- Singh Roy, Sir Bijoy Prasad (1894-1961)** Lawyer with business interests. Member Bengal Legislative Council, 1921-1936, 1940, Member Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1936-40, Knighted 1933. Cabinet minister, Bengal 1937-41. President Bengal Legislative Council 1940-47. *Post Independence*: held no political office, attended to his extensive business interests.
- Singh, Baba Gurdit (1860-1954)** Born in a village in Amritsar district. No formal education. Went to Malaya at end of 19th Century and prospered as a contractor. On return (1909) active in campaign against forced labour; captured Japanese ship *Komagata Maru* to assist Sikh emigration to Canada, 1914. After that effort remained underground till 1920. Imprisoned for 5 years. Afterwards on release, settled down in Calcutta.
- Singh Baldev (1902-1961)** Son of a leading industrialist; joined family firm after completing education at Ambala and later Amritsar. Director, Indra Singh & Sons Ltd. Member Punjab Legislative Assembly 1937-48 and Minister for Development, Punjab Govt. 1942-46; left the Akali party. Joined Congress and the interim govt., 1946-47, as member for Defence. *Post Independence*: Minister of Defence Aug. 1947-1952.
- Singh Captain Mohan (1909-1993)** Soldier, founder of the first Indian National Army. After completing school education joined army (2/14 Punjab Regiment) as a Sepoy. Competed for King's Commission and selected, Captain 1940, Major 1941. Posted to Malaya during Japanese invasion. After British surrender taken POW. Raised INA Dec. 1941. Jailed by Japanese in Dec. 1942.

Escaped and hid in Java. After end of war, taken by British force, and eventually released. *Post Independence*: joined Congress, M.P. (Rajya Sabha).

Singh, Baba Kharak (1868–1963) Educ. Sialkot & Lahore, graduating in 1881. Gave up law studies to join politics. Chairman, All India Sikh Education Conference 1912. Presided over Sikh Education Conference at Taran, Amritsar, 1915. Involved in the NCO movement. Active in the Gurdwara Reform Movement & President, Shiromani Gurdwara Committee 1921–25. Joined agitation against Simon Commission. President (1929) All India Sikh Conference. Arrested in 1940 for opposing enlistment of Sikhs in the War effort. Opposed Master Tara Singh Azad Punjab scheme.

Singh, Jaipal (1903–1968) Educ. in Ranchi and Oxford where distinguished himself in Sports (Full Blue for Hockey). Captained Indian Olympic Hockey team 1928. Spokesman for the tribal people. President, All India Adibasi Mahasabha. Member Indian Constituent Assembly 1947–52. *Post Independence*: M.P. (Lok Sabha) for four terms from 1952 onwards till his death.

Singh, Master Tara (1885–1967) Educ. School in Rawalpindi, graduate from Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1907. Founded Shiromani Akali Dal, 1925 agitated successfully to get Gurdwara Act (1925) passed. Editor of two Punjabi journals of the Akali movement 1925–30. Led Sikh deputation to Cupps Mission. Founded Panthic Party, 1946 to fight Punjab Assembly election and won 20 out of 23 Sikh Seats. *Post Independence*: In 1956 started agitation for Punjabi Suba (a separate linguistic province for Sikhs), which succeeded in 1967.

Singh, Raja Sir Maharaj (1878–1959) Educ. Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. Called to the Bar, Member of UP provincial civil service 1904–35, serving in various capacities rising to Secy 1919 and Member, Executive Council 1935. Prime Minister, Kashmir, Apr–Jul. 1943. President National Liberal Federation 1944. Member UP Legislature 1946. *Post Independence*: Governor of Bombay 1948–52.

Singh, Ram (1914–1975) Journalist: Founder member, Radical Democratic Party. Editor, *Vanguard*. *Post Independence*: Editor, *Thought*

Singh, Sant Fateh (1911–1972) of peasant stock. Active political work started after independence as a member of the Akali Dal under Tara Singh (q.v.). Active in the movement for a Punjab Suba. Campaigned without success for the inclusion of Chandigarh in Punjab.

Singh, Siaram (b. 1911) Joined the Congress in 1921 when he was merely 10. During Quit India movement he had formed the 'Siaram Dal' who believed in the cult of violence. *Post Independence*: 1948 joined the Socialist Party: came back to the Congress after sometime. 1952 – General Secretary of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee 1952 elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly – 1955 – Vice President of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee 1957 became its treasurer. Elected President of the Bhagalpur Dt. Congress Committee & held that office till 1966.

Sinha, Anugrah Narayan (1889–1957) Leading Congressworker of Bihar. Educ. Patna College and University Law College, Calcutta. Practised in Patna High Court till 1921. Joined NCO and gave up practice. Assisted Gandhi in Champaran agrarian inquiries 1917. Elected member Council of State 1926–34. Elected C.L.A. 1935–37, to Bihar Legislature 1937–46. Finance Minister, Bihar Govt. 1937–39. Detained for individual Satyagraha 1940–41 for Quit India movement 1942–44. Re-elected, Bihar Legislature, 1946. Finance Minister (1946–47). *Post Independence*: Continued as Finance Minister, till his death.

Sinha, Dr Sachchidananda (1871–1950) Educ. Patna & Calcutta, Qualified as Barrister (Middle Temple) 1893. Advocate Calcutta High Court, 1893, Allahabad High Court 1896, Patna High Court 1916. Twice elected to Imperial Legislative Council. Member C.L.A. 1920. Served as Member, Executive Council, Bihar and Orissa Govt. 1921–26. Gave evidence before Joint Parl. Cttee. on Indian Constitutional Reform. Vice Chancellor, Patna University, 1936–44. Member Constituent Assembly, 1946 and its first President.

- Sinha, Kalyan Kumar (1914-1971)** Trained as lawyer. Practised law, 1936-38. A full time activist of the all India League of Radical Congressmen. Secretary, Radical Democratic Party 1937-1948. *Post Independence*: Publicist and commentator on political and economic affairs. Closely associated with the Indian Cttee of Cultural Freedom.
- Sinha, Srikrishna (1887-1961)** Trained as a lawyer, but gave up practice during NCO. Active in agitation against Simon Commission in Bihar and also during Salt Satyagraha. Member C.L.A. 1934-36. Elected to Bihar Legislature, 1937 and was the first Chief Minister of the Congress govt. jailed for individual Sataygraha 1940 and also during 'Quit India' movement. Re-elected to Assembly in 1946. Chief Minister of Congress govt. *Post Independence*: Chief Minister, Bihar, till his death.
- Sircar, Sir Nripendra Nath (1876-1945)** Barrister at Calcutta High Court Advocate-General Govt. of Bengal 1928-34. Represented Bengali Hindus at 3rd Round table conference. Law Member, Viceroy's executive council 1934-39.
- Sladen, Joseph Maurice (d. 1956)** Educ. Winchester & New College, Oxford. Entered ICS 1920. Served in Bombay Presidency, Secy. Home Dept. Bombay Govt. 1938 Chief Secy. to Govt of Sind, Jan. 1943. Retired 1946.
- Sorensen, Reginald W. (Lord) (1891-1971)** Labour M.P. 1929-31, 1935-66. Active member of the India League. Member, Parliamentary delegation to India, 1946. Created peer 1966.
- Spence Sir George H. (1888-1962)** Educ. Malborough and Trinity College, Oxford Entered ICS 1912. Served in Punjab till 1919. After other postings was Secy. Legislative Dept., GOI 1935-47, OSD in Ref. m Sectt. India, June-Aug. 1947 *Post Independence*: Legal Adviser to Govt. of Hyderabad (Deccan) 1949-50.
- Spens, Sir William Patrick (1885-1973)** Educ. Oxford. Barrister (Inner Temple), 1910th Master of the Bench, Inner Temple. 1935. Conservative M.P. 1933-43. Chief Justice, Federal Court, 1943-47 Chairman. Arbitral tribunal for the Dominion of India and Pakistan. Knighted 1943. *Post Independence*: Conservative M.P. for Kingston South, 1950-59. Raised to the Peerage afterwards, as Baron Spens.
- Sri Prakasa (1890-1971)** Educ. Allahabad university and Cambridge. Barrister. On the editorial staff of the *Leader*, Allahabad and later the *Independent*. Political involvement started with the Home Rule League. Member, A.I.C.C. 1918-45. General Secy. U.P.C.C. 1928-34, and its President, 1934-35. Jailed during Salt Satyagraha (1930), No-Rent campaign (1932). Member C.L.A., 1934 and again in 1945. Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946. *Post Independence*: High Commissioner to Pakistan, 1947, then Governor of Assam till 1950. In the Central Cabinet, 1950-52. Governor of Madras, 1952-56 and of Bombay 1956-1962.
- Srinivasan, Kasturi (1887-1959)** Journalist educ. Presidency College, Madras, joined his father's paper, *The Hindu* became Managing Director 1934. President, All India NEC 1940-44 Chairman, Indian Section of the Empire Press Union, 1943-45. Served in a Cttee to revise press laws 1946. *Post Independence*: Received Padma Bhushan award 1954. Set up Press Trust of India in partnership with Reuters and was first Chairman of P.T.I. Vice-Chairman International Press Institute 1951.
- Srivastava, Sir Jwala Prasad (1889-1954)** From a landowning family in U.P. Educ. Allahabad and Manchester College of Technology. In Govt. Service (Indian Munition Board) till 1919. Afterwards in Private Business, owner of factories in U.P. and proprietor of *Pioneer* newspaper from 1932. Feb. 1931, represented Upper India Chamber of Commerce in U.P. Legislature. Member of Viceroy's Council, with charge of Civil Defence (1942-43) and Food (1943-46). Member, Constituent assembly, 1947-49. *Post Independence*: M.P., Lok Sabha, 1950-52, Rajya Sabha, 1952.
- Stephens, Ian (1903-1984)** Educ. Winchester College and Cambridge. Journalist. Deputy Director, Bureau of Public Information GOI 1930-32, and Publicity officer of the Franchise Cttee, 1932-37. Joined *Statesman*, 1937, becoming Editor 1942. Member, Standing Committee, AINEC 1942-51. *Post Independence*: Retired from editorship 1951. Fellow of Kings College, Cambridge, 1952-58. Historian, Pakistan Govt., 1957-60, Author of many books on Pakistan.

- Stewart, Sir Thomas A. (1888–1964)** Educ. Edinburgh University. Entered I.C.S. 1911 Governor of Bihar, 1939–43.
- Strauss, George (b. 1901) Baron Strauss (cr. Life Peer 1979)** Labour M.P. 1929–31, 1934–79. Held junior posts during Second Labour Government (1929–31) and during war at the Ministry of Aircraft Production (1942–45). Minister, 1947–51. Father of the House of Commons, 1974.
- Subbarayan, Dr P. (1889–1962)** Educ. Oxford. Dublin. Zamindar of Kumaramangalam. Member, A.I.C.C. 1920 and again 1937. Member, Madras Reg. Council 1920–36. Chief Minister, Madras Govt. 1926–30. Elected unopposed to Madras Legislative Assembly 1937–46. Minister for Law, Madras 1937–39. *Post Independence*: Law Minister, Madras 1947–48, afterwards Home Minister, Ambassador to Indonesia 1949, M.P. 1954–7 Cabinet Minister, 1959–62 Governor of Maharashtra, at the time of his death.
- Subbarayan, Mrs Radhabai (1891–1960)** Landholder and Social Worker. Educ. Madras & Oxford w/o Dr P. Subbarayan (q.v.) served on first and second R.T.C. and Indian Franchise Committee, Member (Congress) in C.L.A. 1938–45
- Suhrawardy, H.S. (1893–1963)** Educ. Calcutta Madrasa, St Xavier College, and Oxford (BCL, MA) Called to the Bar (Gray's Inn). Member Bengal Legislative Council on Muslim League ticket. Dy Mayor Calcutta Corpn. during C.R. Das's Mayoralty. Minister of various depts in Bengal 1937–41. Food & Civil Supplies Minister, 1943–45. Premier, undivided Bengal (Muslim League govt.) 1946–Aug. 1947. *Post Partition*: Settled in East Pakistan 1949. Left Muslim League, was one of the founders of Awami League. An important pillar of the Jukta Front which defeated Muslim League, 1954 in E. Pakistan election. Law Minister of Pakistan, and later Prime Minister, 1956–1957. Detained by President Ayub's Regime, 1962, but released after 6 months. Helped found National Awami Front after release.
- Surjeet, Harkishen Singh (b. 1916)** Joined the CPI in 1935 founder member of Punjab Kisan Sabha 1936 and its Secy. from 1938. Arrested 1938 and detained 1940–44. Elected to CPPI politburo in 1953. After communist party split member of CPM and its Politburo. Currently General Secretary CPM.
- Swaminathan, Ammu (1896–1978)** Wife of a lawyer in Madras. Joined Congress in 1930 and took active part in the movement to boycott foreign goods. Founded Swadeshi Emporium, Madras, Member, Madras Corpn, 1934–39, C.L.A. 1945. Also of the Constituent Assembly. Mother of Lakshmi, Captain in the women's brigade of the INA. *Post Independence* Member, Rajya Sabha, 1957.
- Tagore, Rathindra Nath (1888–1961)** Son of poet Rabindranath Tagore. Trained as an agricultural scientist and devoted his time to rural development near Santiniketan. Chief administrator of Santiniketan after poet's death. *Post Independence*: First Vice Chancellor of Visva Bharati when it became a centrally funded university.
- Tandon, Purushottam Das (1882–1961)** Lawyer at Ahmedabad. Gave up practice during NCO. President UPCC 1923 Chairman, Allahabad Municipality for several years. Imprisoned for Civil Disobedience 1930–1932. Member UP Legislative Assembly 1937, elected Speaker. Detained 1941 and Aug. 1942–Aug. 1944. Re-elected to UP Assembly 1946, and chosen speaker *Post Independence*: President Indian National Congress, 1950, M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1952–57, Rajya Sabha (1959), Awarded Bharat Ratna in 1961.
- Tarkunde, V.M. (b. 1909)** Lawyer and Civil rights activist. Joined C.S.P. 1935 and was joint General Secy. of Maharashtra C.S.P. Member A.I.C.C. 1938. Association with M.N. Roy (q.v.) since 1936. Left Legal practice to act as full-time Gen. Secy. Radical Democratic Party 1944–1948. *Post Independence* Resumed legal practice in Bombay High Court, remained active in the Radical Humanist movement which replaced RDP. Judge of Bombay High Court 1957–69. Resigned post and been practising as a senior advocate in the Supreme Court since then.

Tata J.R.D. (1904-1994) Largest Steel magnate of pre-partition India. Chairman Tata Sons Ltd. and Tata Iron & Steel Co. First Indian to get a civil aviation pilot licence. Founder Tata Airlines. *Post Independence:* Chairman, Air India 1946-78. Awarded Padma Vibhushan 1955. By 1981 Chairman of most of the Tata Group of Industries in Iron and Steel, Oil, Chemicals, etc. and of numerous charitable trusts.

Thakurdas, Purshotamdas (1879-1961) Businessman. Spokesman for Indian business on numerous public occasions. Member, Royal Commission on Indian Currency & Finance (1926) Delegate to the R.T.C. (1930-33) Member, Bombay Legislative Council Member, C.L.A. Nominated member Council of State. President East India Cotton Association. Director, Reserve Bank of India.

Thorne, Sir John A. (1888-1964) Educ. Balliol College, Oxford. Joined ICS 1911. Home Member (Offg.). Viceroy's Council, 1944; confirmed as Home Member, 1945-6. Retired 1946.

Tiwana, Sir Malik Khizr Hayat Khan (1900-75) Educ. Aitchison Chief's College Lahore. Served in 1914-18 war-commissioned 1918. Unionist Member, Punjab Legislature 1937 elected, unopposed. Minister Public works, 1937-42. Prime Minister 1942-46. Re-elected to Legislature 1946, though expelled from Muslim League in 1944. Prime Minister of a Coalition govt. 1946-47. *Post Independence:* No political role.

Tottenham, Sir George Richard (1890-1977) Educ. Harrow and New College, Oxford. Entered ICS 1914. Asst. to Resident, Travancore & Cochin. Sept. 1917. After various postings came to GOI as Secy. Army dept. Apr. 1932. Member Council of State Oct. 1936. Knighted May 1937. Diwan, Bharatpur State, 1939. Addl. Secy. Home Dept. GOI 1940-46. Retd. 1948.

Tufnell-Barrett, Hugh (1900-1981) Educ. Cadet College, Wellington, India. Entered ICS 1923. Served with GOI in Labour Dept. Apr.-June 1943. Addl. Home Secy. Bengal. Dec. 1943. D.G. Food 1945. Commissioner Chittagong Division 1947. *After Partition:* Opted for Pakistan and contd. as Commissioner Chittagong till 1949, Secy. Ministry of Kashmir Affairs, Pakistan govt. 1949-50. Returned to Britain 1952. General Manager. Douglas Fraser and Son Ltd (India), 1953-74.

Twynam, Sir Henry J. (1889-1966) Educ. Universities of Manchester, London and Lausanne. Entered ICS 1909. Governor of CP & Berar, 1940-46. Retd. 1946.

Varadachariar, Srinivasa (1881-1950) Jurist. Enrolled as High Court Advocate in Madras 1905. Judge, High Court (Madras) 1934-39 Judge Federal Court (1939-46). Actg. Chief Justice, Federal Court in 1943 in the interval between Gwyer and Spens. *Post Independence:* Chairman Income Tax investigation commission, lived in Madras after retirement.

Varghese, T.M. (1886-1961) Lawyer by Profession in Quilon, Travancore state. Activist of Travancore State Congress, member of its Working Committee, 1938-47. Elected to Travancore State Assembly, 1938 and became Deputy Speaker. Prison sentences in 1938 and 1943. Became member of cabinet formed by Travancore State Congress, 1948. Elected speaker of Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly July 1949.

Varma, G. Ravindra (b. 1925) Took part in State Congress movement for responsible govt. in Travancore and Mysore States. For sometime worked for *Harijan*. Member, Exec. Committee of National Students Organisation. Vice-President, All India Students Congress, 1945; President 1946-49. *Post Independence:* President - World Assembly of Youth, M.P. (Lok Sabha) 1962 onward, with interruptions, till 1980, Minister for Labour in the Janata Party Govt. 1977-80. Currently President, Gandhi Peace Foundation.

Varma, Sukhdeo Prasad (1885-1954) Jurist. Educ. Muzaffarpur, Calcutta & London. Called to the Bar (Middle Temple) 1910. Joined Patna High Court Bar on its establishment in 1916. Govt. Advocate, Patna High Court, 1932. Judge. Patna High Court, 1934-46. Chief Justice, High Court of Jaipur - 1946.

Visvesvaraya, Sir M. (1861-1962) Engineer, Scientist and administrator. After service in Bombay. PWD till 1908, became Chief Engineer, Mysore State govt. 1909. Diwan of Mysore, 1912-18.

Member of many committees on technical and economic affairs set up by Bombay Govt. and the Central Govt. President All India manufacturers Association 1941.

Walchand Hirachand (1882–1953) Industrialist, Director of many companies and Chairman, Premier Construction Co. Scindia Steam Navigation Co. President, FICCI 1932–33. Pioneer in establishing shipping, automobile and aircraft industries in India.

Wavell, Archibald Percy (Lord) (1883–1950) Educ. Winchester and Sandhurst. Served in India 1903–10. Commander in Chief, India, 1941–42. Viceroy of India, 1913–47 (March).

William, Arthur Dec. (1890–1973) Educ. Winchester, Marlborough and Balliol College, Oxford. Entered ICS 1915. Served in Bengal. Services lent to Assam Govt. 1925. Back to Bengal in various capacities till becoming Secy. Council of State, 1935. With GOI in various capacities till August 1938. Returned to Bengal as Secy. to Governor 1942. Chief Secy. Bengal Govt. Sept. 1943 to Oct. 1944. Food & Civil Supplies. Commissioner 1944–45. Adviser to Governor Aug. 1945. Awarded CSI, 1946.

Winterton, Earl (1883–1962) Irish Peer. Educ. Eton and Oxford. Under Secy. for India, 1922–24, 1924–29. Cabinet Minister, 1938–39. Conservative M.P. for Horsham, 1918–1951.

Wagnik, Indulal (1892–1972) After qualifying as lawyer, joined servants of India Society, Editor *Navjeevan*. Took part in Home Rule Movement, Rowlatt Satyagraha and NCO; journalistic career abroad. 1930–36. On return activist for labour and tribal people in Gujarat *After Independence* – M.P. (Lok Sabha).

Yajee, Sheel Bhadra (1916–1996) Domicile of Bihar. Involved in Congress movement from Calcutta session of Congress, 1928. Jailed 1930–33. Joined Congress Socialist Party 1932. Gen. Secy. Patna Dist. Congress Committee 1934. Active in Kisan movement. M.L.A. 1937–45. A supporter of Subhas Bose in Congress and a founder member of All India Forward Bloc 1939. Secy. A.I.K.S. 1940. Underground 1941–43. Interned under DIR 1943–45. Jailed again 1946 and 1947. *Post Independence*: Gen. Secy. and later Dy. Chairman. All India Forward Bloc. Resigned from Congress but rejoined it in 1955. M.P. (Rajya Sabha) 1954–71. Chairman, All India Freedom Fighters Association at the time of his death.

Young Sir Douglas (1883–1973) Educ. Pembroke Coll., Cambridge, called to the Bar 1907. Chief Justice, Lahore High Court, 1934–43. Founded College of Physical Education and Scouting in Lahore. *Post Independence*: Returned to Europe, served as controller of Military govt. courts in the British element of the Allied Commission for Austria Dec. 1944–Jan. 1948.

Younus, Muhammad (1884–1952) Educ. Patna and Inns of Court, at London. Barrister-at Law, practised first in Calcutta and later at Patna High Court. Member, Congress Subject Ctee. during Constitutional Reforms of 1909. Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1916. Active in N.C.O. Founder of newspaper *Patna Times*. Prime Minister of Bihar for a few months after April 1937.

Zafrullah Khan, Sir Mohammed (1893–1985) Jurist and political leader. Educ. Lahore and London University, called to the Bar (Lincoln's Inn) Practised in Lahore High Court, 1916–35. Member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1926–35. Delegate to R.T.C., 1930–32 and to Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, 1933. Pres. All India Muslim League 1931. Member, Viceroy's Executive Council 1935–41. Knighted 1937. Judge Federal Court Oct. 1941–May 1947. *After 15 Aug. 1947* – Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Pakistan. Leader, Pakistan delegation to the UN in 1947 and 1948. Permanent representative of Pakistan at UNO, 1961–64. Appointed Judge of International Court of Justice at the Hague, 1964. Became President of the Court, 1970–73.

Zaheer, Sajjad (1905–1973) Creative writer, literary critic, in Urdu literature. Educ. Lucknow and Oxford Universities. Barrister at law (Lincoln's Inn), Member CPI. Active in the progressive writers movement.

